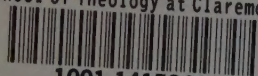


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THE EXCAVATIONS AT  
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BARIBONNAEA. TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS, FRESCO FRAGMENT 2D (pp. 205 f.)  
(PAINTED BY HERBERT J. GUTE)



THE  
Excavations at Dura-Europos

CONDUCTED BY  
YALE UNIVERSITY AND THE FRENCH ACADEMY  
OF INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS

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Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth  
Seasons of Work  
1933—1934 and 1934—1935

EDITED BY  
M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF,  
F. E. BROWN and C. B. WELLES

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## PREFACE

THE REPORT of the work of the seventh and eighth campaigns at Dura has been combined into one volume in order to reduce in some degree the accumulating delay of the publication program. The volume itself has been delayed beyond the time originally expected. The ever increasing mass of material from the site and the inevitable distraction of the expedition members and of other contributors with other tasks have regrettably slowed the original rate of publication. It is, moreover, unfortunately probable that this retardation will increase rather than diminish. For this, the editors can only express their regrets and apologies.

Excavation of the site came to an end, for the foreseeable future at any rate, with the tenth campaign in 1936—1937. This halt in the field work, however regrettable it may be from other points of view, permits us to plan a publication program which will ultimately make available all the material thus far unearthed. We now expect two more Preliminary Reports (Nine and Ten) to be devoted largely to architecture, and a series of seven Final Reports as follows: History, Architecture and Town Planning, Minor Finds, Inscriptions, Parchments and Papyri, the Synagogue, the Mithraeum and the Christian Chapel. The third of these will appear in fascicules, and will deal with the great mass of small objects of every sort which have been, for the most part, passed over without mention in the Preliminary Reports. The volumes will be published as they are ready. It is hoped that the Synagogue volume may appear without too great delay.

The present report is, like its immediate predecessors, selective in character, and does not cover all the work done in the two seasons nor restrict itself exclusively to them. When possible, it incorporates the results of the latest excavations. We thus include a definitive map of the city, prepared by Mr. A. H. Dettweiler, which is to be found inside the back cover, together with a correct block plan replacing the inaccurate Pl. I of *Rep. VI*. It will be noted that the towers of the fortifications have been given a new and systematic numbering, which will be employed herein and hereafter.

Our indebtednesses are numerous as always. It is again a pleasure to thank his Excellency the Haut Commissaire de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, the Général Commandant Supérieur des Troupes du Levant, the Directeur du Service des Antiquités M. Henri Seyrig,

the Conservateur du Musée National de Damas Emir Jaffar, and the members of the American Mission in Deir-ez-Zor, without all of whose cordial coöperation our work in Syria would have been impossible. In connection with the publication, it is very welcome to have M. Cumont, long our sympathetic associate in the excavation, appear for the first time as a collaborator on the Mithraeum. The work of Professor von Gerkan on the fortifications is of the highest importance. Professor Aubert has contributed a useful note on the Mithraeum paintings. Professor Torrey, as usual, has generously contributed his time to the study of the Semitic inscriptions, and Professor Goetze has studied the proper names of Papyrus 101. Mr. E. T. Newell of the American Numismatic Society kindly permitted us to publish his interesting letter on the Tyrian *komma* of the first and second centuries. Dr. Gettens of Harvard made a microscopic examination of the paint on the shields. The colored plates are made from copies of Mr. Gute. The numismatic charts on pages 392 f. were prepared by Mr. Dettweiler. The staff of the Gallery of Fine Arts, especially Mrs. Mary N. Haight, has as always placed us under a debt of gratitude for innumerable services. Thanks especially to the interest and coöperation of Dean Everett V. Meeks and Professor Theodore Sizer, the Mithraeum has been assembled and is now, like the Christian Chapel, on exhibition in the Gallery.

The dedication of this volume to President Angell is a poor expression, on the part of the editors but in the name of all the present and former members of the Dura Expedition, of the deep gratitude due him for his active sympathy and support throughout the course of the excavations. It was owing to him that the project was first undertaken. He was never discouraged by the somewhat lean results of the early years, and his vision and patience made possible the continuation of the work and the attainment of the gratifying results of the last seasons. It is right and proper that this, the first volume published after his retirement from the presidency of Yale University, should contain formal expression of this debt.

M. I. R.  
F. E. B.  
C. B. W.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

It is believed that citations of journals are by full enough title so that they may readily be identified. In case of doubt, reference may be had to earlier *Reports*, where the abbreviation lists are longer. Other volumes are cited by full title when they are first mentioned. Only the following seem to require listing.

- B G U*: *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen (Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, Berlin, 1895—
- B. M. C.*: *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*.
- C I G*: Berlin Academy, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Ed. A. Boeckh, J. Franz, Berlin, 1828—77.
- C I L*: Berlin Academy, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Ed. Th. Mommsen and others, Berlin, 1863—
- C I S*: *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, 1881—
- Cantineau, *Inventaire*: J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, 1929—
- Chabot, *Choix*: J.-B. Chabot, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris, 1922.
- Cumont, *Fouilles*: F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922—23)*, Paris, 1926.
- Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*: *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, E. Pottier, Paris, 1877—1919, 5 vols.
- I G*: Berlin Academy, *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873—
- I G R R*: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1901—21.
- Ingholt, *Studier*: H. Ingholt, *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen, 1928.
- Le Bas-Waddington: P. Le Bas, W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, Paris, 1870.
- P. W., R. E.: *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, Stuttgart, 1894—
- P. Cairo Zenon*: C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1925—1931.
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- P. Mich.*: *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Michigan Papyri*, Ann Arbor, 1931.
- P. Milan*: A. Vogliano, *Papiri della R. Università di Milano*, vol. I, 1937.
- Pape, *Eigennamen*: Wilhelm Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3. Auflage, Braunschweig, 1875.
- Preisigke, *Namenbuch*: F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg, 1922.
- Princ. Exp. Syr.*: H. Butler and others, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904—5 and 1909*.
- Rep. I etc.*: *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, *Preliminary Report of First Season of Work*, etc. (cf. p. i).
- S E G*: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leyden, 1923—

*S I G*: W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecum*, 3rd ed. 1915—1924.

*Sarre, Kunst*: F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens*, Berlin, 1923.

*U P Z*: U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, Aeltere Funde*, Vol. I, Berlin, Leipzig, 1927.

*Wuthnow, Sem. Menschennamen*: Heinz Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930.

## INTRODUCTION

In the seventh campaign work began the end of October 1933 with a staff composed of Cte. R. du Mesnil du Buisson, associate director, Mr. Frank E. Brown, Mr. Henry F. Pearson, Mr. Herbert J. Gute and Mr. Francis B. Comstock. Mrs. Hopkins took charge of the house and made the catalogue of finds. At the end of December Mr. N. Toll joined the expedition.

The three hundred workmen were divided into three groups. The largest group under the direction of Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson and Mr. Comstock excavated the great embankment north of the Main Gate, clearing the street behind the Synagogue and working toward the north end of the city. The second chantier under my own direction attacked the embankment along the fortification wall south of the Main Gate. Mr. Brown with a third group worked in the center of the city beginning with Block G3 in the Agora. Mr. Pearson took charge of the removal of frescoes, and supervised the architectural drawings. Copies of the frescoes before removal and drawings of finds were made by Mr. Gute. Mr. Toll acted as photographer and took complete charge of excavations in the necropolis west of the city.

During the course of the season the Temple of Mithras close to Tower 24 was excavated, and the Temple of Zeus Kyrios beside Tower 16 partially cleared. Mr. Brown excavated a part of the Agora, the Temple of Adonis, the Temple of Zeus Theos and the south entrance to the Citadel. Mr. Pearson removed successfully from the walls not only all the frescoes of the Synagogue, but also the little Sassanian drawings and the frescoes of the private house in Block M7. Mr. Pearson and Mr. Gute remained two weeks after the close of the excavations and copied and removed the frescoes of the Mithraeum. Mr. Toll discovered some unripped tombs beneath the mound of debris west of the Main Gate and began excavations. A short trip to Baghouz opposite Abou Kemal on the east bank of the Euphrates resulted in the discovery by Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson, Mr. Toll and Mr. Pearson of a Parthian bow and some Parthian and bronze age pottery.

On the 25th of January Professor Rostovtzeff, Mrs. Rostovtzeff, and Dr. A. von Gerkan of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome joined our expedition. Dr. von Gerkan made a special study of the fortification walls of the city and was kind enough to assist us in our study of the Christian Church. He was the first to discover



that two columns should be restored on the east side of the court of the Church. Numerous other suggestions and corrections of the fifth report are contained in his article "Die frühchristliche Kirchenanlage von Dura" in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLII (1934), pp. 219—232. I take great pleasure in expressing here my gratitude to him. Professor Rostovtzeff devoted himself to the transcription of the two hundred and fifty inscriptions and graffiti of the Mithraeum. Mrs Rostovtzeff was largely responsible for the piecing together of fragments of the broken paintings of the Mithraeum, and for the preservation of the cataphract armor. Monsieur Cumont arrived toward the end of the season, and took part in the study of the Mithraeum.

A loan of rails and cars from the former expedition of the French Academy at Tell Ahmar was of immense assistance to our work.

The only untoward event was some slight damage to the fresco of Samuel and David in the Synagogue, a damage caused by the terrific storm of February 23rd, which tore down a part of the covering of the painting.

The eighth campaign comprised four months of work instead of the usual five because of the depreciation of the dollar and the extra expense involved in the removal of the Synagogue. The same staff carried on the work as in the seventh campaign, except that Mrs. Hopkins was unable to take part. Mr. Comstock took over the work of making the catalogue.

One chantier under the direction of Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson and Mr. Comstock continued the excavation of the embankment north of the Main Gate. A second, under my own direction, finished the excavation of the Temple of Zeus Kyrios and continued along the embankment south of the gate. Mr. Brown with a third group of workmen dug extensively in the Roman quarter, and excavated part of the House of Lysias in Block D1. Mr. Toll cleared a large section of the necropolis and discovered a number of unrifled tombs. Under the direction of Mr. Pearson, excavations were continued in the Synagogue, and an earlier building was disclosed beneath the floor of the later (*Rep. VI*). A study of the Redoubt by Mr. Brown and myself revealed three distinct building periods. Mr. Gute not only made drawings of the finds but reviewed all the types of pottery and glass in a special study. The fragile condition of the three painted shields presented special difficulties. Their preservation is due largely to the most careful work of Mr. Gute and their reconstruction to his accurate study and skill. Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson spent most of the month of January at

Baghouz. Assisted by Mr. Toll and Mr. Comstock, he excavated a large number of tombs in the necropolis and returned with a quantity of Parthian and bronze age pottery and jewelry. Just at the end of the season Mr. Pearson discovered the Temple of the Gaddé in Block H1. Mr. Brown remained for two weeks in March to complete the clearing of this temple.

In the division of finds Syria obtained the paintings of the Synagogue, Yale the Mithraeum and the painted shields. I am happy to report that already at the time of writing the Synagogue has been completely reconstructed in the new Museum in Damascus.

In completing my years of field work at Dura I should like to express my deep obligation to Professor Rostovtzeff under whose direction I have had the privilege of working. To the untiring labors of the members of the staff the success of our operations has been due. All who have worked in the field recognize how many difficulties and problems arise in the course of a season. I cannot express too warmly my gratitude for the cordial cooperation of all members of the staff. To the members of the Department of Antiquities, especially to the Emir Jaffar, to M. Schlumberger, and particularly to my friend, M. Seyrig, Director of the Department, I have owed an ever increasing debt of gratitude. Perhaps also I may mention my thanks to the Goddess of Good Fortune at Dura whose generosity has marked our seasons with signal success.

## I.

### THE FORTIFICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

In the time between January 26th and February 25th, 1934, at the invitation of the directors of the excavation, I investigated the city's fortifications with the aim of determining the date and development of this important and well-preserved system. I herewith set forth my results.

It was important first to establish the ancient system of measurement employed. The solution was relatively simple since it had long been recognized that the Parthian wall was built of blocks of a uniform size whose dimensions would give the current unit of measurement. The obvious procedure was to measure, not individual blocks, but continuous stretches of wall 20 or more meters long at various points as well as heights of the greatest possible number of courses. For this purpose the west wall and the citadel were particularly suitable. The uniformity of the results admitted of only one interpretation. The blocks proved to be 0.35—0.353 m. high, 0.53—0.535 m. wide, and double that in length, giving, after subtraction of the mortar joints of about 0.01 m., a result which corresponds to the Samian or Ionic ell (1½ feet) of about 0.525 m. The blocks, which are laid as alternating headers and stretchers, are 2 ells long, 1 ell wide, and ⅔ ell, or 1 foot high. These units recur also in the dimensions of the walls and towers. Thus the normal towers are 20 ells on a side, the wall 3.15 m. or 6 ells thick at its base; the tower walls about 2.65 m. or 5 ells thick at the base and at the top 2.10 m. or 4 ells. Many other details reveal the same system of measurement. The details of the doorways, for example, show the use of the half-ell, proving that the system is actually one of ells and not of feet, as might have been thought from the height of the blocks. They prove also that the wall

<sup>1</sup> Editorial Note. Dr. von Gerkan's observations are based on the stage in the excavation of the fortifications reached in the campaign of 1933/34. They are supplemented by certain notes of Mr. Hopkins on the results of the campaign of 1934/35. The campaigns of 1935/36 and 1936/37 have added important evidence which will cause some modification of the general conclusions reached by Dr. von Gerkan. A summary statement of these modified views will be found in *Comptes Rendus*, 1937, pp. 197 f., and in the forthcoming volume of Professor Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (Oxford Press, 1938). The English translation of Dr. von Gerkan's German manuscript was made by Mr. Brown. The towers of the fortifications are now numbered definitively; cf. the plan at the end of the volume.

and towers were planned in ells and that their dimensions cannot have resulted from a simple laying-up of blocks cut to the ell unit. Finally, the same unit is to be found in those portions of the wall which must be considered Hellenistic. The wall, however, is not built nor the individual blocks worked so accurately that an absolutely exact dimension for the ell can be obtained from them. It must suffice to attest its employment, and above all to draw the conclusion

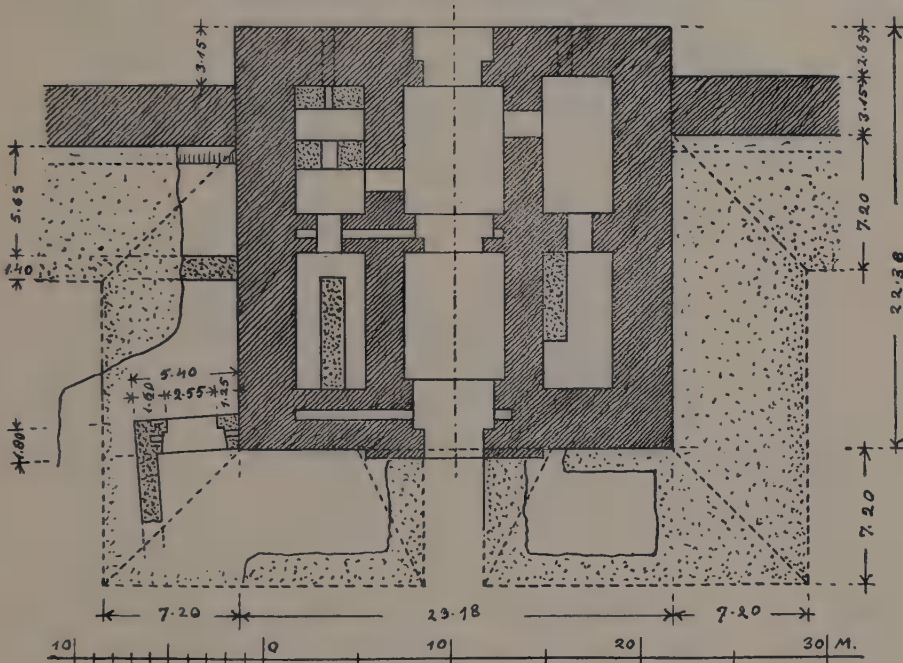


Fig. 1. Main Gate. Plan at Socle.

that the ell, which in the Hellenistic sphere is among the more ancient units but here persists up to the Roman occupation, is of oriental origin. It is, naturally, valid for all the buildings in the city and is found in the stonework of the citadel and the redoubt.

## I. HELLENISTIC PERIOD

The massive, well-preserved desert wall of the west side forms the point of departure for a critical survey of the fortifications (fig. 28, facing p. 60). The north and south walls as well as the east side with the citadel afford much less material. It appears at first sight that the



curtains of the west front are in contradiction to the above system of measurement, since their normal lengths, each inclusive of one tower, measure about 70.00 m., which gives 133 ells, or 113 ells for the curtains exclusive of towers. These lengths, however, are determined by other circumstances. The total length of the wall was fixed by the distance from wadi to wadi and the obtuse angle in the northern sector between towers 22 and 1 brought an added irregularity. For the lengths of the curtains a dimension obtained from the range of the bow-shot was employed, which gave three curtains to a stade of 600 feet or 400 ells. Even this division breaks down in the region of the main gate on either side of which lie exceptionally long curtains, a result of the fact that the gate does not belong to the original plan, as is evident from a study of the curtains in question. The southernmost of these, after an almost normal length of 65.00 m., breaks slightly outward 10.15 m. from the gate. The northern, after a course of 62.25 m., breaks correspondingly inward for a length of 11.48 m. Between them lies the gate, 23.18 m. wide. The two deviating lengths of curtain are parallel to each other and to the gate with a displacement of about 0.50 m., or 1 ell, of the northern before the southern (fig. 1). At either break the socle shows an irregular abutment without bonding. The joints do not carry through horizontally and the blocks are variously joggled. The entire west wall thus makes a bend in the region of the gate, and, if the two non-parallel curtains be projected, the northern, in the axis of the gate, will lie almost 4.00 m. in front of the southern. The one possible explanation is that a stretch of 44.81 m. between the curtains of practically normal length up to the breaks was intended for a different gate plan, one in which, doubtless, the gate passage would have run at a right angle northward between two towers, and have compelled the enemy to present their unshielded sides to the wall. Unfortunately no further conclusions can be drawn, since excavations at either break on the interior (fig. 2) disclosed no foundations. Clearly the strategically more advantageous plan was renounced in favour of the more monumental. In any event the Main Gate as actually carried out bears witness to a change in plan, which, moreover, protracted the building operations, and best explains the neighbouring gate beside Tower 17 (fig. 3; see below). It was the substitute gate during the long period when the main street was blocked. Afterwards completely superfluous, it was closed with normal stonework in the Parthian period. Presumably the city had no more than one entrance on each of its four sides.

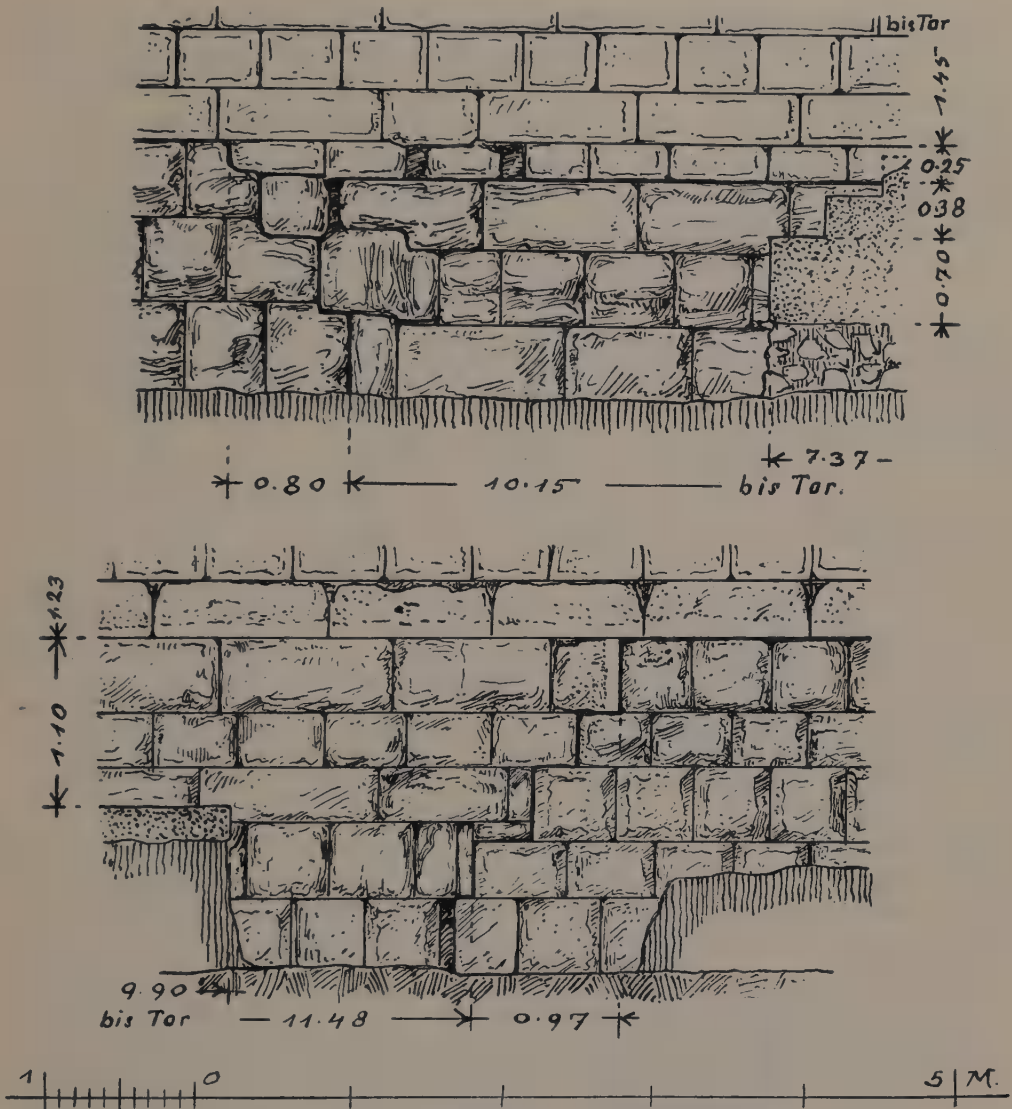


Fig. 2. Curtain North and South of Main Gate, showing Break in Socle Construction.

The entire west wall (from Tower 14 to Tower 1) rests on a socle of different construction which is wanting in the other sections, north, south, and citadel. It is, therefore, not essential to the normal wall of alternating header and stretcher courses of the same height. The latter



must be reckoned early Parthian since it presupposes the existence of the neighbouring Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, which itself is dated by inscriptions to about the beginning of our era. The socle, accordingly, belonged to an earlier period of the wall, and it will be shown that it belonged to a wall once complete and independent and only later built over by the Parthian stonework. The socle, which even at this early date is built with gypsum mortar, falls into two parts of differing construction. The southern half is of isodomic masonry, the northern of orthostate and header courses. Their junction falls 11.25 m. south of Tower 18 (fig. 4). The joint is made by joggling the orthostate construction to receive the isodomic socle which is built against it and encroaches on it toward the top. The change in construction, however, does not indicate different building periods since both socles fulfill exactly the same function. Doubtless the erection of the wall was entrusted to two different groups of workmen, each with freedom to choose its own mode of construction. The junction lies exactly in the middle of the straight stretch of wall between Towers 14 and 24. The socle everywhere rests on the firm rock surface which lies near the surface of the sand and itself covers deeper sand strata, the usual formation of the Syrian desert.

The southern isodomic socle is as a rule built of header courses, the blocks of which are likewise 0.53 m. or 1 ell wide. Correspondingly they were double in length, though for the most part only corner blocks cut to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ells to fit the coursing are visible. The height seems not to have been regularized. It varies between 0.40 m. and 0.45 m., though both higher and lower are found, especially in the projecting foundations, which presumably lay below ground level. In the curtains there are usually two foundation courses with three visible courses above them totalling from 1.25 m. to over 1.40 m. in height. This is scarcely a constant dimension but merely the sum of the heights of three irregular courses. The socle is not carried through at a uniform height but varies from curtain to curtain. Stretcher courses, so far as the present state of the excavation permits it to be ascertained, are to be seen only in the upper foundation-course of curtain 14—15, in the upper courses of the markedly irregular coursing right and left of the arched gate in curtain 17—Gate, and in the almost regular change of coursing in the region of the Main Gate between breaks. The length of these stretchers is always double the width of the headers. The top course of curtain 14—15 with its height of 0.65 m. is to be noted.

The socles of the towers are always built considerably higher. That

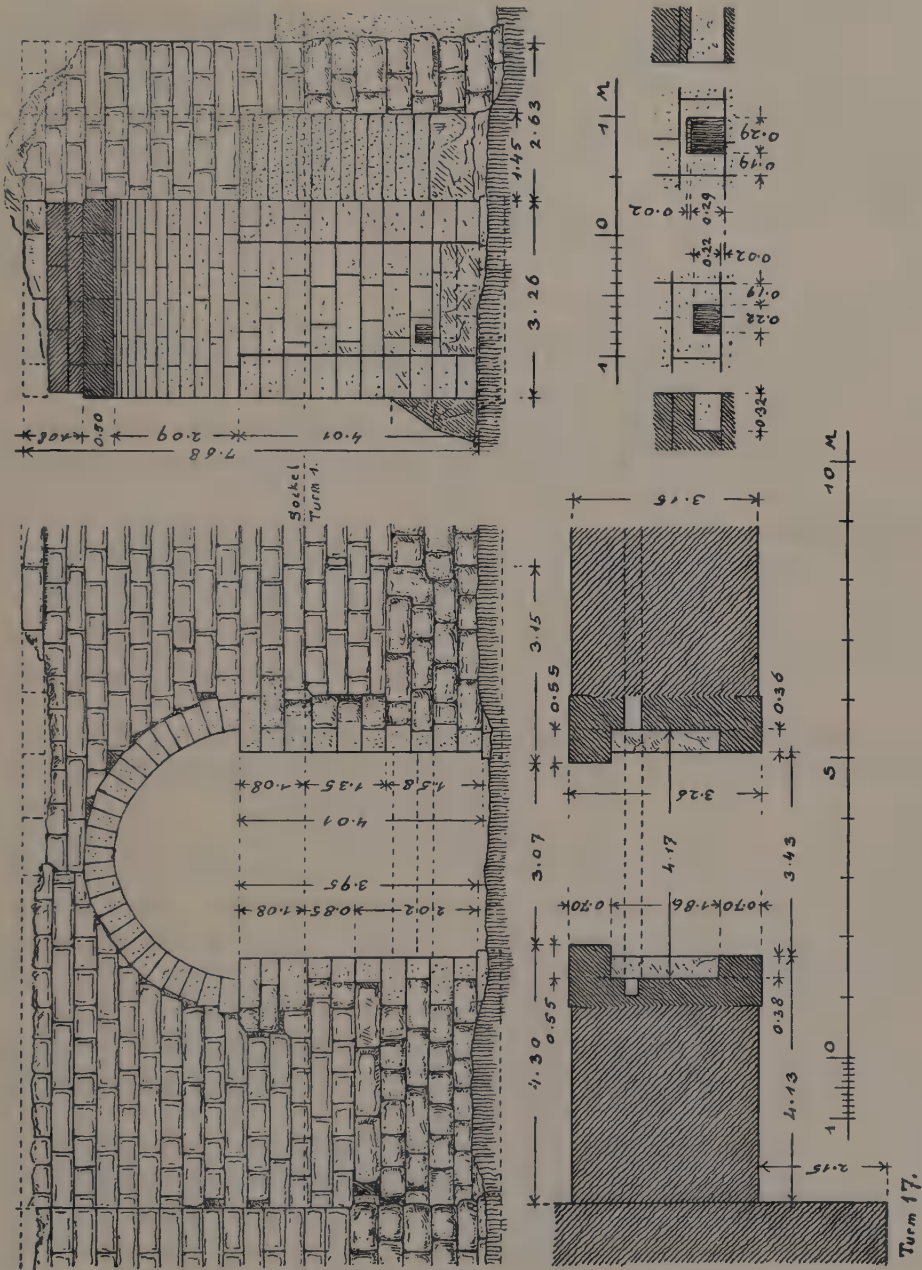


Fig. 3. Plan, Section, and Elevation of the Gate North of Tower 17.

of Tower 14 exceeds the socle of the curtain by the equivalent of 0.52 m. Actually the above-mentioned top course of the curtain corresponds to two courses of the tower, which accordingly is seven courses high. The doorway, as in all the other towers, is carried down to bedrock, though originally it was doubtless covered to a certain depth with sand. To the south, three courses of the tower project to form a foundation. The socles of Towers 15 and 16 are two courses higher than that of the curtain, Tower 17 only one, but with an additional foundation course and two isolated stones over the doorway. In average socle height the Main Gate has on the south four, on the north three more courses than the curtains. Its socle numbers eight courses altogether, of which two are foundation. In general the socles in the interior of the towers attain in five courses heights of from 2.05 m. (Tower 15) to 2.23 m. (Main Gate, south). The lower supplementary courses project slightly and are to be classed as foundations. This socle portion has generally been conceived as a ground story, although its height is not sufficient to justify this view. Moreover, the Parthian superstructure is set back about  $\frac{1}{2}$  ell on the socle only on three sides and never on the side containing the entrance, while in the northern sector it is for the most part not set back at all. The greater height of the tower socles is to be explained not as in the interest of greater solidity but as requisite to contain the tower doorway within the socle, which originally was crowned with mud brick. This is quite evident from the rough upper face of the socle, visible at the set back, as well as from other grounds to be adduced later. The tower doorways are almost all different. Tower 14, by reason of the beginning of the slope to the wadi, is set one course deeper than the curtain. Its socle comprises eight courses, of which two probably lay below ground level. Its doorway is made up of two upright courses, and three smooth-worked courses corbelled off to a triangle above, followed by one uninterrupted course. The doorway of Tower 15 has two vertical and three corbelled courses, the latter not worked very smooth. That of Tower 16 has three vertical and two corbelled courses, the latter cut at different angles so that the opening is really closed by a polygon. Tower 17 has three vertical and three corbelled courses of which the uppermost consists of but two stones set above the socle. All three are corbelled off in steps with merely the lower half of each cut to an angle slightly less than  $45^{\circ}$ , while the upper half is vertical. The tower doorways of the Main Gate give off the gate passage, but their crowning members fall in the Parthian period.

In plan these towers are normally square, 10.50 m. (20 ells) on

a side, with three walls 2.63 m. (5 ells) thick, and one — the inner wall — 2.10 m. (4 ells) thick, leaving an inside depth of 5.77 m. (11 ells) to a width of 5.25 m. (10 ells). The door lies in the center of the inner wall and is 1.58 m. (3 ells) wide. The curtains, themselves 3.15 m. (6 ells) thick, abut in such a way that the tower projects outside the wall for about half its width and inside the wall about 4 ells, or the thickness of its inner wall. The execution is never exact but the planned dimensions are always recognizable. The towers and curtains appear

not to bond into each other, for, in addition to their different heights, the coursing of the socles does not correspond, and is almost always somewhat offset. They are the so-called *Cavalierstürme*, so planned that the tower straddles the wall so as to permit the sentry-go above to continue through without interruption. The plan itself furnishes additional evidence of a superstructure of mud brick. The thickness of the

socle provides for a sufficiently resistant superstructure of the lighter material. This is particularly evident for the towers' inner walls, whose projection of their full thickness beyond the face of the curtain indicates that they were equally thick at the level of the sentry-go.

The first tower (14) constitutes an exception, since with a normal width it has an exterior length of 29 ells, an interior length of 20 (fig. 5). On the south side there is no junction of the curtain socle to be seen. On the north side the curtain overlaps the cityward face of the tower by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ells and is united with the corner of the tower by means of a projecting buttress  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ells wide. The buttress projects about  $\frac{1}{2}$  ell beyond the exterior face of the north wall of the tower and about 1 ell beyond its interior face where it bonds into the north side of the tower doorway, which is in this case  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ells wide and off center. In the Parthian period the buttress was razed to the two lowest courses and rebuilt. The doorway from the sentry-go into the tower, the necessity for which occasioned the erection of the buttress, here opened into the city side of the tower and probably pierced the tower wall somewhat obliquely. The north wall of the tower, moreover, contains,

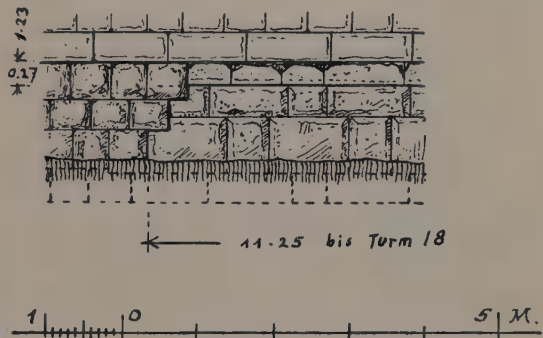


Fig. 4. Junction of Courses South of Tower 18.



close beside the curtain, a sally port covered by a flat arch worked in the top course of the socle and consisting of two stretchers corbelled out over the opening with a wedge-shaped keystone between. The occurrence of a flat instead of a triangular corbelled arch probably implies a portcullis. The sally port was found carefully walled up with Parthian masonry.

The socle also bears witness that the Main Gate, except perhaps for details of the superstructure, had already the same aspect as later, even to the two great wooden bolt-beams whose sockets are let into the socle masonry (fig. 1, above). It is to be noted, however, that the decorative impost pilasters on the exterior, which must for technical reasons have been carried out with the arch itself in stone, were abolished in the Parthian reconstruction.

Particularly important for the early wall is the newly discovered gate north of Tower 17, which rises out of the socle (fig. 3 above). Since in the Parthian period it was walled up with normal masonry, it is clearly of an earlier period. On either side of the gate, southward for 4.13 m. (8 ells) and northward for 3.15 m. (6 ells), the socle is irregularly built with headers and on the north with displaced coursing. It follows that no gate was here intended in the original plan, but that it was built at the expense of the already completed socle as a temporary substitute for the Main Gate while the latter's final plan was still undecided. On the other hand, the masonry walls of the gate passage itself fit very well against the abutting socle and continue it upwards. They consist of alternating stretchers and pairs of short headers though occasionally there are more than two headers between the stretchers. The bonding is thus somewhat slipshod and irregular, although the greater height of the courses shows that it bears no relation to the Parthian wall. Indeed on the north side the latter is frankly patched at the juncture, which proves that it is later. The walls of the gate passage, to the right 4.01 m., to the left 3.95 m. high, do not fit into the ell system. At either end are piers, 0.70 m. wide, those on the outside projecting 0.55 m., those on the inside 0.36 m. and 0.38 m. The width of the gate passage behind the piers was 4.17 m. or 8 ells, though the external opening between pilasters was only 3.07 m. (6 ells). The piers break back at springing height and the vault spans the entire width of the gate. The same feature characterizes the Main Gate. It is to be supposed that beams were laid across between the tops of the pilasters. There could scarcely have been flat arches as in the citadel at a later date. The areas of the pilaster tops are so small that to support a flat

arch the end blocks must have run through beneath the springers of the existing arch. This is made up of twenty five regularly cut voussoirs, 0.50—0.55 m. high, but no attempt was made to bring the extrados into bond with the blocks of the wall on either side, as in the doorway arch of Tower 24. The arch is not perfectly semicircular in form but has at the crown a somewhat sharper and at the haunches a somewhat flatter

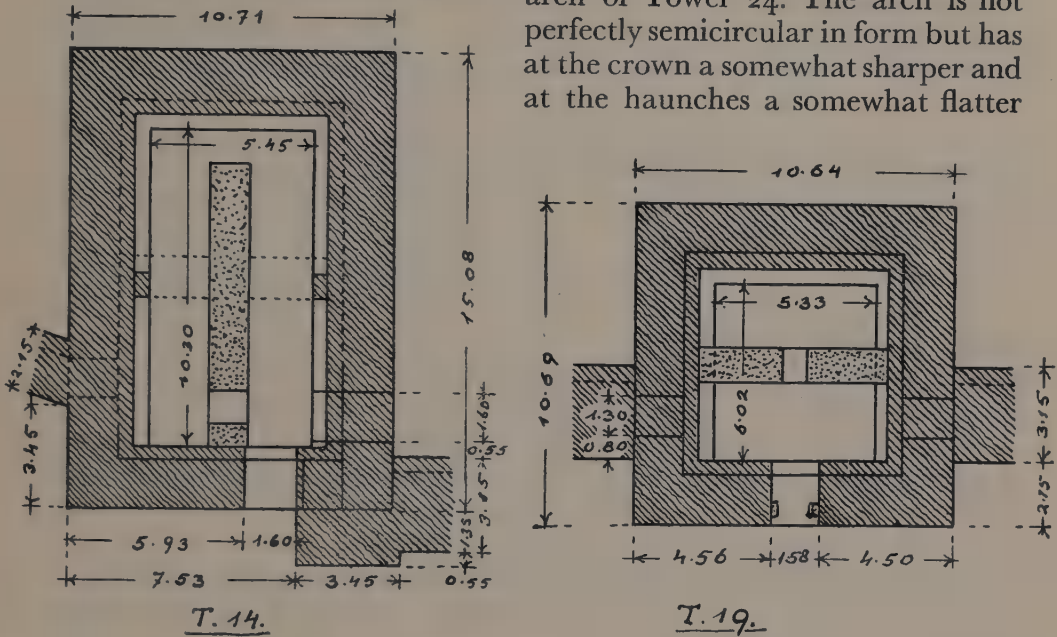


Fig. 5. Towers 14 and 19.

curvature than at the springing. Its outline was thus slightly pointed much like many modern domes, and gained somewhat in stability over the semicircular. Imposts and arch, by reason of their more pronounced bossing, project like the socle slightly beyond the wall face, and reach a total thickness of 3.26 m. Both the uneven bonding and the form of the arch testify to an original mud brick superstructure. This, moreover, had the same height as the Parthian wall, for between the sentry-go and the crown of the arch only three normal courses intervene. The displacement of their joints directly over the crown is another indication that the masonry is later than the arch. Just above the second course at 0.80 m. above the gate passage floor are the sinkings for the great bolt-beam. On the north is the deep channel, 0.29 m.  $\times$  0.29 m., into which it was shoved when not in use; on the south is the sinking 0.22 m.  $\times$  0.22 m.  $\times$  0.32 m. to contain the



bolt when in place. Beneath on either side is a rubble bench. No sill exists nor ever seems to have existed.

The socle of the northern half, erected of pseudo-isodomic courses (that is, courses not all of the same height) also with the use of gypsum mortar, is in general somewhat less stoutly built. Just south of Tower 19 it has been laid bare down to bedrock. Like the southern half it rests on the stratified rock (fig. 6), but here comprises only three courses with a total height of 1.50 m. (3 ells?). Of these the lowest is a rough and irregular header course with gaping joints, which projects 0.29 m. The blocks are 1 ell wide by 0.40 m. high and bossed just as they came from the quarry. Since this course was presumably below ground level, the visible socle was here only 1.10 m. high. The following orthostate course is 0.70 m. high and laid in the fashion usual at Dura with alternating stretchers of 1.05 m. (2 ells) and headers of 0.53 m. (1 ell), or, in other words, with the same blocks laid alternately length and endwise. The buttjoints invariably fall above the center of the blocks of the foundation course. The crowning course is 0.40 m. high and likewise consists of alternating blocks of 1 and 2 ells, so laid that the shorter lie always above the orthostates stretchers and *vice versa*. This is the usual Greek bond carried out consistently here and elsewhere in Dura. Even when the sizes of the individual blocks vary 2 cm. or so, the difference is always made up in the aggregate. The faces of the blocks are worked relatively smooth and bevelled off sharply at the joints, leaving bosses of about 0.08 m. There is no bonding with the orthostate socle of the neighbouring tower which is distinct both in the heights of its blocks and in its coursing.

Because of the construction of the doors, the towers of this half of the wall have socles which are considerably higher than the curtain socle and are at least as high as those of the southern half. They usually show a double orthostate system, and often additional foundation courses. The courses of Tower 19, counting from the top, have the following heights: 0.34 m., 0.59 m., 0.35 m., 0.65 m., 0.40 m. Of these, the upper four were visible and rise above the adjacent curtain socle by 0.70 m. The corbelling of the doorway begins above the second header course and continues through both upper courses. The angle is somewhat steeper in the orthostate than in the header course, and produces a sort of pointed arch with a broken outline. The socle of Tower 18 is similar but raised about one course higher, totalling 2.00 m. The crowning course is somewhat higher than that of Tower 19 and not completely traversed by the triangle of the doorway. The same is

true of the following Towers 20 and 21 except that they, like the curtain, lie one course deeper because of the slope of the terrain. Tower 22, though not yet excavated, seems to be similar. Towers 24 and 1 will be discussed later.

In plan the orthostate towers agree with the others with the exception that, save for Towers 18 and 1, the Parthian superstructure is somewhat thicker and leaves no set-back on the interior. Tower 20 has a sally

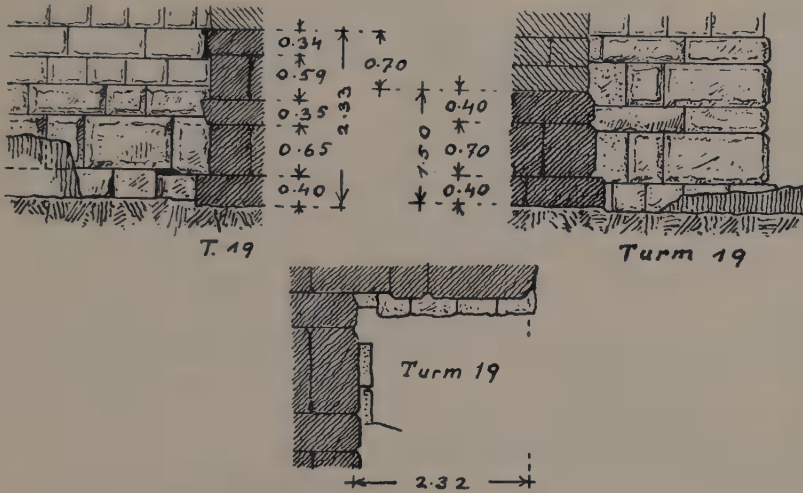


Fig. 6. Socle at Tower 19.

port in its north side (fig. 7), though the abutment of the curtain is here quite normal. The sally port which lies flush with the curtain is 1.09 m. (2 ells) wide and 1.69 m. high, comprising the two orthostate courses and the flat course between them. It is crowned by a flat arch of two corbelled blocks with a keystone between. It was closed by a portcullis running in slots 0.24 m. wide and 0.13 m. deep, 3 ells from the inner face of the tower. The slot also traverses the top of the opening but is obliterated immediately thereafter by the Parthian masonry. Originally the slot must have been carried up in stone for a corresponding height within the mud brick superstructure, and have been operated from the level of the sentry-go by means of ropes. Later this structure, which presumably did not occupy the entire thickness of the wall, was dispensed with and the sally port walled up just as in Tower 14. A similar sally port has since been discovered in Tower 22.

Towers 24 and 1 are of especial importance, for they stand independent of the Parthian curtain of masonry, which terminates vertically in the middle of curtain 22—23 leaving a toothed unfinished end. The curtain from there on is composed for the most part of mud brick of various periods. Its development will be discussed later. The excavations of the campaign of 1934—35, moreover, have shown that the masonry socle which appears in the towers, is also present beneath the mud brick curtains with the same height as before. At the termination of the stone curtain it is 1.40 m. high, south and north of Tower 24, 1.30 m., and in the breach made by the modern *piste*, 1.48 m. (with courses of 0.28, 0.68, 0.37, 0.15 m.). The socles of the towers here rise far above the curtain socle.

At Tower 24 the wall makes an angle of  $27^{\circ}$  which is bisected by the axis of the tower (fig. 8). Both curtains, therefore, abut obliquely and rather nearer than usual to the city face of the tower, on the south 1.60 (3 ells) from the corner, and on the north, as the tothing of the Parthian tower wall also shows, flush to the corner. On a normal width of 10.60 m. (20 ells) the tower has a depth of only 10.10 m. (19 ells) which gives it with normal wall thickness a square interior of  $10 \times 10$  ells. Above the foundation courses the socle consists of four orthostate systems, of which the upper is quite destroyed along the front but intact on the south side. The courses from bottom to top always lose a few centimeters in height; they reach a total of no less than 2.83 m. above the surface of the curtain socle. The doorway is spanned by a true arch whose voussoirs are cut on the exterior to bond with the wall blocks. The arch springs from the crowning course of the second orthostates. Its height corresponds to the third system, its keystone to the highest orthostates, with the crowning course running above. In addition there is a sally port, 1.69 m. ( $3\frac{1}{4}$  ells) wide, in the north wall 9 ells from the outer corner. It too is arched in the same manner as the doorway. I am indebted to Mr. Hopkins for details of this sally port which has been cleared since my visit. At 1.60 m. from the inside of the tower the passage is narrowed by projecting piers into which are let slots 0.25 m. wide for a portcullis. At springing height the piers carry two great stone beams with no provision for the portcullis; these are evidently, together with the two arches, reconstructions of the Parthian period when the portcullis was replaced by a door. The channel for its lock-beam was found on the left side of the opening and contained remains of the wooden beam itself. North of the entrance of the tower rises a buttress, 5 ells wide with a projection of 4 ells, flush with the north wall.

In its present form Tower 1, at the northwest corner of the fortification, corresponds exactly to Tower 14 at the southwest angle, which

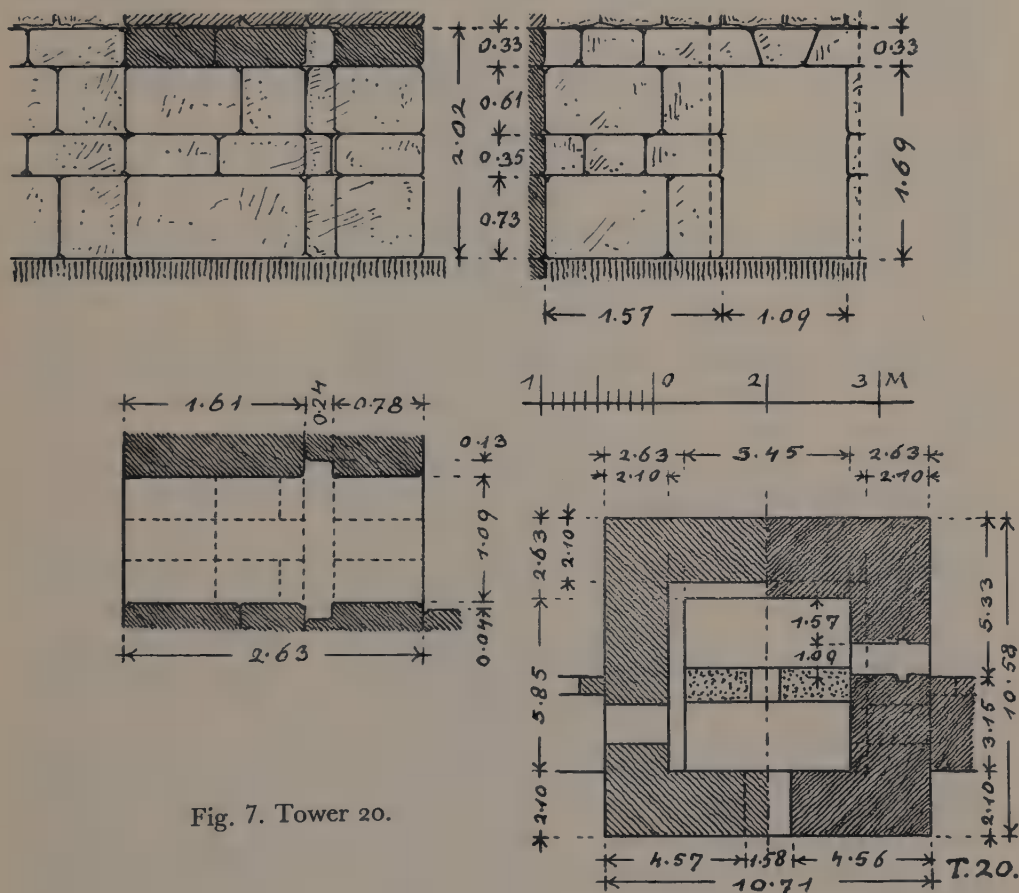


Fig. 7. Tower 20.

clearly served as a model for its reconstruction in Parthian times (fig. 9). The correspondence holds even to the absence of a socle continuing from the tower along the side of the city, in this case the north side. In the early period, however, the two were profoundly different, for then Tower 1 was a square tower like the others. The construction of the tower socle has long since been studied by Mr. Hopkins, who interpreted it as a religious building, the kernel of the neighbouring temple complex, and only later brought into the line of



fortifications. His interpretation was obviously handicapped by the fact that the orthostate socles of the other towers had not yet been uncovered and that the presence of the corresponding curtain socle had not yet been established. At this juncture, however, it is no longer necessary to regard the substruction of Tower 1 as anything different from the substructions of Towers 18—22 and 24. As terminal to the desert line this tower is somewhat more powerfully fashioned, 11.22 m. and 11.18 m. or 21 ells on a side. The inner wall is again 2.10 m. (4 ells) thick, the side walls amply 5 ells (2.76 m. and 2.70 m.), and the razed outer wall, visible in section at either side, 3.00 m. (5½ ells). The interior was thus 11 ells wide and 11½ ells deep. The doorway, 1.65 m. (3 ells) wide, lies in the middle of the inner wall. In the south wall near the outer corner is an embrasure-like window, 0.62 m. wide on the interior, and, reckoning from its splay, 0.24 m. wide on the exterior. It served for observation of the terrain within range of the walls and was possibly supplemented by a second window in the west wall. In the Parthian period it was carefully blocked with masonry. The curtain abuts in the usual way, 2.10 m. (4 ells) from the inner corner. The socle is made up of two orthostate systems above two or perhaps more foundation courses. Their heights from top to bottom are: 0.35 m., 0.60 m., 0.33 m., 0.77 m., 0.53 m., 0.25 m., of which probably the upper five, totalling 2.58 m., were visible above ground level. The reveals of the doorway rose vertically through the three lowest courses. Its corbelled triangular arch traversed the upper orthostate course and two-thirds of the crowning course. The sections of the destroyed outer wall show that it was built of masonry in its entire thickness with five or six blocks in the orthostate courses and three or four in the header courses. In distinction to all the other towers the socle and the following six Parthian courses later formed a separate story. Above this lay a beamed ceiling and an intermediate story below the sentry-go level with two windows on the city and an embrasure on either side. The explanation is to be found in the employment of the ground floor as part of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods.

From the socle construction described thus far the plan of the entire west wall may be recognized. The Parthian wall merely formed a superstructure upon it. The grounds for seeing in the socle an independent wall period will be here once more enumerated.

1. The absence of the socle in all the other stretches of wall, showing that it cannot be considered the customary type of construction.

2. The breaks on either side of the Main Gate and at the juncture

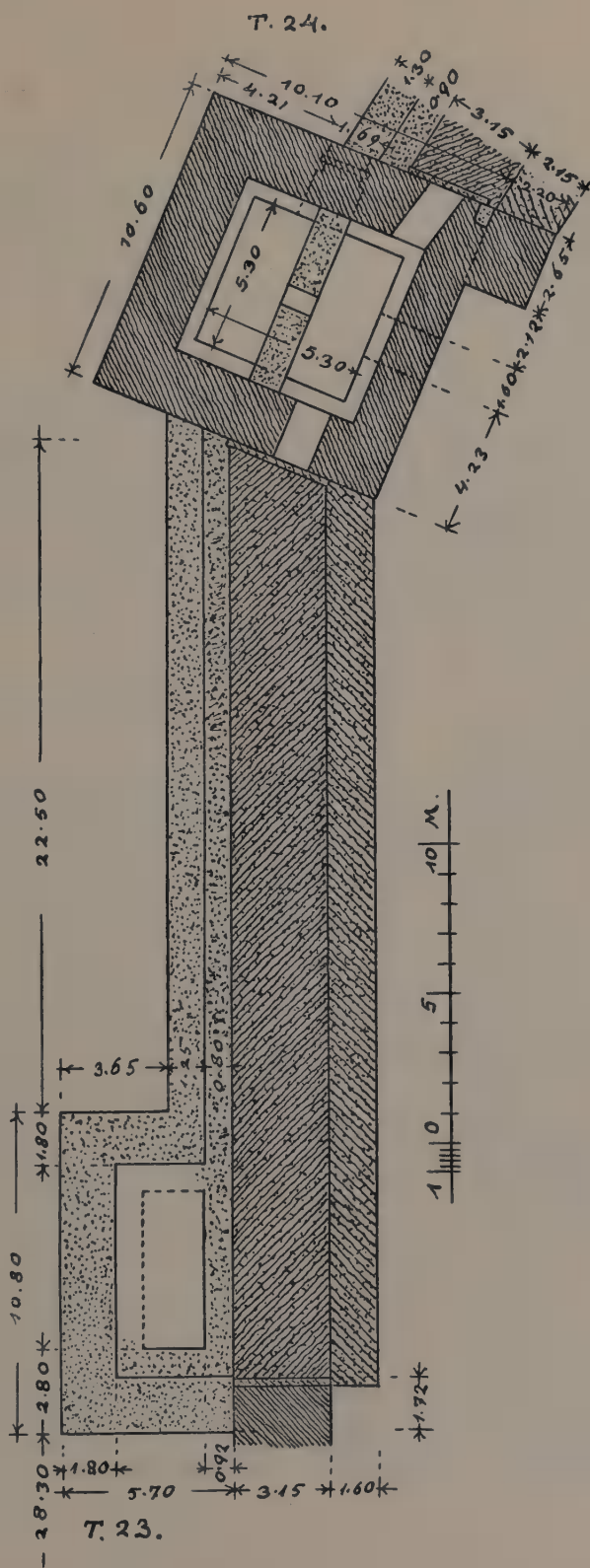


Fig. 8. Tower 24.



of the isodomic and pseudo-isodomic socles south of Tower 18. These occur in the socle alone and are not reflected in the Parthian wall.

3. The presence of the socle beneath the mud brick curtains 22—24—I where the masonry curtain was never carried out.

4. The roughly worked upper surface of the socle in the set-backs inside the towers.

5. The framing of the arched gateway north of Tower 17 with the same type of stonework as the socle and without bond with the Parthian wall.

6. The presence of impost pilasters in the socle of the outer face of the Main Gate, which were dispensed with in the Parthian superstructure.

7. The set-backs in most towers between the socle and the superposed masonry, which answer to no functional necessity.

8. The sally ports of Towers 14, 20, 22, and 24 whose portcullises presuppose a superstructure which no longer exists.

9. The abandonment in the Parthian period of certain features of the socle plan. Such are the arched gateway beside Tower 17 and later the sally ports, which at first with the replacement of the superstructure lost only their portcullises.

All these arguments demonstrate that the socle represented a distinct and independent period of the wall. This period, as indicated by the indecision that has been noticed in respect to the plan of the Main Gate, goes back to the very origin of the fortifications. The plan of the normal Parthian wall at either extremity takes into account both the Temple of Aphlad and that of the Palmyrene Gods. Both these temples, on the evidence of their dedications, already existed in the early first century after Christ, and were certainly founded earlier. They are scarcely contemporary, however, with the Parthian occupation, which cannot be placed before 120—100 B. C. (below, p. 23), since no time is left for an earlier wall period. Moreover the wall was still under construction in 19 B. C. when the Roman threat was removed and building operations on the masonry curtain stopped never to be resumed. The older wall, accordingly, must be Hellenistic, though it remains an open question whether this Hellenistic period is that of the foundation of the city or later. It must be noted, however, that the socle of the wall constitutes the oldest piece of construction found in Dura. The citadel, because of the absence of a corresponding socle, must be accounted purely Parthian. The so-called Redoubt, as recent investigations have shown, was no isolated fortification preceding the city plan. Its orientation and position were determined by the street



plan, and its retaining wall, also built to the ell-system, has been shown to be quite without any fortificational character.

The orthostate construction of the Redoubt palace is in itself no proof of Hellenistic origin. Many Parthian buildings in the city show the same features and are merely more ancient or more monumental than the later Parthian buildings on rubble socles. Accordingly I am inclined to consider neither the earlier nor the later citadel palace Hellenistic. Both are built to the ell system, but the earlier is already oriented with the citadel itself. The later probably merely takes better advantage of the terrain.

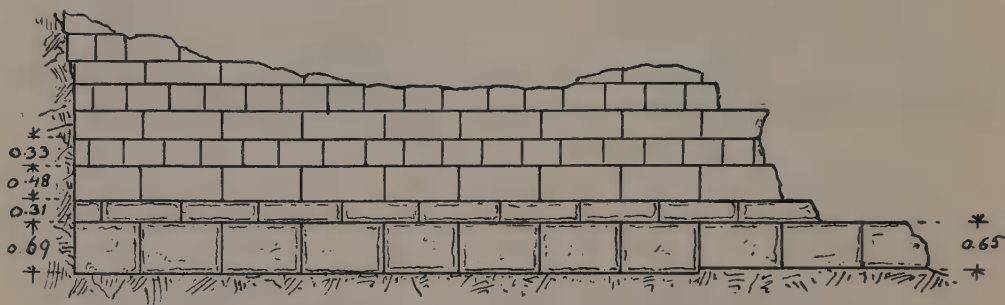


Fig. 10. Hellenistic Orthostate Wall.

The question now presents itself as to how the Hellenistic city, whose total extent is indicated by the position of the west wall, was fortified on the north and south sides where no socle exists. It must here be taken into consideration that both these fronts lie along wadis which form naturally a better protection than the low socle of the west front. A simple wall of mud brick run along the crest would have sufficed. Just east of Tower 2 beyond the postern gate, the wall beside the Temple of Azzanathkona consists of orthostates and flat courses, but it is badly destroyed and has not yet been sufficiently studied to determine absolutely that it is a remnant of the socle. It is scarcely likely that it is, for Tower 2 is a purely Parthian construction. On the other hand an important fragment of the Hellenistic orthostate wall is preserved on the east side in the hollow north of the citadel (fig. 10). The hollow itself is presumably an ancient quarry, deepened for the construction of the citadel to such an extent that this section of the wall was footed on a socle of living rock. The breach beneath the north end of the citadel once thought to be a sally port is clearly the work of natural

forces. Just north of it are eleven orthostates, 1.02 to 1.11 m. (2 ells) long, without intervening headers, their height varying with the living rock on which they are footed from 0.65 m. to 0.72 m. Above, its blocks breaking joints in perfect alternation, lies a flat course, 0.31 m. high, which on the south reaches only to the middle of the penultimate orthostate. This is topped by Parthian masonry, an exceptional stretcher course 0.48 m. high whose joints fall above those of the orthostates, and five courses of headers and stretchers, each 0.33 m. high. To the north and to the south beyond the breach this isolated wall fragment terminated against the rock walls of the hollow. To the south the corner tower of the citadel rises from the cliff above without connection with the wall. Since the citadel is not of Hellenistic masonry, it is to be supposed that the Hellenistic wall continued along the precipitate and naturally protected crest above in mud brick without a socle.

The treatment of the important mud brick curtain 22—24 and 24—1 must be postponed until the ensuing portions of the wall have been described. They will provide the data without which its complexity cannot be understood.

## II. PARTHIAN PERIOD

The precise date of the Parthian occupation of the city can, unfortunately, not be established nor do we know whether or not it encountered armed resistance. Since, however, Seleucia fell finally into Parthian hands in 128 B. C., 120 and 100 B. C. may be taken as limiting dates for Dura.<sup>1</sup> The walls show no certain traces of destruction and there is definite evidence that the mud brick walls in part long continued in use. They were presumably in good repair and only later became dilapidated. The motivating factor of the reconstruction was above all political, arising from the Roman threat which first made itself felt in 65 B. C.

The citadel was long considered, with the Redoubt, the oldest or indeed original Hellenistic fortification, but Mr. Hopkins quite rightly finally cast doubt upon its antiquity. Its construction betrays no fundamental difference from that of the Parthian city wall. Its barrel-vaulted gateways and flat arches are reproduced in the south postern of the

<sup>1</sup> Editorial Note. It is now established that Seleucia first became Parthian in 140/139 B. C. Cf. R. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (*University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, vol. XXXVII, 1935), pp. 57 f., 201. It was temporarily lost to Antiochus VII in 130—129 B. C.



city, and the triangular corbelling of its tower doorways was a feature of the Hellenistic socle. The blocks of its masonry are precisely the same as those of the wall. The citadel palaces are assuredly early, and, since the citadel presents a defensible front toward the city, it is to be supposed that it was erected after the occupation in the first instance as a fortress and rallying point to dominate the city. The detailed description of the citadel is not my province, but I must call attention to the fact that it was by no means completed. Within, beside the north gate and also at the south end, are series of toothings intended for partitions never completed. These from their uniformity were obviously intended to form barracks or stables. At the south end a pier with half an unfinished corbelled arch remains, and at the north end there are several unfinished walls which terrace the rising terrain and would have formed covered chambers carrying the approach to the middle story entrance of the corner tower. Neither this approach nor those of the upper stories of the south towers ever existed. The northeast tower alone was accessible and only by reason of the rising ground. The fact that the citadel walls, which are much higher than those of the city, are only 5 ells thick, is explained by their having been planned in stone from the ground up. It is exceptional only that the ground story walls of the towers have the same thickness. In distinction to the city wall towers, they have a middle story with entrance and embrasures, above which another is to be restored at the level of the sentry-go. It should be noted that in the absence of excavations it cannot be guaranteed that the long stretch between the northwest and middle towers was not flanked with other towers, now fallen away. The condition of this front at least admits the possibility.

The further development of the fortifications is probably to be conceived as follows. With the approach of the Roman threat the Parthians felt the defense of the city to be more important than their domination of it from the citadel, and began to rebuild the city wall in stone. The work on the west wall curtains proceeded from south to north since it left off before the mud brick of the last curtain and a half to the north was replaced. First, however, all the towers were completed. Even Towers 24 and 1 received their stone superstructure complete with tothing for the bonding of the stone curtains that never reached them, and all the other towers reveal on close inspection irregularities in the bonding between their tothing and the curtains adjacent. Occasionally there are displacements in the coursing so marked that the total number of courses differs. The tothing of the

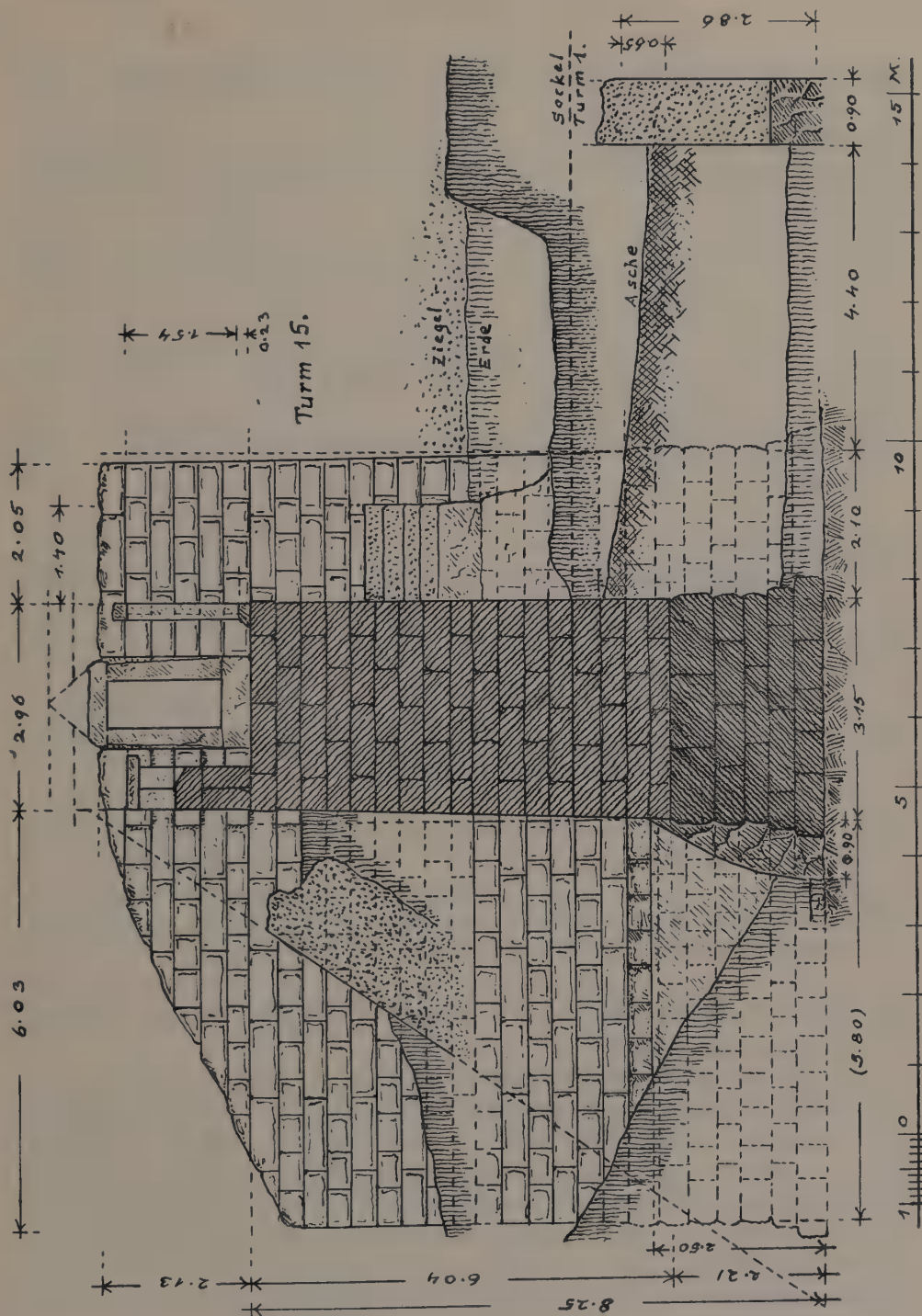


Fig. 11. Curtain 14—15, Section.

towers was uniformly effected by allowing the header courses above the socle to project about  $\frac{1}{2}$  ell through the full width of the wall. First, then, the Hellenistic mud brick towers and, necessarily, the adjacent portions of curtain, were razed to the socle. After the completion of the tower in stone the breaches in the curtain on either side were, as the condition of Towers 24 and 1 shows, filled up again. It follows that the wall was not in a state of ruin but was merely being replaced. The replacement in stone of the south half of curtain 22—24 clearly proceeded in the same way as the towers. It breaks off on a similar vertical toothed line. The breach in the adjacent mud brick curtain was similarly filled up, though here further construction was definitely suspended. Whether this is an exception or whether the other curtains likewise show a toothing in the middle remains to be investigated.

It may be conjectured that work on the wall was slowed or totally suspended after the removal of the Roman threat by the peace treaty of 19 B. C. The temple inscriptions begin to accumulate after this date. No. 418 (*Rep. V*, pp. 113—116), the oldest inscription in the Temple of Aphlad, is of 54 A. D. H4 (*Rep. II*, p. 92) from the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods is of the year 50/51; nos. 397 and 398 (*Rep. V*, pp. 24 f.) from Tower 3 are of 26 and 21/22 A. D., a step of the Temple of Azzanathkona is of 12/13 A. D. (*Rep. V*, p. 196, no. 545), an inscription above the altar of the Temple of Zeus Kyrios is of 28/29 A. D. (below, p. 307, no. 914), and the relief of Tower 16 of 31 A. D. (below, pp. 307—309, no. 915 c.). Though none is a foundation date, all, of course, presuppose the existence of the temples, and while the temples at either angle were provided for in the construction of the wall, the other two lie so close against it that their very existence indicates that the defensive function of the wall was already in neglect. In any case the wall must have existed at the beginning of our epoch, while the discontinuance of the work on curtain 22—24 is best motivated by the political situation of that period.

Though the new stone wall was much stronger than its predecessor, it showed no strategic advance over it. No approaches to the sentry-go were included in the plan, and communication as before must have been by wooden ladders in the towers. Indeed, the wall was rather simplified by the closing of the gateway by Tower 17 and the sally ports in Towers 14, 20, and 22, which were not replaced by similar features in the new towers on the north and south fronts. The height of the curtains, on the evidence of the arched gateway, remained the



The Parthian superstructure in curtain 14—15 attains a height of seventeen courses above the socle to the sentry-go, or thirteen courses above the highest socle at the Main Gate (fig. 11). The sentry-go is

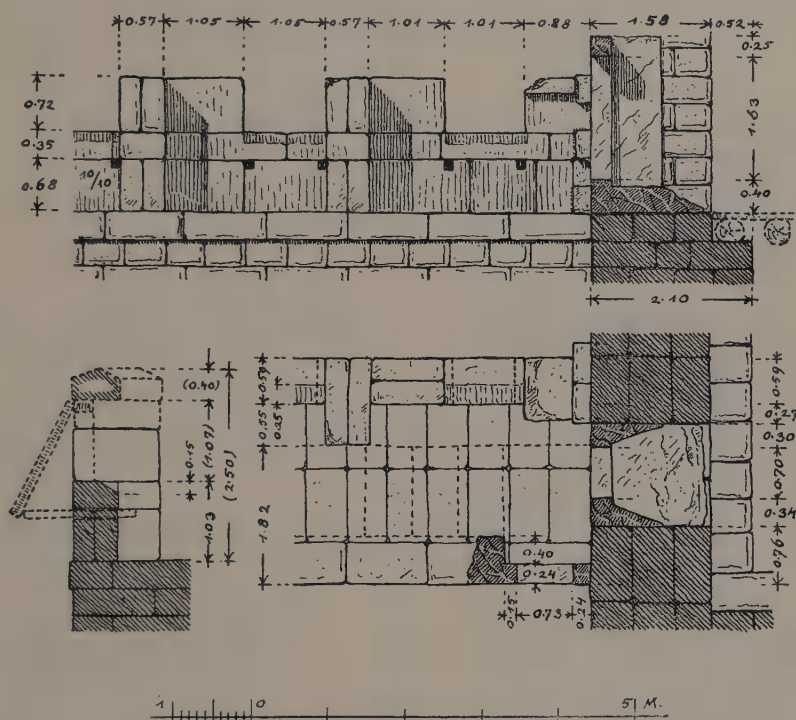


Fig. 12. Curtain 14—15, *Epalxis*. Plan, Section, and Inside Elevation.

marked on either façade by a string course of stretchers with a projection of some 0.05 m. which faces off two rows of headers. The wall gradually diminishes in thickness toward the top, from 3.15 m. at the socle to 2.95 m. at the top. The towers show a similar but irregular diminution. The sentry-go runs as far as the Main Gate at a uniform height without raised sills where it traverses the towers. At the south tower of the gate a rise of one course forms a sill, since in curtain Gate—18 there are seventeen Parthian courses of which fourteen lie above the level of the gate socle and only three beneath it. Tower 18 too has a sill on the south side since the sentry-go rises another course

while the orthostate socle is two courses lower. The Parthian curtain 18—19 is the highest and comprises twenty courses of which five are below and fifteen above the level of the socle at the Main Gate. In curtain 19—20 the sentry-go descends one course, but there is a corresponding descent of the socle and the number of courses remains the same. In the following curtain the sentry-go preserves its level, while the socle lies two courses lower, bringing the courses to twenty two. In curtain 21—22 the foot of the wall has not been uncovered and the sentry-go has been destroyed. From the evidence of the tower doors there and in curtains 22—24 and 24—1 its height remained the same. The socle south of Tower 24 descends two courses more, leaving twenty four courses in the Parthian superstructure, but rises again one course in the last curtain.

The *epalxis* is well preserved along a great part of curtain 14—15 (fig. 12), and along curtain 18—19, only in fragments on curtain Gate—18 and probably also 20—21, but has been laid bare only in the first instance. For the sake of completeness the published description is here briefly repeated and supplemented. On the tower faces the toothing is carried up the height and breadth of the *epalxis* in headers and stretchers as before though it can form no regular bond with the *epalxis* itself which is entirely built up of orthostates. This is not, however, evidence of a difference in period but merely of the principle that the pseudo-isodomic coursing gives a better purchase and so greater steadiness to the weaker wall. The *epalxis* is built to the normal ell system: its walls are 0.59 m. (1 ell) thick and it divides itself into sections each 2.67 m. (5 ells) long. Each consists of an embrasure 2 ells wide, a bulwark 2 ells wide, and a traverse 1 ell thick with a projection of 0.55 m. (1 ell). Beneath runs an orthostate course 0.68 m. high two blocks in thickness crowned by a flat course 0.35 m. high. The latter forms a sill for the embrasures, and in each opening is bevelled off on the interior for 0.15 m. at 0.25 m. from the edge. The bulwark and traverses are formed by an orthostate course 0.72 m. high above which the normal flat course must be restored, bringing the total height to the lintel of the doorway of Tower 15. Such doorways, as indicated by one preserved on the north side of the Main Gate, had triangular corbelled arches running through two courses. Neither they nor the defender himself would have been sufficiently protected by an *epalxis* 2.10 m. high. An additional crowning course must be restored as demanded also by the embrasures which would otherwise have had a height of only 0.72 m. on a width of 1.05 m., and whose sills show

that they were fitted with a wooden casing still further diminishing the height. To the embrasure lintels were hinged wooden shutters which, when necessary, could be lifted by means of wooden staves running in square piercings, 0.08—0.10 m. on a side, at either side of the embrasure at the upper margin of the lowest orthostate course. This feature is also found at Heraclea on Mt. Latmos. The complete *epalxis* thus stood 2.50 m. high with embrasures 1.07 m. high 1.03 m. above the floor. It is undoubtedly a reproduction of the Hellenistic *epalxis* of mud brick, a material in which free standing merlons are impossible to execute and in which the traverse is a necessary element of support. A similar continuous *epalxis* characterized the mud brick city wall of Athens.

The height of the Parthian superstructure totalled seventeen to twenty four courses equal to the same number of feet or 6.05—8.20 m., and, with addition of the socle-height above ground level

measured 7.45—9.50 m. to the sentry-go plus the *epalxis* of 2.50 m.

The stone superstructure of the towers is of the simplest (fig. 13). Walls only 4 ells in thickness sufficed and on the front and sides were set back 1 ell from the socle leaving an interior space of 12 × 12 ells. The setbacks, however, cannot be taken to indicate a division into stories. The socle is too low and there are neither embrasures nor loop holes below the level of the sentry-go. Where there is no change in the level of the sentry-go, the towers' walls one course lower are set back about 1 ell, giving the upper story an area of 14 × 14 ells. In reality the setback is somewhat less since the towers batter slightly toward the top though their walls remain 3 ells (1.60 m.) thick. The height of the course beneath the sentry-go equalled the thickness of the upper story floor. Doorways, 1.30 m. (2½ ells) wide, set 0.80 m. (1½ ells) from the inner face of the wall, led from the sentry-go. Their reveals, on the evidence of Towers 14, 15, and the Main Gate, rose vertically through six courses and were crowned, as the Main

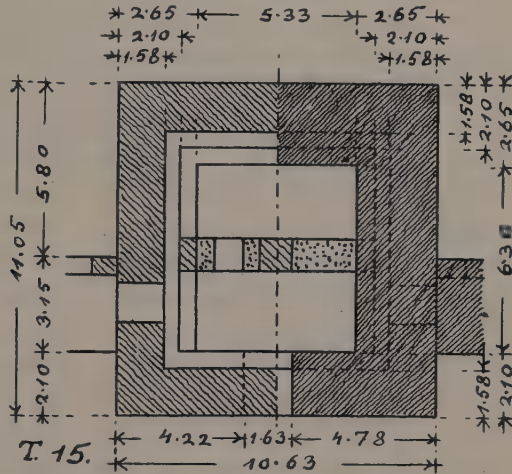


Fig. 13. Tower 15.

Gate shows, by a triangular corbelled arch two courses high. The total height of the upper story remains indeterminable. In none of the normal towers it is preserved for more than nine courses, about 3.15 m. In the north tower of the Main Gate, which may be thought to have been somewhat higher than the rest, it attains thirteen courses by the north and fourteen courses by the south sentry-go, from 4.50 to 4.90 m. This height in any case is usual in Hellenistic towers and may be assumed for Dura, though the roof, in conformity with the graffiti and with local usage, was more likely a flat platform than a gable. The platform as an integral part of the fortifications would have been protected by an *epalxis* which at such an elevation, as the graffiti seem to show, may well have taken the form of simple crenellations (Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 13, fig. 7; *Rep. V*, p. 6, pl. XXXIII, 1).

The upper doorway of Tower 14 is on the east above the buttress and flush with the inner face of the north wall (fig. 5, above, p. 13); the south doorway is not preserved. Towers 15, 16, and 17 are normal, though nothing of the latter is preserved above the sentry-go. The Main Gate presents its own problem of reconstruction and will not be treated here. Tower 19 is normal. Towers 18 and 20—22 are exceptional only in that the superstructure, at least on the interior, is not set back from the socle, and the upper walls are 4 ells thick. Tower 24 is abnormal in important particulars due to the oblique abutment of the curtains (fig. 8, above, p. 19). On the south side the toothing for the curtain is 1.60 m. (3 ells) from the corner. Its width of 3.70 m. (7 ells) is that of the oblique section of the abutment. The cross section would give about the normal width. The sentry-go doorway is in the normal position and preserved six courses high. The tower on this side projects 4.80 m. (9 ells) before the curtain. On the north side the curtain abuts obliquely at the very corner of the tower with the normal width of 3.15 m. (6 ells). The toothing above, which has a width of only 2.95 m. and begins 0.40 m. from the corner, is either irregular or has lost its first row of headers through weathering. It should correspond to the socle and measure even more because of the obliquity of its section, probably about 3.35 m. in all. The sentry-go doorway, 1.15 m. wide on the line of the tower wall, is by the nature of its position exceptionally narrow. Starting from the interior corner it cuts through obliquely to open on the sentry-go 1.00 m. (2 ells) inside the outer face of the wall, leaving place for the *epalxis*. Though entrance into the tower was certainly effected in this way even in Hellenistic times, a buttress was now



built against the corner of the tower accessible neither from the tower nor from the sentry-go with which, however, it must have been connected by a wooden gangway. The buttress, 2.64 m. (5 ells) wide, with a projection of 2.15 m. (4 ells), does not bond into the socle. Of the four orthostate systems visible on the south side of the tower the upper one is lacking on the front. Both the upper and the one below it are lacking between both arched gates and on the corner behind the buttress, which here bonds in with a high course corresponding to the second orthostate course from the top. Above lie courses of the Parthian format which bond normally with the similar courses of the tower. The upper orthostate course was thus removed on the outer, inner, and right faces of the tower for the construction of the arches and to assimilate the coursing to that of the buttress, while on the corner two courses were torn away to bring the bond with the buttress as low as possible.

The socle of curtain 24—1 at its abutment on the tower lies 0.24 m. higher than the curtain socle on the south side, or 0.60 m. below the second orthostate course of the tower. At this point the stonework of the tower behind the buttress was left rough, not intended to be visible, and is accordingly Parthian. Here in the corner of the tower just above the curtain socle a space 0.65 m. wide and 0.90 m. high was left to be filled by blocks bonding in from the buttress. This bond was never carried out and the space was filled with gray mud brick, the old Hellenistic material, whereas the adjacent breach in the mud brick curtain, made for the construction of the tower superstructure, was filled with red Parthian mud brick. The buttress is only to be explained on the assumption that a long delay in the building operations was foreseen and that curtain 24—1 was accordingly temporarily strengthened by an inner counterwall of mud brick. The buttress was designed to mask and support the free end of it where it met the tower.

The rebuilding of Tower 1 is still more interesting (fig. 9, above, p. 21). Its entire west wall was razed and it was lengthened about 3.85 m. (7 ells), attaining an overall length of 33 ells, approximately that of the angle-tower 14. The superstructure was carried up the full width of the socle six courses, about 2.15 m., above the socle. At this point the front and side walls were set back to a width of 4 ells for the flooring of a middle story of ten courses or 3.60 m. to the sentry-go. Four courses above the floor of this story (five above the setback) on the city side of the tower are two windows, each 1 ell wide and three courses (2 ells) high, and on each of the three other sides

is a loophole. The two side loopholes fall above the earlier outer wall. All three are 0.27 m. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  ell) wide on the exterior and splay inward unsymmetrically to widths of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 ells. They are preserved to three courses high, probably their original height. The walls of the upper story, as determined by the remains on the south side, were 1.60 m. (3 ells) thick. The south side is broken by the doorway, 1.10 m. (2 ells) wide, to the sentry-go. It lies 2.10 m. (4 ells) from the corner of the tower, flush with the inner face of the toothing for the curtain below, which here was 3.15 m. wide and abutted normally. The reason for this displacement of the doorway to the very edge of the sentry-go is not clear. The presence of the intermediate story is to be explained by the assumption that in the construction the proprietorship of the ground floor by the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods was foreseen, and a supplementary story, made effective for defense, introduced. Since access to the sentry-go by way of the tower was here not possible, a great staircase was built in Parthian times along the curtain to the south. The wadi wall which takes off from the north side of the tower and swings round to the east with a double reentrant corner clearly was built to conform to the plan of the temple (fig. 28, below, p. 60). It is of Parthian construction, 1.65 m. (3 ells) thick. Its bond with Tower 1, which begins only above the socle, is irregular, since it was later fitted to the toothing already provided. Its first angle embraces the temple *cella* A-B, and contains a window, later walled up, 1.10 m. (2 ells) wide and at least six courses high, at a distance of 0.80 m. ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  ells) from the tower and 2.17 m. or six courses above the temple floor, which lies level with the upper margin of the lowest orthostate course of the tower socle. This wall, which beyond this point is completely destroyed, may have had a second and third window. The second angle includes the north wing of the temple area, rooms E—F etc. The tower itself must have constituted a south wing, or at least have opened into the walled-off temple court. The existing south room K destroys the symmetry of the plan and is Roman. Its erection had the effect of forcing the lower steps of the stair south of the tower to turn outward (figs. 25 and 26, below, pp. 55—57). The important fact that the north wall which bounds the temple *cella* was completed later than the tower with its toothing points unmistakably to the conclusion that the temple plan was foreseen in the building of the wall and that the ground floor of the tower had perhaps served as a temporary *cella*.

The wadi walls will be only briefly discussed here. As they stand



they are of Parthian origin, though not of the thickness of the west wall. The north wall at its abutment on Tower 1 is only 3 ells thick, probably because it was defensible from the temple roof. Thereafter it assumes a thickness of 2.15 m. (4 ells) to Tower 2 whose walls are equally thick (fig. 14). Tower 2 is remarkable in having a total breadth of 16.30 m. (31 ells) on a depth of 12.05 m. (23 ells) with a central partition wall 2 ells thick, pierced with a door. The resultant two chambers are respectively 10 and 11 ells wide and 15 ells deep,

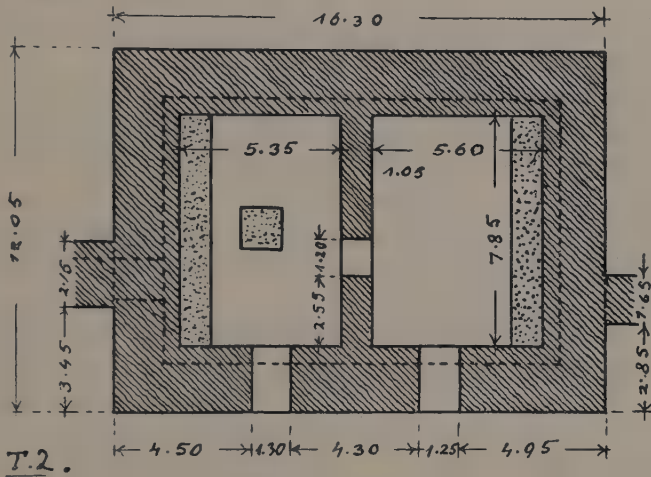


Fig. 14. Tower 2.

and had two separate entrances, each  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ells wide, six courses high with triangular corbelled arches of two courses. To the east the terrain falls sharply off and the adjacent wall is only three ells thick. It protects a small postern which gives on a stair. The whole has been completely built over. The following stretch is badly destroyed and much reconstructed. It follows the wadi's contour with numerous angles and may have had a pair of towers. The corner Tower 5 has not been excavated (fig. 15). It is notable for having adjoining curtains only 3 ells in thickness, though it is 18 ells square and planned to admit the passage of the sentry-go. The cliff, however, is in this sector so precipitous that the wall could scarcely have been assailed. The entire front facing the Euphrates was probably no thicker, though it has mostly disappeared. It required no towers and apparently contained none. Next come the towers of the citadel. The "tower" in the Palace, formerly supposed to be a dungeon, was merely the

palace cistern. The citadel towers, built in contemporaneous bond with the walls, show the same width of wall, 5 ells. They are not perfectly square in plan and vary between 19 and 23 ells in length. Unfortunately, the actual abutment of the curtains against the stonework of the citadel is missing at both the north and the south ends. The sharp cliffs above the river lay further eastward in antiquity but must have had much the same character as in modern times. At best they may have been scaled by a stepped path. Any sort of thoroughfare is scarcely possible. There is no more trace of a gate at the southeast corner where the modern road leaves the city than at the breach in the northwest corner, nor does the rock formation favor its existence.

The south wadi, wider and less precipitous, probably always held a roadway. The wall along it is again 2.15 m. (4 ells) thick and certainly possessed a continuous sentry-go. Tower 6 is extremely small (fig. 16), 14½ ells wide with a projection of 7½ ells before the curtain. In its present state its walls are of masonry, 3 ells thick on a low socle, only on three sides. The inner wall is of later rubble and lies flush with the inner face of the curtain. I am, however, informed by Mr. Brown that excavations have disclosed the foundations of the original masonry wall before it. Tower 7 (fig. 16), 15 ells on a side, with walls 4 ells thick below and 3 ells thick above the sentry-go, is also small. The next two Towers, 8 and 9 (fig. 17), are exceptionally large. They are exactly similar, 25½ ells wide by 23 ells deep, with walls 4 ells thick below and 3 ells thick above, and were similarly rebuilt later with partition walls and interior mud brick stairs. They flanked an arched gateway closed by a flat arch like the gates of the citadel which was later rebuilt to form a narrow postern. This gateway despite the steep approach was open to traffic and probably, after the closing of the gateway by Tower 17, was the sole supplementary city gate, chiefly of service when the Main Gate was besieged or otherwise impassable.

Pentagonal Tower 10 (fig. 17), which follows, is of especial interest. When last discussed it was wrongly treated as a mere bastion, though it is unmistakably a tower 32 ells wide with walls 4 ells thick. Passage to the sentry-go was easily effected on the east side, while on the west a buttress 4½ ells wide with a projection of 1 ell was built across the inner corner to permit the doorway as in Tower 24 to be carried obliquely through the corner. In 12, though it is badly destroyed, a tower is surely to be recognized. The plans of 11 and 13 on either side are difficult to explain since both lie within the walls. They may,



of the houses along the street regularly lie somewhat higher than the base of the wall, but so slight a difference of level was easily taken up by the street which averaged 5.00 m. wide (fig. 18). Gradually, however, a third level, marked by the sills of certain doorways on Wall Street and by the base of a sloping rubble counterwall against the Christian building opposite Tower 17, was being formed during the Parthian period. Its general level was 1.65 m. above the Hellenistic and left only the upper halves of the triangular corbelled arches of the tower entrances above ground. I see no possibility of assigning this level to the Roman period which is clearly distinguished by quite another level in Wall Street. Though the tower entrances must have been rendered barely passable well before Roman times, they must, because of the absence in the Parthian period of external stairs, have been kept open to give access to the sentry-go. Presumably the entrances of certain towers were kept shovelled clear; others, like Towers 14, the Main Gate, 24, and 1, were never blocked up; and still others had been abandoned. Contemporary with the sloping counterwall already alluded to is another exactly similar which covers the entire base of the west wall on the exterior. It has been laid bare about Towers 14 and 15 and along the intervening curtain, across the walled-up gateway by Tower 17, and north of the Main Gate where it stops against the north tower and is not carried about the gate itself (fig. 1, above, p. 5; fig. 19). It is not to be seen along the mud brick curtain by Towers 24 and 1, and evidently extended only to Tower 22 or at most to the middle of curtain 22—24. It is 0.90 m. thick at the base and its height of 2.10 m. reaches either to the top of the curtain socle or one course above it, and falls three courses short of the top of the Main Gate socle. The rubble of the counterwall is laid in three courses each of about 0.60 m. — the construction usual at Dura. The angle of slope is not uniform but different in each course with the effect that the lower courses are almost perpendicular, the upper much the sharpest, so as to avoid too abrupt an angle of incidence. Its purpose is clear. The wall which had already stood three hundred and fifty years was much corroded by wind and sand. To cover and protect it from further damage was imperative. The erection of the counterwall may well be related to the campaign of Trajan, either as a measure of preparation for defense or as a repair after the occupation.

Still earlier, in 31 A. D. according to the inscription, a votive relief to Zeus was let into the face of Tower 16 ten courses (3.50 m.) above



the socle or four courses (1.50 m.) below the sentry-go (fig. 20). The cutting for the stele, 1.35 m. from the north corner of the tower, is 0.18 m. deep below and 0.14 m. above, 0.37 m. wide and 0.54 m. high, with the upper margin bevelled off for about 0.03 m., and is surrounded by drill-holes which served to support a grill or protection of some sort. The face of the tower over a large area round about is whitewashed, and poses the question, which a study of the temple will resolve, whether the relief stood in the open or in an upper story room (cf. Chap. VI, below, p. 289).

During the ensuing years up to 160 A. D. there seem to have been no further additions though it is to be presumed that the level of Wall Street rose continually. The doorway of the house south of the Christian building may be cited in evidence. Though it lacks its sill, it yet lies 0.55 m. above Level III. Very probably repairs in two of the towers, which are older than the walls regularly introduced later, are to be ascribed to this period. In Tower 15 was a central pier, 2 ells square, to which corresponded pilasters with a projection of 1 ell resting on the set-backs of the socle at either side and designed to support the floor above (fig. 13, above, p. 29). In Tower 14 the set-backs of the socle carry pilasters of masonry without bond with the walls (fig. 5, above, p. 13), which may have corresponded to a central pier later removed to make way for the wall down the center. The mud brick cross wall is a still later development.

There has heretofore been a tendency to exaggerate the effects of the earthquake of October, 160 A. D., which was recorded in an inscription, no. H 2 (*Rep. II*, p. 86), set in the end of the central inner wall of Tower 1. Nevertheless it provides the only explanation for a number of problems in the condition of the defenses. The wall might well be thought to be older than the inscription, but it would be difficult to

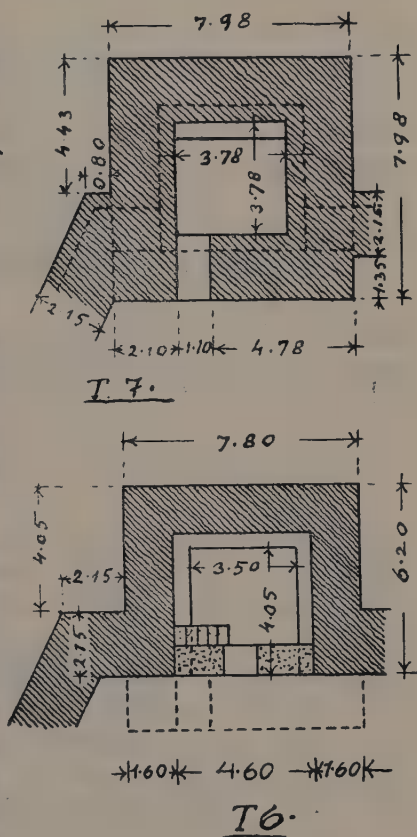


Fig. 16. Towers 6 and 7.



find a cause other than the earthquake by which to account for the building of this and all the similar walls in the towers. They are obviously intended so to diminish the span of the ceiling that such light rounds of wood as are found in most of the towers might be used as beams. The difficulty lies in comprehending why, except in special cases, as in Towers 14 and 15, the stout original beams required replacement when the later rounds have remained intact down to the present day, and only gave way under the load of accumulated debris. One cannot help ascribing the universal collapse of the tower floors to the earthquake, though the towers and *epalxis* appear, as far as can be ascertained, to have escaped otherwise unscathed in defiance of all probability.

The walls in question are of rubble and built to the Parthian ell measure. In the towers of the north half they are 1.05 m. (2 ells) thick; in those of the south half they are occasionally somewhat thicker but would have approximated the ell measure in their mud brick superstructures. In Towers 14 and 1 they run lengthwise of the tower. In 1 the wall stops before the entrance leaving a free space of 2.46 m. In 14 a similar space 1.10 m. wide is left at the opposite end, and 0.75 m. from the inside wall is a door, 1.10 m. wide. Elsewhere they are cross walls and normally have a doorway in the center in the axis of the tower entrance. In Tower 15 the doorway lies to the left of the central pier, and in Towers 16 and 22 at the right and against the wall. Tower 21 alone has no cross wall. The additions within the Main Gate form part of the special study of this building. The two chambers of Tower 2 were narrowed by mud brick counterwalls, 2 ells thick, at either side, while in the west chamber a central pier was erected, which may have carried a staircase. Such partition walls appear neither in the citadel nor in the small Towers 6 and 7, nor in Tower 10, but are found in Towers 8 and 9, built across the long axis of the tower. In 9 there is a doorway at either end, and in both cases there are stairways along the tower west walls. It is possible that the remodelling of 6 with a staircase to the left of the entrance is of the same period. The damage wrought by the earthquake in the city itself must have been incomparably greater and have necessitated the removal of much debris. A certain portion was probably dumped at a considerable distance outside the walls. This amount, however, was limited by its possible prejudice to the defense of the walls, by the presence of the necropolis, and by the greater distance of the haul. Other dumps of ashes and building debris occur in Wall Street itself which they fill to irregular

depths. Doubtless many a tower entrance was finally blocked in this way, its ground story converted to a dark cellar. Tower 14 and the area in front of Towers 24 and 1 north from the Mithraeum are

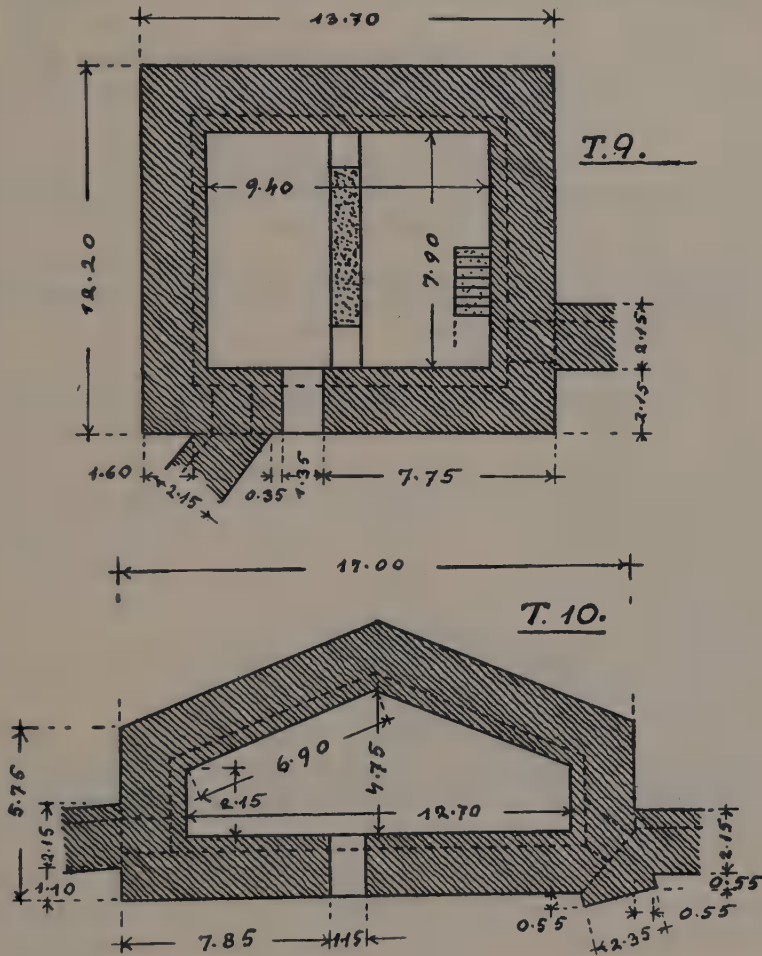


Fig. 17. Towers 9 and 10.

exceptions, in that the temples adjacent in each case did not admit of an accumulation of debris. The Main Gate was likewise kept open. These dumps formed the last level before the construction of the *agger* of mud brick. It remained unchanged all through the Roman period, producing on the wall in the ninety odd years a deep line of weathering

which exactly records its profile. It starts, to the north, from the point where the end of the masonry curtain meets the Hellenistic socle, and climbs southward to a height of about 7.00 m., only four or five courses beneath the sentry-go, here easily accessible at this period. It falls toward Tower 21, begins again on the south side from the height of the tower socle, climbs about 3.50 m. and descends again to the socle height of Tower 20. The process repeats itself at Towers 19 and 18 where in each case the fill reaches two courses over the socle. The line then descends to the original street level at the Main Gate. South of the gate the level rises again. At Tower 17 it is socle high, and gradually climbs about 2.00 m. toward the Zeus Temple. The curtains beyond have not been excavated, but south of Tower 15 the fill again attains more than half the total wall height, lying eight courses above the wall socle or nine below the sentry-go. Thereafter it sinks again to the original level at Tower 14. To the descent of the level at Towers 21, 20, and 18 correspond rubble casings built into their doorways to narrow them, which from their construction appear to be of this period. The entrances of at least these towers, therefore, were kept dug free while Towers 14, the Main Gate, 24, and 1 were always accessible. In addition the sentry-go might have been reached by simple ladders in curtains 22—24, 14—15, and perhaps elsewhere.

### III. ROMAN PERIOD

Whether or not the damage wrought by the earthquake was entirely repaired in the five years that intervened before the Roman occupation, whether the condition of the walls facilitated that occupation, whether, indeed, it was accomplished peaceably or by force of arms — these are questions which are, unfortunately, impossible to answer. It is quite possible that the reconstruction of the walls which now took place, though chronologically a work of the Roman period, was merely a completion of what had been begun under the Parthians.<sup>1</sup> This reconstruction consisted essentially in a general heightening of the wall with the use of inferior materials.

The heightening may be measured with approximate accuracy from the angle of the later mud brick *agger* outside the wall (fig. 18). This has been laid bare in curtain 14—15, in 17—Gate by the arched gateway,

<sup>1</sup> Editorial Note. This reconstruction can now be dated definitely to the years following 216 A. D.

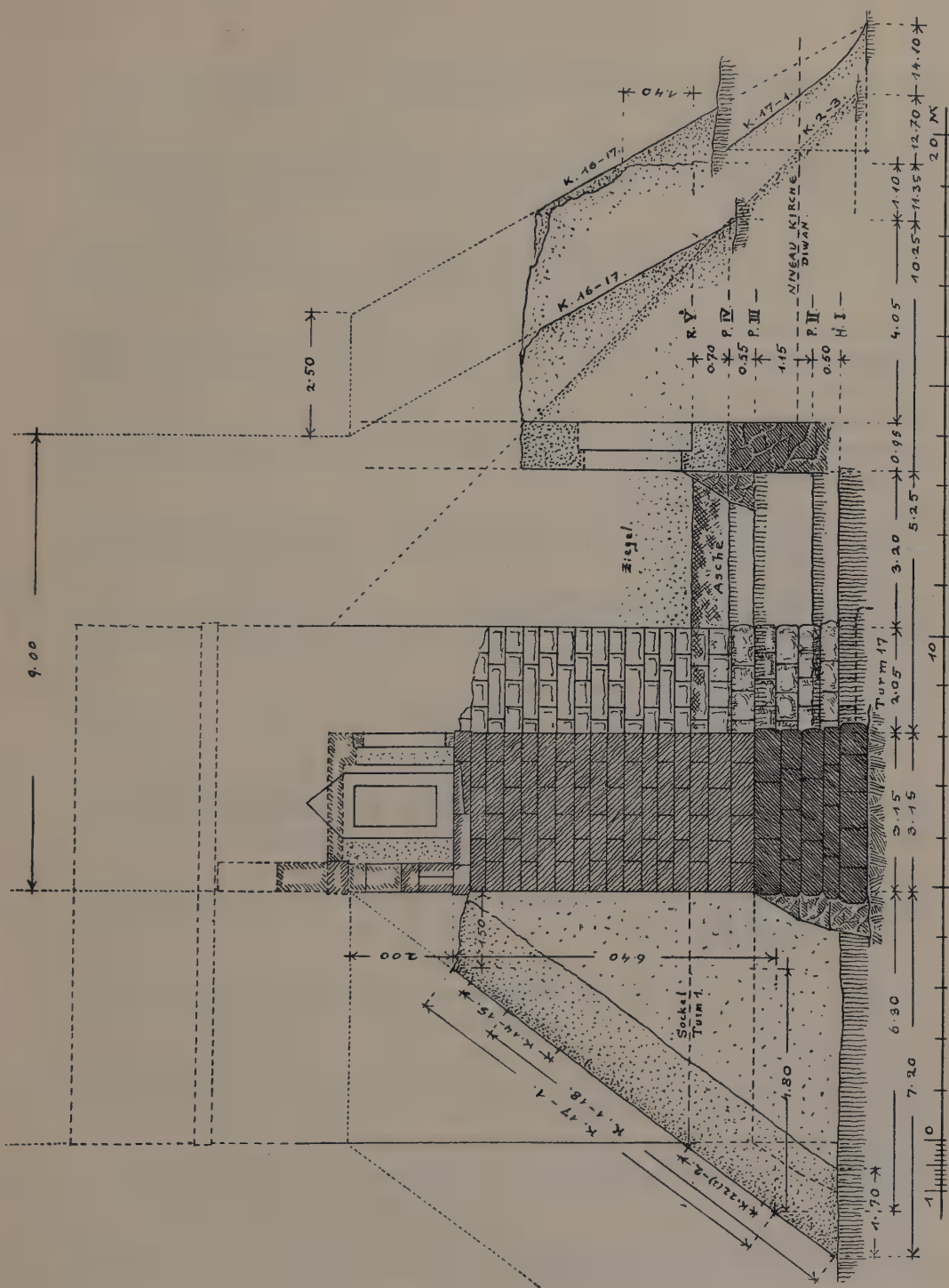


Fig. 18. Curtain 16—17. Section showing Parthian and Roman Additions.



in Gate—18 north of the Main Gate, and in 22—24 beside Tower 24. Its angle meets the line of the face of the wall at a point 2.00 m. above the sentry-go giving clear evidence that the wall had been heightened by this amount. The old *epalxis* formed a firm outer shell. Its embrasures were filled with rubble of which traces still remain, while along the inner edge of the sentry-go was run a rubble socle 0.35 m. high and 0.65 m. wide, which supported and contained the mud brick which filled the entire sentry-go (fig. 12, above, p. 27). The top course of the old *epalxis* formed the socle of the new, of the appearance of which nothing is known. Presumably the towers remained unchanged and now stood only 2.00—2.50 m. above the sentry-go. They too might have been raised had it not been for the difficulty that, save at the expense of reconstructing the entire upper story of the towers including the floors, the old doorways on the sentry-go had to remain as they were. The alternative was to bring the new sentry-go down to the level of the old beside each tower, and this was actually done by allowing before each doorway space for a little vestibule about 1.18 m. wide between the old *epalxis* and a mud brick wall 0.60 m. thick toward the city. Low steps with treads of about 0.60 m. and risers of 0.30 m. led up to the sentry-go, and the doorway was in most cases narrowed by a rubble casing. An arrangement such as this has been excavated south of Tower 18. South of Tower 19 the vestibule is 1.05 m. wide, since it was meant to contain a doorway opening from an exterior staircase. The staircase, however, was not completed and the doorway was walled up with mud brick. A stairway was completed north of Tower 18 where the appropriate vestibule is 1.70 m. wide with its exterior doorway 1.00 m. wide and 0.67 m. from the tower (fig. 21). These excavations, which could only be completed by an investigation to the north of Tower 20, were carried out in 1935 and reported to me by Mr. Hopkins. He adds that no similar arrangement was found [in 1931] south of Tower 15, doubtless because the steps were overlooked in clearing away the later mud brick with which the entire space was filled (fig. 12, above, p. 27). There remains, however, the rubble exterior doorway intact, 0.73 m. wide and 1.54 m. high, and enough to show that the vestibule inclusive of the door jambs measured 1.12 m. The tower doorway here preserves its rubble casing about an opening 0.70 m. wide and 1.63 m. high above a sill of 0.40 m.

At the same time a number of staircases were erected to give access to the new sentry-go, since most of the tower entrances were by this time blocked up. They rise from the level of the fill in Wall Street



with a width of 1.40 m., ascending toward the towers and within their inward projection and giving access to the vestibules described above (figs. 3 and 11, above, pp. 9 and 25). They are not by any means found at all the towers, and their lengths differ with the total rise necessitated by the street level. The stairs have rubble bases 0.70 m. high which serve principally to protect the foot of the stairs and form at the same time the lowest step. The steps with treads of about 0.36 m. and risers of about 0.26 m. are of lightly plastered mud brick, and are carried on arches with spans of about 1.00 m. sprung from piers of much greater width. Such stairs occur on either side of Tower 15, north of Tower 16, on either side of the Main Gate, north of Tower 18, and south of Tower 21, and it is possible that others once existed and have been destroyed. A succession of three rubble piers against the south wall near Tower 14 probably also supported stairs.

The structures outside and to the north of the Main Gate are doubtless likewise of the Roman period (fig. 1). A large wall appears to form a sort of *pomerium* before the city and an enclosure for undesirable aliens refused admittance to the city or simply for sheltering the watch.

The last important change in the walls belongs to the time of the Persian siege in the years preceding 260 A. D. Though the fall of the city is not dated, certain finds give an approximate date for the reconstruction of the walls. Beneath the first embankment a hoard of coins was found of which the latest are all of the year 256 A. D. The rebuilding must have taken place immediately afterward (fig. 18, above, p. 41). It consisted of great mud brick embankments on either side of the west wall and similar embankments on the inside of the north and south walls, extending, as far as the present evidence shows, on the one hand through the Temple of Azzanathkona, on the other to

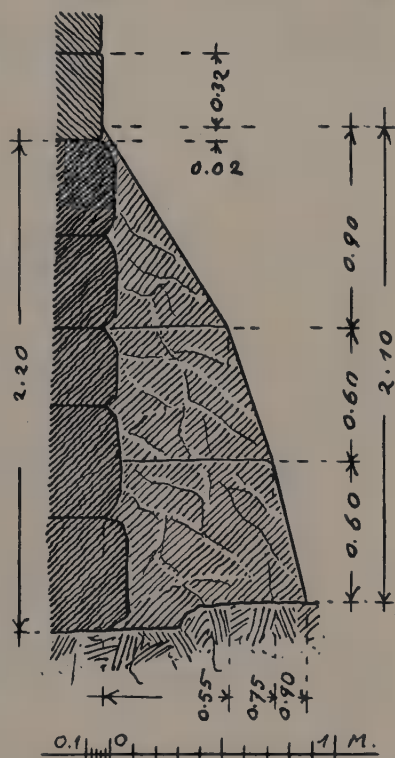


Fig. 19. Section of Exterior Counterwall.

Towers 8 and 9. Here the ravines rendered outside embankments impracticable. The exterior embankment against the west wall is for the most part well preserved beneath the accumulated earth and has been laid bare in four places. Before the curtain south of Tower 15 its slope is visible, and a height reaching to the upper margin of the Parthian *epalxis* may be estimated (fig. 11, above, p. 25). It is carried also about the tower. The embankment has been sectioned before the arched gateway by Tower 17, and shows the same angle of slope. Where the face is visible at a height of 1.20 m. above the foot of the wall it lies 6.30 m. before the wall face and where it breaks off at the height of the sentry-go lies 1.50 m. before it. The angle indicated is that of an Egyptian triangle with sides of 3 : 4 : 5, or  $53^{\circ} 10'$ . Its base from the foot of the wall would have been 7.20 m., and its height have reached 2.00 m. over the sentry-go leaving the crowning course of the *epalxis* standing free. The embankment here consists of a fill of mud with scant stones or earth covered by a revetment 1.70 m. thick of mud bricks laid horizontally. The embankment where it has been uncovered about the exterior of the Main Gate and along the curtain to the north has a similar base measurement of 7.20 m. On either side of the passage to the gate the angle of slope was steeper (fig. 1, above, p. 5). The embankment appears again with the normal slope in the cut south of Tower 24, where the fill consists chiefly of granular river gravel from the wadi (fig. 22). The debris along curtain 24—1 which is made up of the same material betrays the former presence of the embankment there also. Presumably it was stopped at either end against Towers 14 and 1.

The erection of the inner embankment (fig. 18, above, p. 41) was conditioned by the terrain, by the gradual rise of the ground level in former times, by the neighbouring buildings, and by many other circumstances which are not to be overlooked. It will here be treated only in general fashion since many portions have not yet been excavated or were excavated only after my survey was completed, while for other portions, previously cleared away, only insufficient data were at my disposal. A full discussion will be possible only when all the material has been collected, for there are many reasons to believe that the embankment did not everywhere take the same form. My measurements bear principally on the area about the Christian building behind Tower 17. Wall Street, which has an average width of about 5.25 m., was already filled to a considerable height with the ash debris of the last Parthian period. This has wrongly been considered part of the

later fill, which in reality comprises only the earth, mud, and debris above. It reaches to the height of about 3.00 m. below the Parthian sentry-go. Above is mud brick which is frequently preserved to a height of 2.00 m. above the sentry-go. The house walls, since they could not have withstood the thrust of this mass, were buttressed from within by a broad mud brick embankment. Its base at the south angle where the Hellenistic level was retained lies 11.65 m. from the wall. At a higher level in the house south of the Christian building, it measures

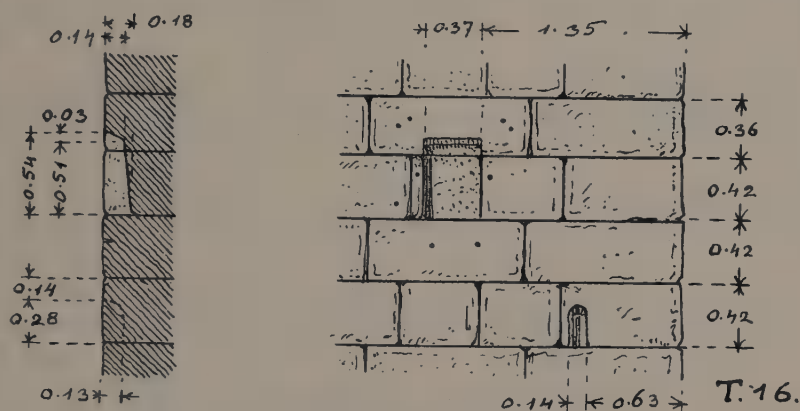


Fig. 20. Votive Relief of Zeus Kyrios, Tower 16.

10.25 m. from the wall. The angle of slope, which can here be measured over a height of more than 3.00 m. as of  $60^\circ$ , is somewhat steeper than that of the exterior embankment. If projected as far as the house walls along Wall Street it attains the same height as the exterior embankment, i. e. the Roman sentry-go. In its construction the greatest regard was shown for the buried buildings, such as the temples and the Christian building. Their doorways, niches, and other features were carefully walled up, probably not so much with a view to their future disinterment, since the repairs necessitated by the inevitable damage would be tantamount to a completely rebuilding, as out of natural piety or perhaps from a desire to lend the walls greater strength. The surface of the embankment was rendered with mud as a protection against weathering. Despite these precautions the carelessly dumped fill caused the entire structure to settle and the house walls within the mass to lean cityward. A second embankment was thereupon added as a reinforcement, and the buildings, which were now in any case beyond

repair, were no longer protected but completely destroyed. This second embankment at Tower 14 lay almost 4.00 m. further from the wall than the first embankment. At the Christian building it lay only 2.50 m. further and had the same angle of slope as the first. If a sharper slope is observed elsewhere, it is necessarily at points where the embankment is broader. It is also possible that to bring the second embankment to the same point as the first at the height of the Roman sentry-go a sharper angle of slope was given to the upper portion. Such may be the explanation of the embankment as it appears along the south side of Main Street inside the Main Gate. Here it starts from about the Hellenistic level 14.30 m. from the wall and still shows despite its damaged condition an angle of  $45^{\circ}$ . The angle was probably determined by the angle of the ascending stairs carried up the side of the embankment to the mud brick retaining wall 1.50 m. thick, along the street. A similar stair remains on the north side of the street. In 1935 a stairway was excavated opposite Tower 15. It is 3.90 m. wide and, starting from a point 17.95 m. from the tower, rises with low steps between parapets. Details must be reserved for the next report. In any case this stairway was assuredly one of the main approaches to the new fortifications and must be thought to have had a counterpart in the northern sector. Before curtain 20—21 the base of the first embankment measured 10.00 m. and the second 2.00 m. more. What is probably the second embankment lies 9.65 m. from the inner face of Tower 22. In the mud brick curtain 24—25 just north of Tower 24 the foot of the embankment at the height of the springing of the entrance arch of the tower lay 10.50 m. from the tower. The angle of slope here reaches the required height of 2.00 m. above the sentry-go at its point of intersection with the wall itself. The mud brick curtain was evidently deemed enough broader than the normal stone wall for the widening by means of Wall Street to be dispensed with.

At first glance this enveloping of the city wall appears quite irrational. The defensibility of the exterior was seriously prejudiced by its conversion to a sloping escarpment of yielding material. The even less solid first inner embankment and still more the second seems quite purposeless since the stone wall required no inner buttressing. A comparison, however, has been drawn with the newly discovered walls of Ctesiphon. I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Dr. O. Reuther for a sketch (fig. 23) which demonstrates that there a squat embankment, 12.00 m. broad by only 7.00 m. high, was applied to the exterior of a wall of mud brick over 9.00 m. thick, and in somewhat steeper form



also to the semicircular towers. The wall even now rises some 3.00 m. above it and formerly rose much higher. Judging from materials and relative state of preservation, wall and embankment, despite the clear line of cleavage, are contemporary, and date from the time of the wars of the emperor Heraclius. Here, moreover, the purpose of the embankment is clear. Dominated by the wall above it hindered the bringing up of siege engines. Such walls with escarpments remained customary in the east, recurring also in medieval fortifications, and may be regarded as an oriental particularity to which the embankments of Dura are to be related. On this theory a still higher mud brick wall was probably erected over the old wall, either of the same thickness or including the entire width of Wall Street, some 9.00 m. in all. The latter is more likely since the first inner embankment would otherwise scarcely have been built so broad at the top, nor have been increased by the width of the second. It is possible that the erection of the second embankment was occasioned by the fill of the first giving way under the threat of the wall rising above, but more likely that it was intended to carry a continuous protected gangway. This would have to be accessible in only a few places from the city, but would provide numerous approaches to the sentry-box whether built up outside or cut in the thickness of the wall above. A wall of this sort would have little but its situation in common with the old one. At most the top course of the Parthian *epalxis* would have served as socle on the exterior. In any case it is quite clear that the plan was never brought far toward completion. Perhaps there was no intention of completely filling the towers but only of building them higher. In

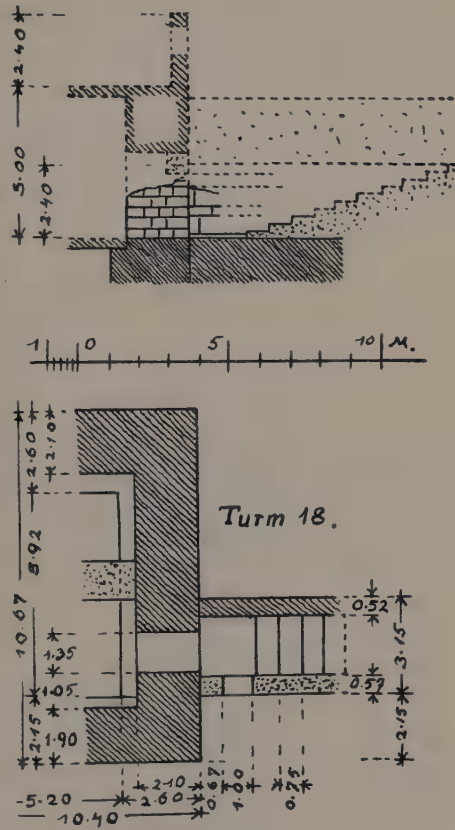


Fig. 21. Stairway at Tower 18.



any case no traces of alteration remain. The Persian assault ramp before curtain 14—15 rises no higher than the top of the embankment, i. e. than the Roman sentry-go, and the Persian mines under Towers 14 and 19 would scarcely have been undertaken had the stone towers already completely disappeared. The towers in question, however, were mined and eliminated as defenses though they actually did no more than settle, and it may be safely concluded that the Roman *epalxis* and the towers were always to be seen above the embankments. Though presumably the raising of the north and south walls was to have been less ambitious, their width of only 3 to 4 ells required an inner embankment to form a broader base.

#### IV. THE MUD BRICK CURTAINS

22—24—1

Only after the development of the monumental portions of the walls has been clearly made out can the complicated relationships of the rest of the curtains be examined. The excavation of these curtains, which I was able to inaugurate, has not yet been satisfactorily completed. It was continued in the following campaign by Mr. Hopkins to whom I am indebted for the information as to its results. Though certain details still require elucidation, the fundamentals can now be established with certainty.

The existence of the Hellenistic masonry socle in curtain 24—1 was first ascertained on the north side of the breach made by the modern road beneath the present road level (fig. 24). It is here 3.15 m. (6 ells) wide and 1.48 m. high and consists of a foundation course 0.15 m. high, a stretcher course 0.37 m. high, an orthostate course 0.68 m. high, and a crowning course 0.28 m. high. It lies 1.85 m. below the upper surface of the socle of Tower 1, only 0.20 m. above the lower surface of the first orthostate course, its joints all falling between the joints of the tower socle, into which, accordingly, it did not bond. In the Parthian superstructure of the tower the usual toothing for the stone curtain which was never carried out occurs at 2.10 m. from the inner corner of the tower. The masonry socle abuts on Tower 24 flush with the inner face of the tower, while the buttress was added later. The socle at this point is but 1.30 m. high and has no foundation course. Its upper surface is 0.60 m. below the springing line of the

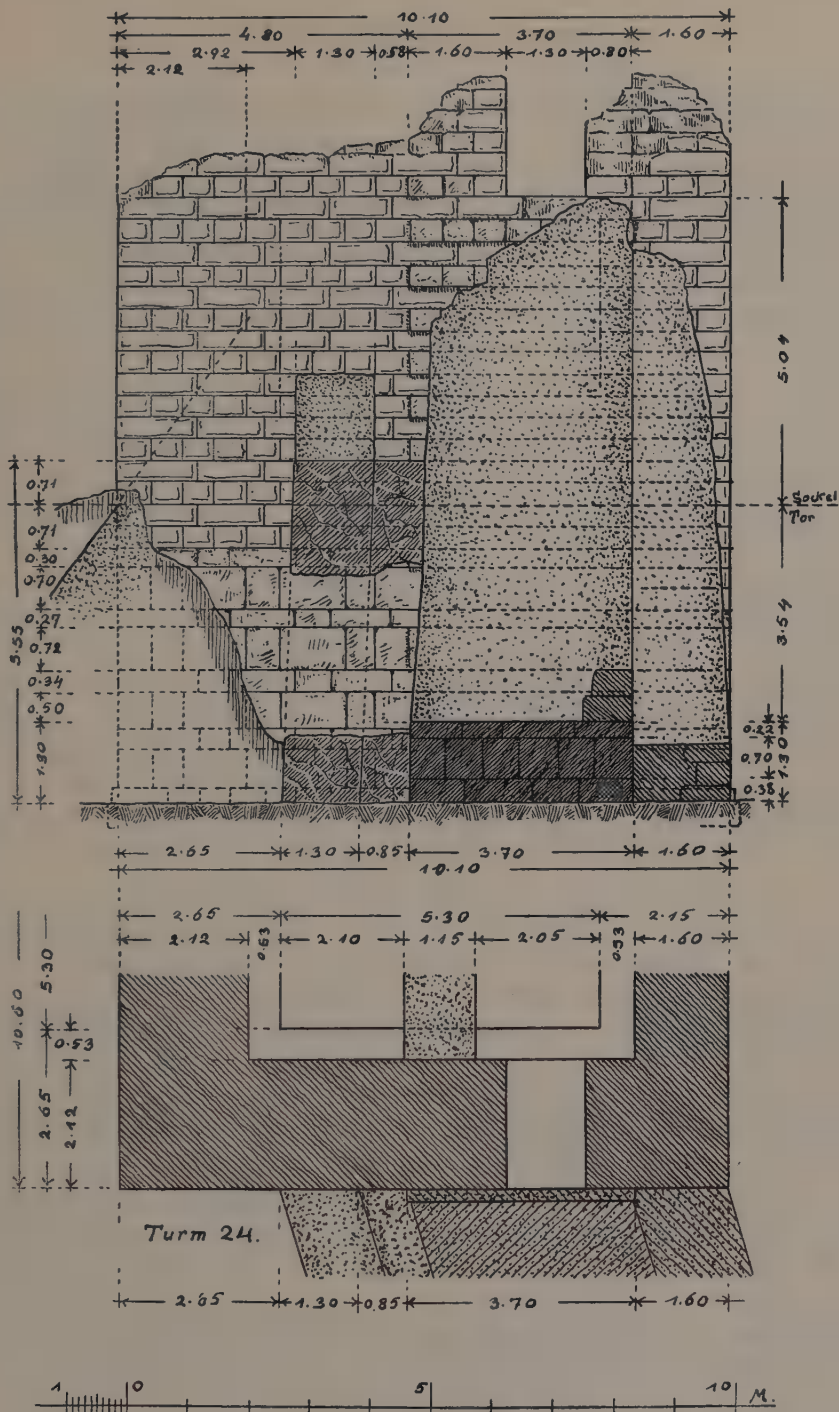


Fig. 22. Curtain 23—24, Section.

entrance arch and to judge from the coursing fell between the first and second orthostate courses, making a bond with the tower impossible. It has as yet been impossible to determine whether, as is likely, the mud brick above the socle contains portions of Hellenistic construction. These would in any case be absent beside the towers because of the breeches necessitated by the construction of the Parthian superstructure. It has already been observed (p. 31) that between the entrance and the sally port of Tower 24 the two upper orthostate systems were torn out to allow of the buttress bonding in; and that a space 0.65 m. wide and 0.90 m. high cut out of the next orthostate system below for the same purpose was, oddly enough, filled in with grey mud brick. These mud bricks are quite possibly reused Hellenistic material. The Parthian mud brick actually present above the socle is red in color and does not bond with them. Beside Tower 1 the curtain has been sectioned only down as far as the definitely Roman rubble socle (figs. 25—27). At this height the outer face of the mud brick superstructure which corresponds to the socle appears, with a thickness of 2.00 m., 0.85 m. back of the outer edge of the toothing on the tower probably as a result of weathering, since a batter so marked is quite improbable. Its inner face is only about 0.30 m. back of the inner edge of the toothing, which might be admissible as a batter for a wall of its thickness. It is made up of reddish and grey mud bricks intermingled, with mortar of a poor quality in the joints. The same superstructure appears at the same level in a section cut 11.00 m. from Tower 1 at the upper end of the stair to the sentry-go (figs. 24 and 27). It is here composed mainly of grey mud bricks and is only 1.45 m. wide, falling some 1.40 m. back of the outer face of the socle. It is visible again in the breach for the modern road (fig. 24). On the north side it consists of irregular remains of a wall of red and grey mud brick only a little over 1.00 m. thick at the level of the other sections. Its inner face has a pronounced batter. Against the irregular outer face is built a thick sheathing of rubble which rests on the socle and is 4.00 m. high and 1.55 m. thick at the top. This sheathing is without doubt a later repair of the front. On the south side of the breach the inner face of the superstructure, here at least 1.00 m. thick, shows an even sharper batter and is set 0.35 m. back from the face of the socle. Its outer face again is irregularly destroyed and here repaired with a sheathing of red and grey mud brick against which abuts the obviously contemporary earlier Roman rubble socle rising 4.00 m. above the stone socle and projecting 0.90 m. before it.

Near Tower 24 there are numerous beam holes for the support of roofs in the wall immediately above the masonry socle. Because of their proximity to the ground they cannot have belonged to dwelling houses, but, if they are Hellenistic, they were probably for military structures of some sort, or, if early Parthian, for sheds to protect tools and materials at the time of the rebuilding of the tower. In any case they were, in early Parthian times, covered by an inner reinforcing wall which must have extended the entire length of the curtain. This

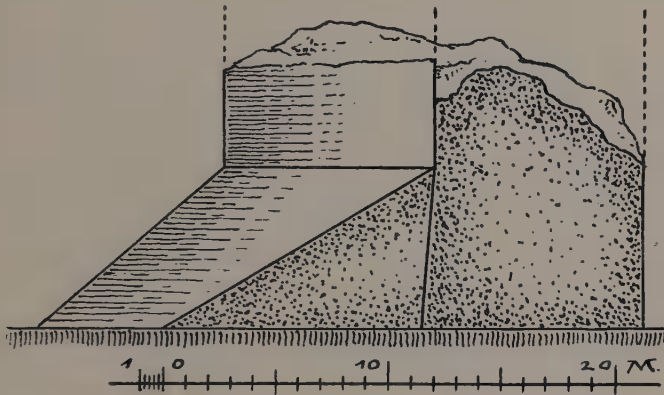


Fig. 23. Embankment at Ctesiphon.

was necessitated by the gradual weathering of the old wall which in the course of time had produced a sharp batter narrowing the sentry-go to such an extent as to compromise the access to the towers. Without rebuilding the curtain from the ground up, the only remedy was the erection of this reinforcing wall, to protect the free end of which the buttress against Tower 24 was designed. The reinforcing wall was at the most 4 ells thick. On the south side of the breach it measures 1.85 m., though it is not certain that its original face is preserved. Its upper portion in the northern section of the curtain has the same batter as the old wall and is 1.35 m. thick. At the base, however, it sloped far out, as shown by the remains of its stone socle 3.10 m. from the old masonry wall socle at the breach. It is built for the most part of grey mud brick. The early Parthian date of this reinforcing wall is evidenced not only by the buttress against Tower 24 but even more clearly by



the large stair to the sentry-go beside Tower 1. This stair was built in conjunction with the wall. It was made necessary by the inclusion of the lower story of Tower 1 in the temple precinct and its consequent disuse as a means of access to the sentry-go (figs. 25 and 27). Behind the stair the reinforcing wall continues with the same width of 1.35 m. and abuts on Tower 1 1.05 m. within its corner. It rests upon a stone socle, 1.60 m. higher than the tower socle or 3.55 m. higher than the old wall socle, which because of its greater projection abuts 0.80 m. within the corner of the tower. The socle is built to the same batter as the wall above and descends to the raised Parthian ground level only 0.55 m. below the top of the old wall socle. Together with the stair it is constructed partly of a variety of large reused worked blocks and partly of slabs and chunks of stone down to the smallest sizes laid at random and without mortar. The stair, which has a total going of 13.05 m., ascends from Tower 1 and is carried on five piers approximately 0.70 m. wide and 1.25 m. apart, which project at the base 1.55 m. before the reinforcing wall (0.50 m. before the tower socle). They rise vertically to the height of the stone socle behind. The last three piers, which, by reason of the angle of the stair, alone rise higher, show above this point the same batter as the wall behind. This is continued in their mud brick superstructure and gives the steps a width here of 1.30 m. The spaces between the piers are spanned with rounds of wood, set horizontally between the last three piers but at an angle of about 30° between those toward Tower 1. The stair itself had a much steeper angle of about 50°. As originally carried out in the same plane as the rest of the stair the bottom portion would have taken off some 0.50 m. from the side of the tower. This arrangement was necessarily altered when the new south wall of the enlarged temple precinct was built 1.10 m. from the south side of the tower. The bottom portion of the stair was now carried down along this wall supported on its free side by a new notch wall of rubble, a fragment of which remains against the first pier. The remains of the new first step lie 2.60 m. before the pier. This reconstruction is, at the earliest, Roman or perhaps late Parthian. The reinforcing wall with its stone socle continues for 7.75 m. south of the last pier. Beyond this point it is almost completely destroyed, but the remains noticed above of a stone socle on the north side of the breach quite possibly mark its continuation, despite their distance from the old curtain socle. Although the excavation has been carried down only to within about 2.00 m. of the socle, it is apparent that this entire section of the wall or reinforcement and especially its



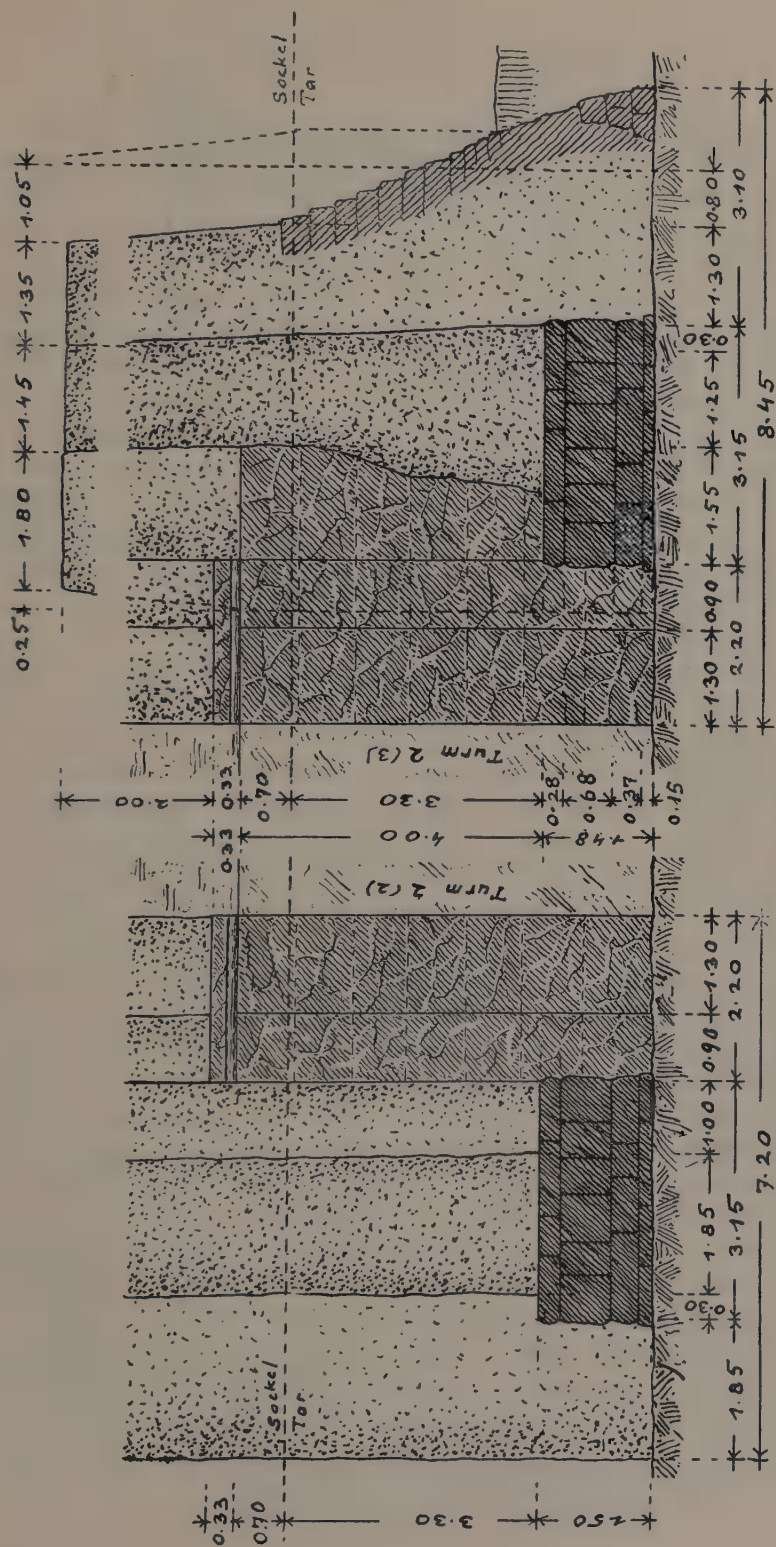


Fig. 24. Curtain 25—26. Section Looking North (right) and South (left) from Modern Breach.

socle had a progressively increasing outward slope toward the base which equalled the projections of the piers. It is equally apparent that there must have been a sudden change in the socle thereafter since at Tower 24 its thickness is reduced to slightly over 2.00 m. Just behind the last pier a reinforcement of mud brick 1.00 m. wide rises vertically from the batter of the socle. It is built with the same projection as the mud brick superstructure of the stair and has the effect of giving greater width to the upper landing. The lower landing falls above the space between the second and third piers at a height of 5.00 m. above the old curtain socle, giving the first flight a total rise of about 5.50 m. The total rise of the second flight was thus only about 3.00 m. and it is conceivable that the reinforcement was added in Roman times to displace the upper landing southward and give to the second flight the added rise necessary to reach the Roman sentry-go, some 2.00 m. higher than the old.

It has been noticed above that on the north side of the breach (figs. 24 and 27) the outer face of the mud brick superstructure on the old curtain socle was repaired to more than half its thickness with a rubble sheathing 4.00 m. high above the socle. Above the rubble the repair is continued in grey mud brick. On the south side of the breach this repair was made in red and grey mud brick which in its turn required repair and was sheathed by the definitely Roman rubble socle. To the north beside Tower 1 this original repair is lacking. Here on the contrary the Roman rubble socle is built over the old Hellenistic socle against the weathered mud brick above. This circumstance makes it difficult to determine whether all this represents a single or two successive repairs despite the fact that on the north side of the breach three contemporary layers of rubble stand next to each other. It may, however, be supposed that they represent periods following immediately one upon the other, that a restoration begun after the earthquake of 160 A. D. was interrupted by further damage wrought by the possible Roman assault in this sector, which in its turn made necessary more elaborate repairs. It cannot, in any case, be doubted that the two layers of rubble, respectively 1.05 m. and 1.30 m. thick and both 4.00 m. high above the old masonry socle, which appear on the north side of the breach, form a unit and are Roman. They appear with the same dimensions on the south side of the breach and in both cases are united at the top with a layer of rubble 0.30 m. thick reinforced by round wooden tie-pieces. That they are absolutely contemporary despite the vertical joint below is



shown by the fact that the same joint is followed in the mud brick superstructure above, here built entirely of red bricks.

Curtain 24—1, roughly 73.00 m. long overall, is moreover laid off in three almost equal sections 17.00 m., 16.25 m., and 17.60 m. long, between which two extra Towers, 25 and 26, 11.10 m. and 10.55 m. wide, are interpolated. Of these only Tower 25 has been thoroughly investigated. Its rubble socle, 1.80 m. thick, has the same height as the outer rubble socle of the curtain, which is interrupted by the tower. The tower projects 5.10 m. before the curtain and its socle is lined on three sides within by a wall of red mud brick 1.10 m. thick. The resultant interior space is thus 5.30 m  $\times$  3.50 m. The crowning rubble layer of the curtain socle is not carried around the tower socle, and its place is taken by the flooring of the middle story of the tower carried on irregular rounds of wood. Since there are no openings of any kind in the lower and middle stories they can have been accessible only by means of ladders from above. In the mud brick superstructure of the rubble tower socle there was an opening 0.85 m. wide on either side at the level of the socle. Since both were walled up during the construction of the superstructure and very completely covered by the inner mud brick lining, they can have served only for the transport of materials into the middle story during construction. The plan of Tower 26 must have been similar and the course of the Roman building operations may be envisaged as follows: the old, damaged mud brick wall was first sheathed with a socle of rubble; against this a second, thicker socle was then built and carried about the towers which were planned only at this juncture; at the same time both socles before the old wall were united with a crowning layer of rubble, and their mud brick superstructure was then erected preserving their old vertical joint. The resulting curtain now had a solid rubble socle 4.00—4.30 m. higher than the old socle. It extends at its full thickness of 2.30 m. southward from Tower 25 as far as Tower 24, though in this section the presence of the vertical joint has not been tested by observation. Between Towers 26 and 1 only the inner layer of the socle is visible, and shows less projection before the old socle than elsewhere. Beside Tower 1 it projects only 0.65 m. beyond the toothing on the tower though it penetrates 0.85 m. within the face of the old socle taking the place of the repair of the old mud brick, and has a total thickness of 1.50 m. Its total thickness in the section above the end of the stair where it penetrates even further within the old socle face is 1.80 m. It remains to be finally established whether







the outer socle layer is actually lacking in this sector or whether because of bad preservation it may not lie deeper than the level reached by the excavation.

By these reinforcements the curtain attained the considerable thickness of 7.50 m. at the socle. That they belong in the Roman period follows from the fact that they correspond both in technique and materials, red mud brick throughout, with the raising of the height of the walls. Towers 11 and 13 are presumably of the same time, and differ only in that their position within the walls made such high socles unnecessary.

The state of the north half of curtain 22—24 is in every respect similar (fig. 22, above, p. 49). The Hellenistic wall socle is here 1.30—1.40 m. high. Its upper surface lies 0.24 m. below that of the socle of curtain 24—1, and, though it corresponds approximately with the lowest orthostate course of the tower, falls somewhat too high to admit of bonding. The tower socle, here exceptionally high, ends 2.83 m. above the wall socle, which consists of a crowning course 0.22 m. high, an orthostate course 0.70 m. high, and a base course 0.38 m. high. The curtain has been investigated only close beside Tower 24, where it is necessarily of Parthian date. Because the tower is not at right angles to the curtain, the areas of abuttal on it are all somewhat wider than usual though the cross dimensions perpendicular to the curtain face are normal.

The tothing on the tower is 3.70 m. (7 ells) wide and lies 1.60 m. from the inner corner. The tothing suffices for the abuttal of a curtain 6 ells thick, the distance to the corner for an inner reinforcement 3 ells thick. The mud brick curtain superstructure stands almost to the height of the sentry-go. Its outer face is so weathered as to have receded almost 0.40 m. back of the edge of the tothing. It should be noted that the Hellenistic tower socle also shows tothing in that, as far as may be discerned, the top crowning course and the next to the top orthostate course project slightly. The explanation is clearly that at the time of the building of the tower the eventual height of the wall socle had not yet been fixed upon. On the inner face of the curtain socle are two additional courses of stone laid without mortar, which are to be referred to the Parthian repair of the breach made at the time of the construction of the tower. A socle of similar stones laid without mortar in three courses reaching almost to the top of the orthostates of the Hellenistic socle forms the base of the inner reinforcing wall. To the south the reinforcing wall ends at the toothed

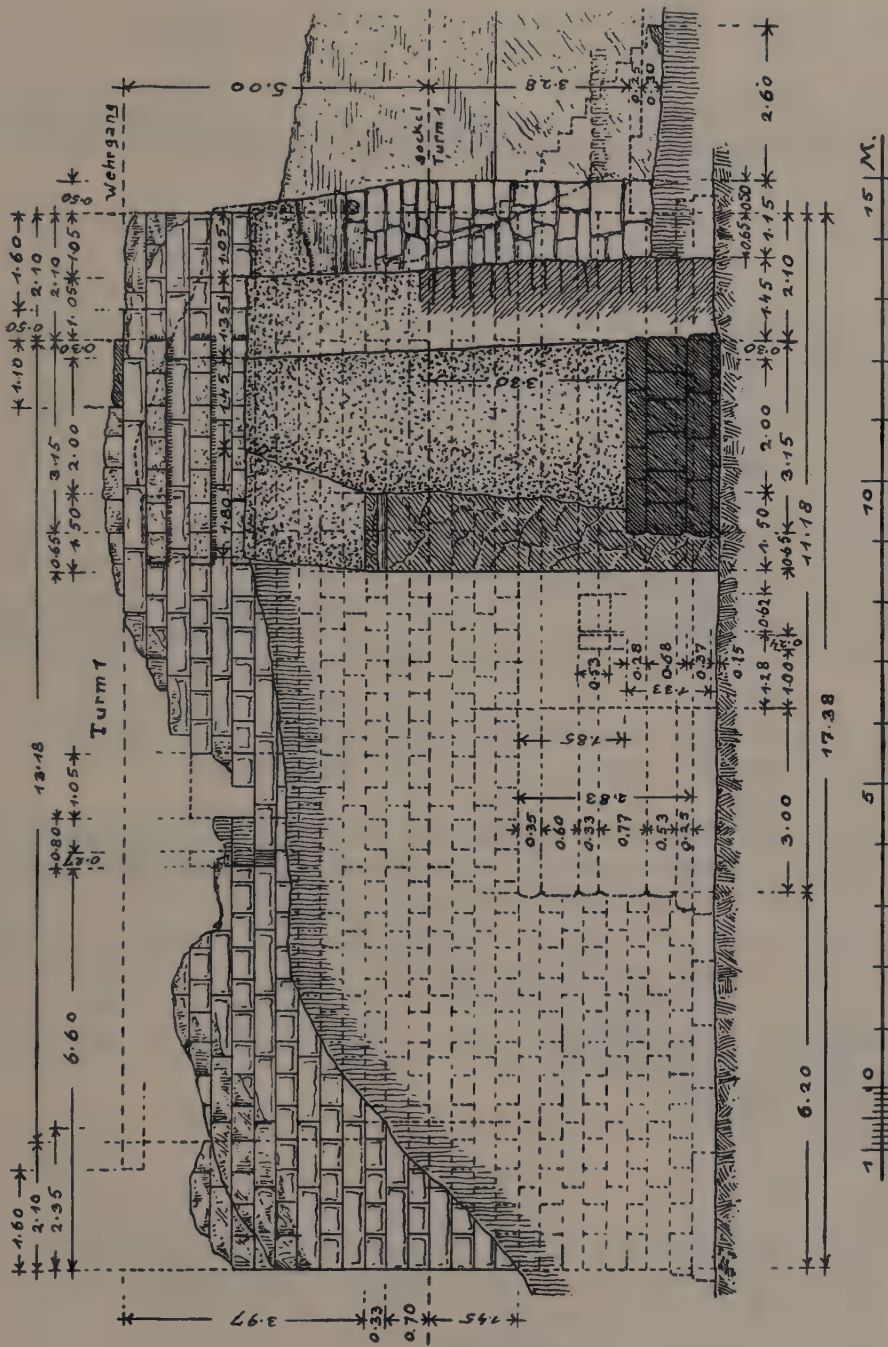


Fig. 27. Curtain 26—I. Section.

vertical junction of the stone and mud brick superstructures of the curtain. Its termination at this point is faced off with a rubble socle 1.20 m. wide and 1.70 m. high which is carried up in grey mud brick. It is at once apparent that the technique of this socle is late, but it is to be presumed that further investigation will show that it merely replaces an earlier arrangement.

On the outer face of the curtain close beside Tower 24 the rubble socle of a Roman reinforcement was encountered. It stood 1.42 m. above the top of the tower socle and about 4.30 m. above the curtain socle, approximately 5.55 m. high overall. It is thus of the same height as the Roman socle of curtains 24—26, but is without the crowning layer of rubble. Its total width at the tower is 2.15 m. As before, it is built in two layers of which the outer is 1.30 m. thick. These layers are repeated in the mud brick superstructure above. At 22.50 m. from Tower 24, covering the junction of the old stone and mud brick curtains, which it overlaps by about 1.72 m., is an additional tower, 23, of the same construction as Towers 25 and 26. It is 10.80 m. wide with a projection of 5.70 m. before the stone curtain. The inner reinforcing layer continues through behind it; the outer is carried about to form its outer walls. Further excavation is required to explain the fact that, while its north and west walls show a thickness of 1.80 m., its south wall is 2.80 m. thick. It is probable that the tower walls also had two layers of which the inner, 1.00 m. thick, is preserved high enough to be visible only on the south side.

It is obvious from the foregoing that in Roman, perhaps even in late Parthian times masonry construction had so fallen into disuse that no further attempt was made to replace the remaining portions of mud brick curtain in stone. It sufficed, on the contrary, to add progressive reinforcements to the old wall and to provide it with a rubble socle sufficiently high. We have already seen how this sector like the others was eventually covered inside and out by the great sloping embankments of mud brick.

## V. SUMMARY

### *Hellenistic Period.*

1. West wall of mud brick on masonry socle. Towers built first. North and south walls without masonry socle or towers. East wall the same; orthostate socle in ravine north of citadel.
2. Main Gate built to changed plan.







*Parthian Period.*

1. 120—65 B. C. Citadel, unfinished.
2. 65—19 B. C. First rebuilding of towers in stone over entire wall circuit. Breaches in mud brick curtains refilled.  
Erection of stone curtains over entire wall circuit. On west wall proceeding from south to north. Curtains 22—24 and 24—I unfinished, receive inner reinforcement and stairs to sentry-go with allowance for the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods.
3. 19 B. C. — about 55 A. D. Construction of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods against wall and cessation of wall construction. Formation of Parthian level III. Zeus Temple at Tower 16.
4. 55—105 A. D. Level III. Triangular socle along foot of west wall.
5. 105—160. Level IV. Supporting piers for ceilings in Towers 14 and 15.
6. 160—165. Removal of earthquake debris. Inner walls added to most towers. High level of fill in Wall Street. External repair of mud brick curtains.

*Roman Period.*

1. Raising of sentry-go and construction of stairs to it.  
Structure outside Main Gate.  
Stairs in large towers of south wall.  
Reinforcement of mud brick curtains 22—24—I with added towers.
2. After 256 A. D. Interior and exterior embankments of west wall.  
Interior embankment of north and south walls.
3. Reinforcement of inner embankment.

## II.

### THE MITHRAEUM

#### I. PRELIMINARY NOTE

The Mithraeum was discovered in February, 1934, in the course of systematic excavations along the northwest section of the sloping embankment inside the city wall, between Tower 24 and the later Roman Tower 23 (fig. 29). The sanctuary was excavated by Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson with the active assistance of almost the entire Dura staff, together with Professors Cumont and Rostovtzeff. The cult bas-reliefs and the paintings of the Mithraeum were removed in order that they might be protected from sun and rain and possible vandalism, and they have been transported to New Haven and deposited in the Gallery of Fine Arts of Yale University. There also have been brought the fragments of inscribed and painted plaster found in the rubbish, as well as the fragments of the columns, the inscriptions on stone, and the few minor finds. The best preserved part of the Mithraeum has now been reërected in the Gallery.

This necessary dismantling of the Mithraeum gave Mr. Pearson the opportunity, otherwise impossible, of collecting data on the history of the building, a study which was continued at the beginning of the next season of excavations (the autumn of 1934) both by him and by Cte. du Mesnil. The area surrounding the sanctuary was cleared, and some additional finds were made, especially of inscribed plaster.

The preliminary report here submitted, which supplements the announcements already made by Professor Cumont (*Comptes rendus*, 1934, pp. 90—111) and Professor Rostovtzeff (*Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1934, pp. 180—207),<sup>1</sup> will be followed by a full report in the form of a separate volume.

#### II. ARCHITECTURE AND HISTORY

(Pls. I—III)

The construction of the Mithraeum (fig. 30) was extremely poor, like that of many private houses in the Roman quarter of the city. Its foundations were of rocks set in mud, hardly extending below

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also C. Hopkins, *Ill. Lond. News*, December 8, 1934, pp. 963—965.

surface level, and its walls were of poor quality mud brick plastered over with mud and straw. The plaster of the interior is not of the best grade, and the details throughout show poverty and makeshift. This necessitated many and constant repairs in the structure even between its major alterations, and the exclusive use of plastic materials has made it difficult to trace precisely and accurately the history of the building.

The earliest Mithraeum was built probably a little before 168 A. D., the date of the smaller bas-relief (below, p. 83). This coincides with the final Roman occupation of Dura. It was then a small chamber opening from a private house. Approximately forty years later, as an inscription (no. 847, p. 85) and the remains of the building itself show, the Mithraeum was demolished and rebuilt in an enlarged form, in or about 210 A. D. Then, once more, at some point of its remaining forty five years of existence, it was again rebuilt and enlarged. Judging from the condition of its paintings, the Middle Mithraeum may have existed for about thirty years, leaving fifteen years for the Late Mithraeum, destroyed at the time of the construction of the embankment along the city wall after 256 A. D.

#### *A. The Site Before 168 A. D.*

The history of the site before the construction of the Early Mithraeum is vague and complex. The earliest existing foundations include many reused cut stones, indicating that some structure had stood earlier on the site or nearby. Nothing of this building remains in place, and its stone construction dates it early in the history of Dura, much earlier than the shrine of Alexander and Epinicus (cf. below, Appendix, pp. 128—134), an inscription from which was found resting in the plaster altar basin of the Early Mithraeum and covered by the altar jar of the Middle Mithraeum (fig. 31). This shrine must then have been despoiled by the date of the construction of the Middle Mithraeum, and while it was doubtless in the neighbourhood, there is no reason to suppose that it once stood on the site of the Mithraea.

Other evidence for the early history of the site consists of razed foundations of three types:

1. Foundations of cut stones in mud. These include several doorways, and possibly the cistern to the south of the Mithraeum can be connected with them. They lend themselves to the plan of a large private house or two smaller ones.

2. Foundations of stones in mud carefully constructed. These belong chiefly to the chamber north of the Mithraeum and contain no cut stones.

3. Later foundations of plastered rubble of late Parthian or early Roman type which also could have belonged to a private house plan.

Eliminating foundations clearly made for the Early, Middle, and Late Mithraea there remain three periods of foundations arranged into a complex of rooms and courts similar in plan to one or two private houses. That is, during the period prior to the establishment of the Early Mithraeum, this site was built up with private houses which were presumably in ruins at the time of the construction of the Early Mithraeum, whose walls have an independent orientation.

It is noteworthy that these foundations are in the alignment of a continuation of Street A, while neighbouring walls of later structures ignore that street. These later structures date from the period after 216 A. D., when the Roman camp wall was built and the town plan to the north of it abandoned.

#### *B. The Early Mithraeum, 168 — ca. 210 A. D.*

The Early Mithraeum (fig. 32) was composed of (1) the Mithras shrine, a small chamber 4.65 m. long and 5.80 m. wide, constructed in a private house and entered by an axial door through a partition separating it from (2) a central chamber, originally a house *diwan*, 5.75 m. long by 3.50 m. wide, that opened into a courtyard to the south, and (3) a small chamber to the east about 3.50 m. square.

The shrine, which apparently had no painted decorations, was divided into three parts. The central part, higher than the sides, had at the east end a doorway and at the west the altar table and furniture below two bas-reliefs probably set into a central niche. The sides were high benches with plastered rims, and the lower ceilings over them were supported by lintels held up by a central column on each side (columns 1 and 2).

The floor was of plaster coming to the bench and altar bases. It is 0.27 m. above the original floor of the preceding private house and has, to the left and in front of the altar table, a bricklined cavity 0.21 m.  $\times$  0.26 m. and 0.22 m. deep which was found to contain deposits of small bones.

The benches, 0.72 m. high and 1.70 m. wide, were plastered only on their faces and on the upper edge for 0.45 m. This upper surface

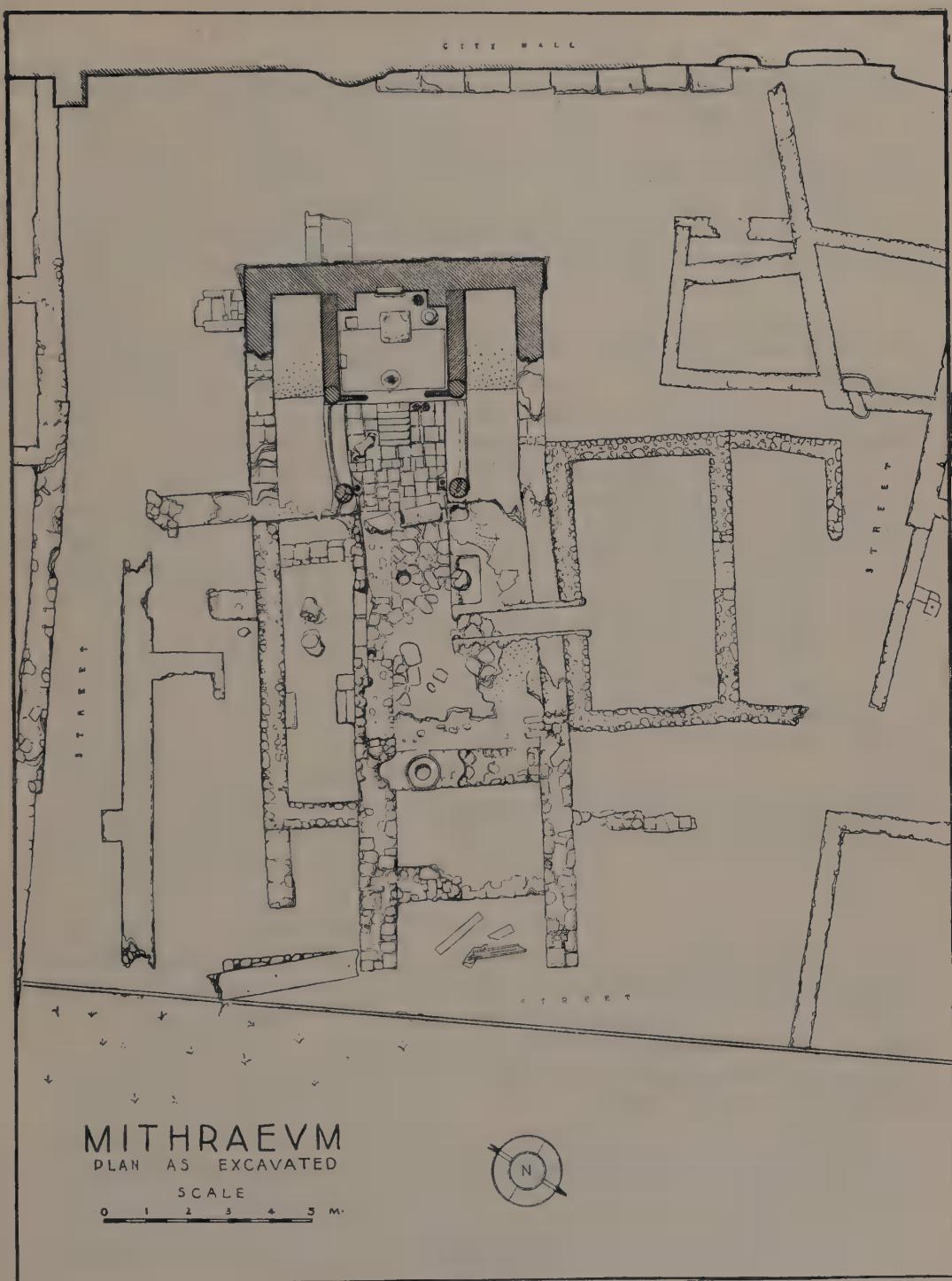


Fig. 30.



had, on the edge, a low round rim 0.05 m. wide, a flat ledge 0.28 m. wide which served as a table for ritual meals backed by a higher ridge 0.12 m. wide which formed an acute angle with a rounded point. Back of this edge of plaster the surface was of beaten earth showing that mats or carpets must have covered this part of the benches.

The altar table, about 0.16 m. higher than the benches and 0.41 m. deep, stood against the west wall, behind the large altar in the center, the two smaller altars to the south, and the stair to the north. The surface of the table presented two levels. The higher portion, on the north, ran 0.14 m. beyond the stair line and the southern portion continued, at a lower level, to the south bench, which, first curving slightly away, turned back at the same level to meet it. This lower portion may have served the same purpose as the box found in the same position in the Middle and Late Mithraea. The higher north portion of the table was composed of a rectangular section projecting 0.45 m. before the table face and 0.07 m. over the edge of the bench. Here occurred the stair, consisting of three steps leading to the north bench, the upper two being high and narrow, the third low and continuing across the foundation of the north column (column 2).

In this table, to the north of its center, was a rounded basin of plaster, 0.16 m. deep by 0.32 m. wide.

Before this table, near the angle of the stair projection and on the axis of the door, was the main altar. All of plaster, it had a square base topped by a quarter-round molding from which sprang the columnar engaged shaft of the altar. The top, 0.73 m. square with a molded point at each corner, projected for one third of its width over the altar table. The central depression was blackened and contained cinders.

To the left of this large altar, 0.08 m. lower than the altar table and attached to it, were two smaller altars of molded form. Their bases and tops were square, changing in an unbroken surface to a rounded central shaft. The corners of each top were brought to a point. The central depression of the left one was rimmed with a ring of plaster opened in front to form a nearly closed horse-shoe and the rim had around its edge twelve equally spaced holes about 0.004 m. in diameter. The central depression of the right altar was rimmed with a simple smooth ring of plaster. Both altars contained marks of fire and cinders, although their material and position would not have allowed a hot or continuous fire to burn there.

The wall foundations, the foundations of the altar table with the

engaged central altar before it, and the front line of the two benches are all made of rocks set in mud and founded on the dirt that covered the plan of the earlier house there.

On top of the foundations of stones in mud, all the furniture was formed of mud brick surfaced and modelled with mud and plastered over. An indication that these were the original furnishings is supplied by the fact that no deposits of bones were found in them. In all later additions the earth is filled with bones from previous Mithraic ceremonies. Their absence here indicates that the furniture was built at one time and before any ceremonies had been performed.

Because it was structurally necessary, the two rubble columns are founded on plaster rubble, the only plaster rubble of the first period. The earliest plaster on the base of the column shafts is integral with the original coating of the benches. This coat ran without break over the face of the bench and the column foundations, the alt-

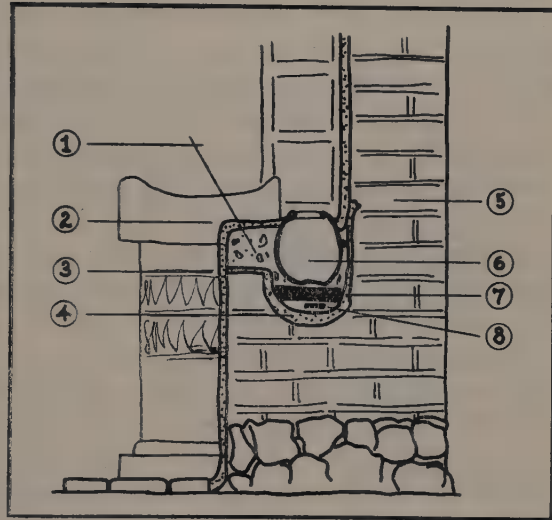


Fig. 31. Mithraeum Altar, Section.

1. Earth fill. 2. Level of Period II altar table. 3. Level of Period I altar table. 4. Circular basin of Period I altar table. 5. Rear wall of Mithraeum. 6. Period II pot. 7. Inscription. 8. Pierced bronze *phaleron*.

ar table and the columnar altar attached to it, and the rubble stairway to the north. This stairway crossed the foundations of the north column, and is further proof that these two columns belonged to the first period.

While this pair of columns and the columnar altar clearly belonged to the Early Mithraeum, the decoration of the lowest coat of plaster on the columns, which appears to be the same as the third coat (?) on the altar, consisting of wreaths with *taeniae*, belongs to the second period, since the same decoration is found on the columns (nos. 3 and 4) added then. Further, the many graffiti and dipinti on the columns belong only to the second period. The explanation of this difficulty is not easy, but three possibilities may be mentioned. First, the columns may have remained without decorations or inscriptions during the

forty two years of the first period. This is the most obvious conclusion, though such restraint on the part of the frequenters of the building would have been unusual at Dura. Possibly this may indicate that no clerestory existed at this time, and that the sanctuary enjoyed only artificial light. On the other hand, it is not impossible that new columns were cleverly made on the older foundations and that the joint was destroyed when the columns finally broke, since no trace of such a joint has been found. In the third place, we cannot exclude the possibility that the first pair of columns were scraped or rubbed down to clean them for the second period of decoration. The south column (no. 3, Pl. XLIX, 3) of the pair added for the Middle Mithraeum bore unmistakable traces of another painting, a very faint large-scale figure seeming to bear a lance and intersected at the waist by the much brighter wreath design. It may be, therefore, that the practice of removing decorations by scraping was not unknown at Dura. It may be noted also that the artist of the Synagogue paintings made corrections by washing or scraping out the former painting.

Because of the early period plaster, there can be no doubt that the column foundations and their shafts where they touch the benches are of the Early Mithraeum, and, because of the unified foundations of benches, altar table with engaged altar, columns, and walls there can be no doubt that all were constructed at the same time.

The columns bore a straight lintel of plaster reinforced with poles and supported at the wall by short curved plaster corbels. The height of the poles in this lintel is still visible in the holes for them in the wall.

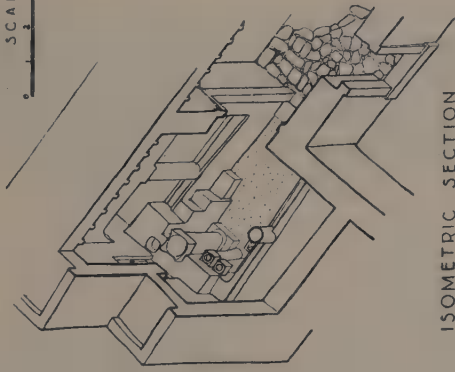
The ceiling was approximately 1.65 m. high over the benches and, from the height of the painting over the niche in the middle period, about 1.60 m. higher over the central aisle, or 3.25 m. above the floor. This difference in height gave an interior wall above the columns about 1.67 m. high, the surface of which may possibly have been decorated with painted figures. The lintel over the columns lay about 0.07 m. lower than the side ceilings.

There is no proof of windows in this upper wall surface and such would be contrary to Mithraic tradition, but the architectural form, that of a high nave, was created to make room for windows and it would be odd if that form in this case also did not serve that purpose. Small windows, used more for ventilation than for light, are not impossible in this clerestory.

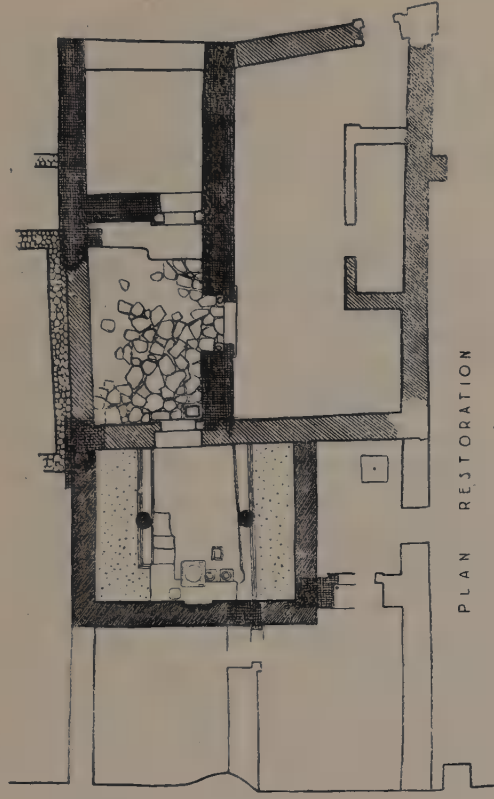
The west wall above the altar table is completely gone, having been

# EARLY MITHRAEUM

SCALE  
0 1 2 3 4 M



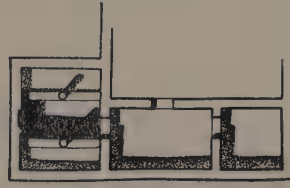
ISOMETRIC SECTION



PLAN RESTORATION

## CEILING PLANS

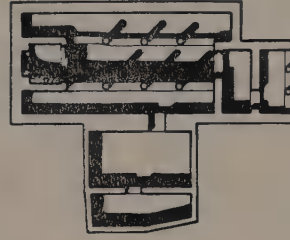
SCALE 0 1 2 3 4 M



EARLY

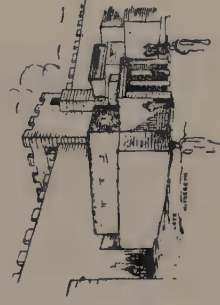


MIDDLE



LATE

- WALLS OF RE-USED CUT STONE IN MVD
- WALLS OF ROCKS IN MVD
- WALLS OF PLASTER BYOBLE
- WALLS MISSING



PLANNED & DRAWN BY HENRI-LEONARD H. F. PEARSON

Fig. 32. The Early Mithraeum. Comparative Ceiling Plans. Lower Right, Exterior View of the Late Mithraeum.



completely razed for the Middle Mithraeum. In it were undoubtedly set the two bas-reliefs of 168 and 170 A. D. (see below). Under the level of the altar table of the Middle Mithraeum were found several flakes of colored gesso similar to the covering of the bas-reliefs, showing that they were present in the Early Mithraeum and were slightly damaged at that time.

Following the tradition of Mithraeum constructions, these two reliefs were probably set into a niche above the main altar. A fragment of colored plaster found on the edge of the larger relief indicates that the surface about the reliefs, or this niche at any rate, was painted. This fragment, decorated in red with regularly spaced black stripes is, then, of the Early Mithraeum.

The central chamber, the *diwan* of an earlier house, was paved with irregular slabs of gypsum set into plaster. In the northeast corner the flooring becomes almost entirely plaster. In the southwest corner, beside the door leading into the shrine, there was let into the floor a molded rectangular depression about 0.40 m. square by 0.30 m. deep. The east side of the room is not preserved to floor level. The plaster flooring comes to an end 0.75 m. from the east wall and 1.10 m. from the north. It is oriented in such a fashion that the floor to the east and north must have been higher. Perhaps there was a bench along the east wall with a projecting step before the door leading into the chamber.

The south door of this *diwan* had stone trim on the outside, an indication that the area to the south was a court. The reveal floor is paved as is the rest of the chamber, except for the two door post holes surrounded by plaster rims.

The east chamber is known to have existed only from the foundations of the walls which were later made into the Mithraeum vestibule. The doorway with its peculiar plastic jamb profiles and inset plaster basin is probably a later change from the more ordinary form of doorway. There are no traces remaining of the original eastern wall of this room.

### *C. The Middle Mithraeum, ca. 210—240 A. D.*

In the general destruction of the quarter about 210 A. D. the Early Mithraeum building was destroyed also. In the shrine the walls were razed to bench level and elsewhere in the house to about sill level.

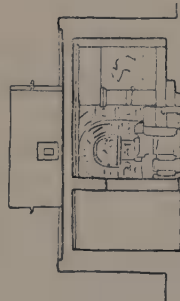


# MIDDLE MITHRAEVM

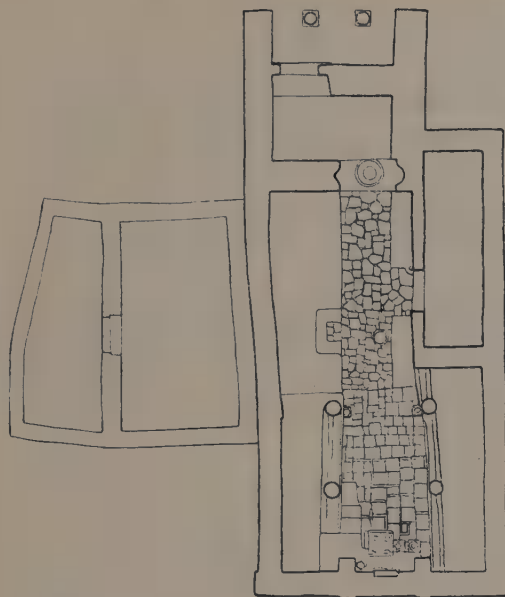
SCALE



CROSS SECTION • TOWARDS NICHE • PRESENT CONDITION



CROSS SECTION • TOWARDS NICHE • RESTORATION



PLAN • RESTORATION



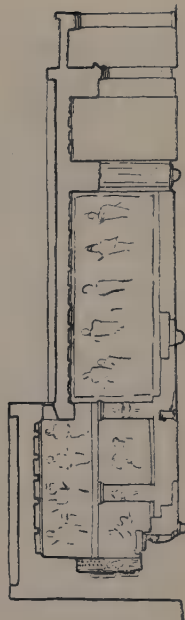
LONGITUDINAL SECTION • LOOKING SOUTH • PRESENT CONDITION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION • LOOKING NORTH • PRESENT CONDITION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION • LOOKING SOUTH • RESTORATION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION • LOOKING NORTH • RESTORATION

MEASURED & DRAWN AT DURA-EUROPOS H.F. PEARSON

Fig. 33.

It was restored and enlarged by Roman soldiers under the direction of Antonius Valentinus (cf. below, p. 85).

The private houses surrounding the Mithraeum were probably not restored but left in a ruined state. Because at this epoch the street along the wall was rapidly filling with accumulations of dirt, the earlier foundations around the Mithraeum were buried and it stood apparently isolated, except for two rooms on the north (cf. below).

The new alterations consisted of adding an antechamber to the Mithras shrine by taking out the dividing partition and adding two more columns on the foundations of that wall; of building a small room on the south and a low bench on the north of this new addition; of turning the east chamber into a vestibule and porch; of constructing an arched niche back of the altar; and of redecorating the entire chamber.

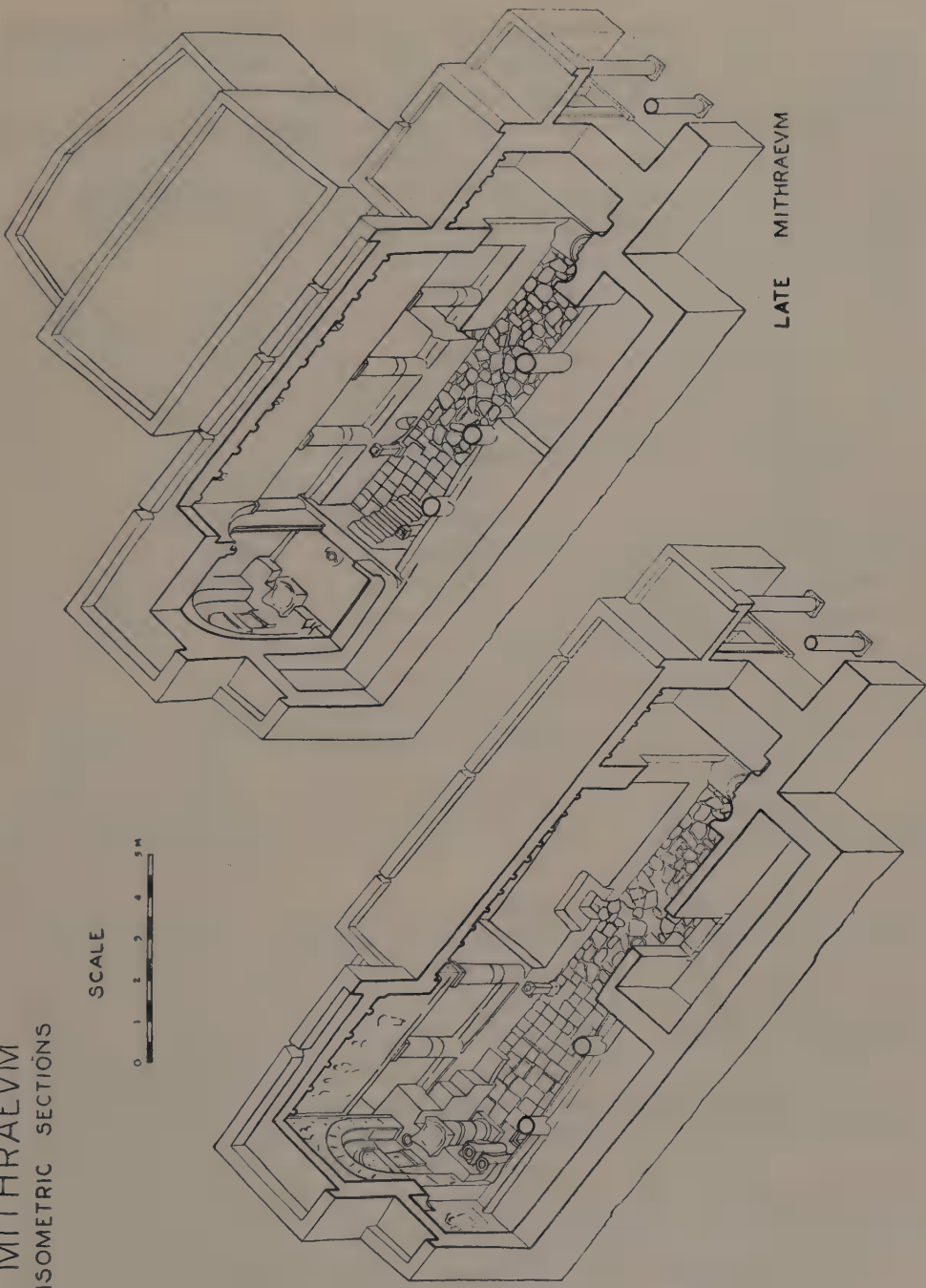
With the partition taken out, the shrine became 10.90 m. long. The south wall of the building was continued on the same east-west line across the space formerly a court. This formed the south wall of the new south room, whose west wall was a new partition 0.60 m. from the older one, and its northern a thin wall on the foundations of the thicker old one. Thus a chamber 5.60 m.  $\times$  1.65 m. was formed with its door constructed on the sill of the older door that formerly led to the court.

The eastern chamber of the suite was made into an entrance porch and vestibule of the new building. A partition between porch and vestibule was made and the east wall was entirely removed, perhaps being replaced by two small columns of which no sign remains. The door in this new partition contained door trim of two jambs and a lintel of which the moldings were late second century. The door between the vestibule and Mithraeum had jambs of plaster in a unique form of a double, recessed curve. This form would not allow a door to have been hung, so that, if the doorway were closed at all, it must have been by a curtain. In the sill of rubble, flush with the inner floor, was set a circular plaster basin with a wide flanged edge which comes to a slightly raised rim. Its form suggests that it was meant to be covered and although no bones were found in it, it may have been a foundation deposit, but it may also have been a basin for washing the feet before entrance to the shrine. The stone trim of the outer door, as shown by its earlier character, must have been reused from the original trimmed doorway which was replaced by this later one.

The flooring of the central chamber was not removed, and on the

# MITHRAEVM ISOMETRIC SECTIONS

SCALE



MIDDLE MITHRAEVM

LATE MITHRAEVM

MEASURED & DRAWN AT DURA-EUKOPOS H. F. PEARSON

Fig. 34.

south side where the thicker early wall was destroyed, the fallen debris, continuing only to a point 0.07 m. above it, show that the original floor was covered at this time with beaten earth.

In the center of the chamber was built a circular plaster-lined depression 0.32 m. in diameter and 0.27 m. deep. The earlier hole that had existed in the southwest corner of the antechamber beside the door of the shrine was filled with mud and plastered over.

Against the north wall a bench was constructed 0.40 m. high, 0.32 m. lower than the bench of the Early Mithraeum, and of the same width. This drop in level was beside the new column and on the line of the earlier foundations whose plastered face served as the drop between the two levels. A distance of 1.20 m. from this line, in the lower bench, was a rectangular recess 1.25 m. long and 0.75 m. deep, surrounded on the three bench sides by a step 0.35 m. wide by 0.22 m. high with the central portion at floor level. It served either as a step up to the low bench or as a niche similar in purpose to that built nearby for the last period. There is no indication to the east of this recess of a low bench or any other furniture, even the floor having been partly taken up for the fortification embankment. It is, however, logical to suppose, for want of contrary evidence in the construction, that the low bench continued to the east end of this room.

On the line of the removed partition, directly under the two new columns, were put two small altars composed of a length of hollow drain tile imbedded in a rectangular plaster shaft. The bases set in plaster projected slightly and the tops were rectangular blocks of plaster with a round central hole leading to the tile below. A red band was painted around their necks.

On the top of the south altar was a small, rounded projection which seems to be related to the diminishing, curved ridge of plaster attached to the bench face to the east. This ridge, occurring similarly on either side of these altars, is marked with a central wavy scratch and is carved or molded with flat, slanting sides. Because the serpent is so much associated with the cult of Mithras and because the projection on the top of the left altar resembles a serpent's head while the ridge attached to the bench seems to be the body of a serpent, it is probable that each altar had twined about it a plaster serpent of which the head rested on the upper rim and the tail projected across the face of the bench.<sup>1</sup> The placement of these altars at this time on the ends of the removed

<sup>1</sup> [For this decoration cf. now E. Swoboda, "Die Schlange im Mithraskult," *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.*, XXX (1936), pp. 1—27. F. Cumont.]

wall may be an indication of the point from which the Mithraeum was enlarged.

The older part of the Mithraeum, while retaining the older furnishings, was also greatly rebuilt. The back or west wall was demolished to bench level and on the wreckage of painted plaster and rubble was built the newer level of the altar table, 0.18 m. higher. On the same wreckage were constructed, inside the line of the two lintels over the columns, the two mud brick piers supporting the arch of the new niche. This arch at the end of the shrine is ingeniously made of mud bricks with plaster mortar. The archway penetrates the back wall of the shrine so that it is visible in the rear of the building. Thus the projecting arch, forming a niche 0.40 m. deep, needed no supporting piers, the back wall sustaining the thrust of the curve. The two piers on either side were therefore only decorative, which accounts for their poor foundation on the fragments of the earlier period.

The main altar was replastered and between it and the other small altars to the left were put wedges of plaster. The south end of the altar table was built up around a wooden block or box, replacing the early low portion of the table there. The plaster altar bowl was replaced by an earthenware pot which was propped up by a reused inscription (below, p. 130; cf. fig. 31, above, p. 67), and a round pierced-bronze ornament indicating the ceremonial placement of the bowl. The stair on the north was heightened corresponding to the altar table.

Under all these additions were found inserted great quantities of small bird, sheep, and fish bones from the ceremonies of the shrine.<sup>2</sup> On the left, beneath the built-in box or block were found eight simple lamps, one broken.

The floor of this end of the Mithraeum, formerly of plaster, was paved with used burnt bricks of various sizes on a bedding of dirt and plaster. The small box in the floor was retained although covered by a loose tile.

The benches were covered with a thin coat of plaster but retained their original shape and the part added to them was made in the same form. They continued to be of dirt back of the plaster rim.

The decoration of this period can be largely reconstructed, although

<sup>2</sup> [The discovery of fish bones is of considerable interest. I do not know that the practice of making offerings of fish existed in Mazdaism, but fish was eaten in Syria in certain mystic banquets (ἐν τελεστικαῖς θυσίαις; cf. *Rel. Orient.*, pp. 109, 256, n. 52). I do not know whether there is any connection between this and the fish which figures on the Danubian tablets. F. Cumont.]



no complete subject was preserved. When the shrine was replastered for the late period, the old plaster was largely broken away. The rest was pitted and scratched to give a grip to the new coat, but, by comparison with the subjects of the last period, the few fragments are identifiable (cf. below, pp. 101—104).

The shrine, especially about the altars, shows that there were many minor alterations during the middle period. Most of them were crude and usually in the nature of repairs. The altar was covered over with several coats of plaster; a fill was made to the right of it with several baked tiles whitewashed to resemble plaster and the top of the main altar was built up. The points on the corner were made thicker and higher, and the basin between them was filled in smoothly. Since there are no marks of fire or ashes on this later layer of plaster, and since this top projected above the level of the late period, perhaps this addition was made late in the late period of the building.

#### *D. The Late Mithraeum, ca. 240—256 A. D.*

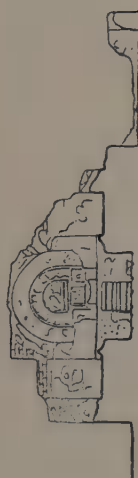
Between the middle and late periods there occurred no general destruction of the building. It is probable that the roof was removed and altered for the construction of the new vaulted *spelaeum* and the additional columns.

In the Late Mithraeum, the chamber to the south was entirely removed and in its place was built a bench, probably low; the low bench on the north side was heightened to the level of the upper benches; two more columns were added to either side, making the chamber more symmetrical; two chambers to the north of the building, the earlier history of which is obscure, were joined to the Mithraeum, a narrow passageway being cut through the benches leading to a newly pierced doorway. For the new altar table the aisle between the benches was filled up to the bench level as far as the first pair of columns and a stair was built against the face of this platform. Between the first pair of columns and the wall were built partitions that supported a vault covering the new raised platform.

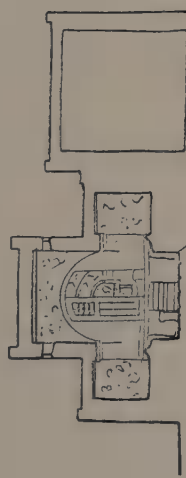
The only indications that a bench replaced the south chamber are that a fragment of the late bench projected beyond the second south column of the middle period and that one of the doorpost holes of the earlier door was filled with plaster that turned upward as it would if it were the plaster face of a bench.

# LATE MITHRAEUM

SCALE



CROSS SECTION TOWARDS NICHE - PRESENT CONDITION



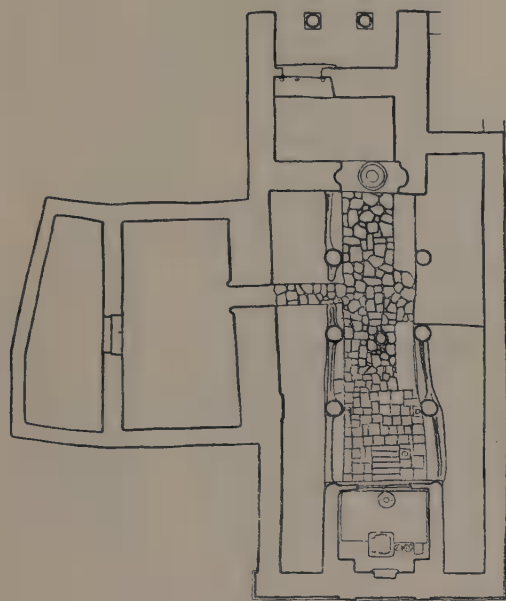
CROSS SECTION TOWARDS NICHE - RESTORATION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION - LOOKING SOUTH - PRESENT CONDITION



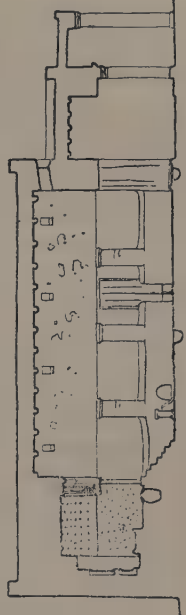
LONGITUDINAL SECTION - LOOKING SOUTH - RESTORATION



PLAN - RESTORATION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION - LOOKING NORTH - PRESENT CONDITION



LONGITUDINAL SECTION - LOOKING NORTH - RESTORATION

MEASURED & DRAWN AT DURA-EUROPOS H.F. PEARCE

Fig. 35.

In this area were found many fragments of paintings and a part of a broken column showing that the bench had been completely razed before these fell when the building was destroyed about 256 A. D. The bench here was probably low, because the low bench on the north side became high, and a low bench, like other features of the building, was probably part of its continued requirements. Its complete disappearance is more understandable on this assumption.

No sign of the two columns that were added to this side was found, unless one considers the above mentioned fragment as part of one of them. Structurally, columns would have been necessary. The other side, with its added columns, shows that the roof over this area was made similar to that over the early and middle shrines. Since the chamber on the south was eliminated, anything but a continuation of the same ceiling plan on both sides of the room would have been extremely awkward. The two columns necessary for this continuation would have been founded on the former wall of the south chamber. They were probably removed entirely in the destruction of the east end of the building.

Of the two columns added to the north side, traces of only one remain. The foundations of this were not let into the older stone flooring so that the second missing one could have been entirely removed leaving no trace. The foundation that remains was built into the recessed step in the lower bench. The central depression was filled with plaster rubble and the face of the depression closed with the rubble face of the new bench.

The new north bench was built to the height of the other benches, and all the benches, except at the sides of the new vault, were surfaced entirely with plaster. The well-defined profile of their edges was molded over with plaster so that the angular ridge was made round and the rim on the edge obliterated.

Through the north bench was made a narrow passageway leading into a series of two chambers which had been there even before the Early Mithraeum and were part of a small adjacent house. Of these two chambers very little remains. The walls, of small stones regularly placed in mud, enclose a larger irregular chamber about 3.25 m.  $\times$  6.00 m. and a smaller, more irregular room to the north 2.50 m.  $\times$  6.00 m. of later construction. The north wall of this chamber is entirely gone except at the west end. The sill of the communicating door between the two chambers shows that the door never had stone trim. There were no signs of plaster on the walls.

Probably to replace the recess closed by the added column on the north side of the shrine, a small rounded niche was built beside the early drop in bench level. This later niche was pierced into the early bench and its rounded top projected into the new upper addition to the bench so that it is surely of the late period. Its front opening was rounded and it had a low rounded sill of plaster across its front.

The space between the first column and the west wall on either side of the shrine was filled up with a mud brick partition and a rubble vault was built across the aisle making out of the last unit of the colonnade a deep niche. The floor was filled up with dirt and broken mud bricks to the level of the benches. The main altar was covered nearly to the top and the two smaller altars were completely buried. The old altar table projected 0.14 m. from the plaster floor of the new platform. The altar jar, found covered with another inverted jar lined with plaster, was still accessible. It is possible that it was no longer used but was replaced by the great storage jar imbedded to its mouth in the floor immediately inside the sill of the new platform (Pl. II). Before the platform was a flight of seven steps in plaster-covered mud brick. The face of the platform back of these stairs had two coats of plaster. The under coat had several scratches and vague graffiti on it showing that this surface was not covered at first by the stair. Since a stair to the platform was absolutely necessary, it must be assumed that the first stair against this platform was built at one side. Since the stair which served the Early and Middle Mithraea was on the right side of the altar tables, it is probable that this first stair was also at the right side, although no traces of it were found.

Against the south side of the stair was a small altar similar to the earlier ones against the left side of the altar table. Its top rim was circular and plain.

The plaster box, inset on the south side of the altar table, was rebuilt more towards the north and in the same fashion, molded around a wooden box or block.

Above the bigger bas-relief were six symmetrically placed holes either for hooks to suspend lamps or for a curtain across the larger relief.

The well preserved paintings of the Late Mithraeum are discussed below (pp. 104—115). Towards the end of the history of the Late Mithraeum, after the paintings had been made, two plaster jambs were built on either side of the arched opening of the platform. The ends of the jambs are concave to accommodate the doors and there are doorpost holes in the sill showing that the plaster sill at the edge



of the platform was added when the doors were put in. On the floor of the platform, and on the stairs leading up to the platform, were found many pieces of transparent sheet gypsum, most of which showed signs of red paint. On one fragment appeared the ends of two Latin letters. It is not uncommon to find this gypsum used in Dura as window glazing and this must have fallen from the wooden doors that closed the shrine.

There are many other signs of alterations after the late period decorations were finished. The faces and tops of the benches were replastered several times, the altar table was given a final coat of plaster, and the stair with the face of the platform against which it rested was crudely replastered over the red bands of paint that decorated its edges.

This Late Mithraeum was purposely destroyed for the construction of a mud brick embankment along the city wall. When the street or area back of the building was filled with dirt the walls of the Mithraeum began to crack and pieces of the plaster fell away as in the Synagogue and the Christian Chapel. A futile attempt seems to have been made to arrest this wrecking by filling with plaster the cracks that appeared on the left side of the altar enclosure. When it was found impossible to preserve the building, the east end was razed to make the fill beneath the mud brick that covered the west end.<sup>3</sup>



### *E. Comparative Note on Mithraic Architecture.*

The foregoing architectural analysis has shown that the Mithraeum of Dura, probably first built as a modest domestic shrine, was rebuilt twice on a larger and more ambitious scale. A careful comparison of the Mithraeum of Dura in each stage of its existence with the similar contemporary Mithraic temples in other parts of the Roman Empire carried out by my pupil Miss Grace A. Crawford, demonstrates that the Dura sanctuary of Mithras presents several peculiarities of structure and arrangement.

It is to be noted first and foremost that the Dura Mithraeum in all stages of its existence was built entirely above the ground like a common temple. No attempt was made to suggest the cave-like character of the temple. This feature is not without parallels, especially in the domestic

<sup>3</sup> For the similar treatment of other buildings cf. e. g. *Rep. VI*, pp. 179—181, and above, pp. 43-48.



sanctuaries of Ostia, but it is rare. The Mithraea, as a rule, were cave sanctuaries or imitations of them. Still more surprising is the basilical form of the sanctuary in all three stages of its development, as postulated by the architectural analysis. Sanctuaries of Mithras with columns supporting an arched, vaulted, or flat roof are rare but not unparalleled. The nearest to Dura in this respect is the Mithraeum of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome<sup>4</sup> with its six pillars and an arched ceiling. However in no case is there any trace of a clerestory. It must be emphasized again that the idea of the Mithraists in building their sanctuaries was to make the shrine of the god as much like a cave as possible. We know, furthermore, that most of the Mithraic ceremonies were carried out in the Mithraea in darkness or in the dim light of lamps and torches. The basilical form of the Dura Mithraeum, especially if a clerestory admitted abundant light, would be a feature entirely new for Mithraea and one which would depart from the accepted traditions and requirements of the cult.

Some support for the restoration of the sanctuary as a basilica and even for a clerestory may be derived, however, from the peculiar form which the cult niche assumed in the Late Mithraeum, a vaulted *aedicula* closed on the front by a partition wall and a door and thus completely isolated from the nave and quite dark when the door was closed. Such a form of cult niche has no parallel in existing Mithraea. The large and ambitious niches of one of the Mithraea in Ostia<sup>5</sup> and of the Mithraeum at Housesteads<sup>6</sup> in England are different in many essential features and remind one of some larger domestic *lararia* of Roman private houses. The Dura vault, on the other hand, has nothing in common with the domestic *lararia*. As restored it reproduces the form of a regular cave shrine, in itself a complete cave Mithraeum in miniature. This peculiar form of the cult niche might have been suggested by the desire of the congregation and clergy to have in an otherwise well lighted temple a regular dark cave for the performance of the traditional ceremonies.

Much easier to explain are the forms of the altars which have no parallels in other Mithraea. The altars of the Dura Mithraeum are typically Syrian and Mesopotamian, probably the only types familiar to the architects and to the worshippers. Apparently there were no

<sup>4</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1912, pp. 305—325.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles, 1896—1899), vol. II, mon. 83.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, mon. 273.

special prescriptions in the Mithraic ritual in this respect. The altars in the West are typical of those used in all the shrines and sanctuaries of the West in Roman imperial times.

Finally we may note as an unusual architectural feature of the Late Mithraeum the seven steps which led to the platform of the cult niche. The steps were built low so that seven might occur in the ascent to the platform. The meaning is certainly ritualistic and symbolical, the κλίμαξ ἐπτάπυλος, the mystic ladder of the Mithraists in which there were seven doors, of various metals, through which the souls passed before arriving at the empyreum, represented by the planetary spheres.<sup>7</sup> A parallel may be found in one of the Mithraea of Ostia with its stair of four steps leading to the cult niche.<sup>8</sup> It is unnecessary to remind the reader of the well known floor mosaic of one of the Mithraea of Ostia which shows the seven doors.<sup>9</sup>

With the exception of the peculiarities cited above, however, the Dura Mithraea are typical in their essential features: benches, table for offerings, the cult niche with the bas-reliefs, altars before the cult niche, abundant supply of water kept in jars and basins, deposits of sacrifices, the traditional pieces of pottery which were used in the sanctuary for cult purposes, etc. We may perhaps go a little farther and say with Miss Crawford that the Early Mithraeum of Dura is strikingly similar to Mithraeum I of Poetovio and to the Danubian Mithraea in general; that the Middle Mithraeum of Dura preserved some of the features of the Danubian Mithraea but combined them with some features typical of one group of the Italian Mithraea; and finally that it was the Late Mithraeum of Dura which shows the greatest peculiarities — particularly in its cult niche. The best parallel to the bizarre combination of various elements in the Late Mithraeum of Dura is presented by a similar combination in the Mithraeum of Housesteads and perhaps in the Mithraeum of Trier. I mean the little shrine of Mithras which was built in the sacred city outside the Roman town of Augusta Treverorum.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 117; cf. *id.*, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII (1931), pp. 46 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, mon. 83c.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, mon. 84c. We may find some Mithraic influences in the curious scratched design of one of the private houses of Dura which certainly endeavours to give a diagram of celestial regions; see C. H. Kraeling, *Rep. V.* pp. 95—97.

<sup>10</sup> S. Löschcke, *Die Erforschung des Tempelbezirkes im Altbachtale zu Trier* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 35 f.

(Nos. 845—848)

The smaller cult bas-relief (Pl. XXIX, 1) has a double inscription: one (of three lines) in Palmyrene is inscribed on the base of the bas-relief inside a *tabella ansata*, the other on the face of the left side of the molding. Letters are cut and painted red. On the text of these inscriptions Professor Torrey submits the following note:

“Below the smaller Mithras relief is a Palmyrene inscription in three lines. This is accompanied by a vertical line of Greek (0.24 m. long) at the left of the relief (no. 845), repeating the name and title of the author. The first letters of the latter inscription are so worn away as to be barely legible; it reads (height of letters 0.015—0.021 m.):

ΕΘΦΑΝΕΙ ΙΣΤΑΡΤΗΓΑ (στρατηγός)

The Palmyrene inscription reads as follows (0.41 m.  $\times$  0.06 m., letters 0.015 m.):

480 בִּירַת אֲדָר שְׁנַת

“A good memorial; made by Ethpeni the *strategos*, son of Zabdē‘ā, who is in command of the archers who are in Dura. In the month Adar of the year 480 (168 A. D.).

"The name Ethpeni is otherwise known as Palmyrene, and the pronunciation of the final syllable is now made certain by the Greek transcription. This is a simple verbal form, the *ethpe'el* perfect: "He (the god) turned" toward his worshipper, showing him favor

(as, for example, in the Peshitta of *Ps.* 69, 16). The name Zabdē'ā is the abbreviation of a familiar theophoric compound, Zabd-'Athē. The word *qaššātē*, "archers," written with *tēth*, occurs elsewhere in Palmyrene; see Lidzbarski's glossary.

"The writing of the inscription is unusually interesting at several points. *Initial* ⲛ is written (three times) in a form which, as far as I am aware, has been found nowhere else. It shows an approach, though still distant, to the Nabataean character; compare the initial letter in the second line of the Habibi inscription, also Palmyrene, in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (Lidzbarski's Plate XLI, no. 1), though the resemblance, after all, is not close.

"The letter ⲏ in the second line has also a transitional form. In old Syriac it is sometimes written as an upright line to which a circle is joined on the left; so, for example, in Dura Parchment 20 from Edessa (*Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, X, 1935, p. 35).

"The form of Ⲑ in the first word is remarkable, resembling the Hebrew square character, as well as the typical cursive Syriac.

"The ⲥ in the middle of the second line has a shape unexampled elsewhere in Palmyrene, though its affinities are obvious. The letter is written in the same way more than once in an early Syriac inscription from Edessa published by Sachau in the *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenländ. Ges.*, XXXVI (1882), p. I, no. 8.

"The final ⲓ of the first word is almost the simple perpendicular line often seen elsewhere, regularly, e. g., in the Dura Synagogue inscription. The very small barb at the top appears also in Nabataean inscriptions. The form of this letter in the third line, in the middle of a word, seems to be quite unique.

"The inscription is carefully executed by an expert hand, and the above examples are all useful for the history of this branch of Semitic palaeography, especially because of the many Nabataean parallels."

The second and larger bas-relief of the cult niche (Pls. XXIX, 2—XXX) bears an inscription in Greek (no. 846) in two lines (0.93 m. × 0.07 m., height of letters, 0.025 m.). It occupies the front of the base of the bas-relief. It is not enclosed in a *tabella ansata*. Letters are cut and painted red.

Θεοῦ (sic!) Μίθραν ἐπόησεν Ζηνόβιος ὁ καὶ Εἰαειβᾶς Ἰαριβωλέους  
στρατηγὸς τοξοτῶν ἔτους δευτέρου πϛ' (170/1 A. D.).

There follow some indistinct scratched lines, probably a filler like the usual ivy leaves.



The third inscription (no. 847; Pl. XLIX, 1) which bears on the history of the sanctuary is the building inscription of the temple found in four fragments in the fill. One small fragment (the fifth) is missing, and there is a gap in the third line due to a slight damaging of the right edge of the third fragment. The inscription has the form of a *tabella ansata*. It is 0.63—0.65 m. long, 0.33 m. high. Height of the letters 0.042 m. throughout. Letters of the three last lines are compressed to about one-third the width of the letters in the first two lines. They are cut and were painted, probably red.

*Pro sal(ute) et incol(umitate) d(ominorum)  
n(ostrorum) imp(eratorum) (trium) L. Sep(timi) Severi pii  
Pert(inacis) et M. Aurel(i) Antonini [[et L. Sept(im)i Geta[e]]]  
Aug(ustorum) (trium) tem-  
plum dei Solis Invicti Mithrae sub Minic(io) Martiali proc(uratore)  
Aug(usti)  
rest(itutum) ab Ant(onio) Valentino (centurione) princ(ipe)  
pr(aeposito) ve[x(illationum) Leg(ionum) III]I Scyt(hicae)  
et XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) p(iae) f(idelis).*

The erased letters in the first three lines (names and titles of Geta) are perfectly legible. They were erased very carelessly. The stonecutter miscalculated the available space in l. 4. Short of space, he crowded the letters and did not cut the ligature of *I* and *P* in *Martiali proc.* It was probably made good by paint. The restoration of the lacuna of the last line is certain, though the remains of letters before *Y* do not look like the upper parts of *S* and *C* respectively. The word before *VE[X* in the same line cannot be *PER*; we see no traces of a ligature of *P* and *E*.

The temple of Mithras thus was restored and dedicated in the last years of Septimius Severus in the period between the conferring of the title of Augustus upon Geta in 209 A. D. and the death of Severus in 211 B. C. The name of Geta was erased after he was murdered by Caracalla (212 A. D.). It must be noted that Minicius Martialis was acting at that time as legate of Syria. We know that in 209 B. C. the governor of Syria was the famous Marius Maximus. Our inscription shows that in the years between 209 and 211 he was no longer legate, either dead or in charge of another mission or retired. In all probability Minicius Martialis took his place temporarily.<sup>1</sup> The temple was built

<sup>1</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Comptes rendus*, 1933, pp. 309—323; *Münch. Beitr. z. Pap.*, XIX (1934), pp. 373—378.



by detachments of two legions, *vexillationes* of the IV Scythian and of the XVI Flavia Firma. There was apparently a large concentration of troops in Dura in the last years of Septimius and the first of Caracalla and a great building activity. The early, probably small, camp was enlarged and adorned with ambitious buildings. It is very probable that the Mithraeum was not the only military temple built at that time. Another one, that of Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras, arose probably at about the same time in the opposite corner of the camp where later was built the sumptuous palace of the *dux ripae*.<sup>2</sup> Others might still be hidden under the rubbish of the unexcavated parts of the camp.

It seems clear that the Early, not the Middle, Mithraeum was the temple of Ethpaneï and Zenobius and that the Middle Mithraeum was that of the legionary *vexillationes*. It must be noted first and foremost that the larger cult bas-relief of the Mithraeum shows traces of having been built into the wall of the sanctuary before it became the central part of the cult niche of the Middle Mithraeum. A piece of painted plaster earlier than the painted decoration of the Middle Mithraeum was found sticking to it (above, p. 70). Moreover it is certain that the earliest plaster coat of the four columns of the Middle Mithraeum had had the same painted decoration of garlands and *taeniae* which occur also on the third coat of plaster of the main altar. This shows that the altar — a constituent part of the Early Mithraeum — existed long before the four columns of the Middle Mithraeum were built and plastered.

Now the first coating of the columns cannot be dated in a time earlier than that of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. It was found literally covered with painted and scratched inscriptions. These inscriptions, which contain hundreds of names, yielded almost none of the Palmyrene names which would be expected in a sanctuary built by two commanders of Palmyrene bowmen. The great majority of the persons mentioned in the dipinti and graffiti are Roman soldiers. In some cases we know that these soldiers belonged either to the *Legio IV Scythica* or to the *XVI Flavia Firma* or even to the *Cohors Vigesima Palmyrenorum*. In none is mentioned the *Cohors II Ulpia*, which occupied the town alone until the time of Septimius and Caracalla.

<sup>2</sup> On the Praetorium, cf. *Rep. V*, pp. 201—237; on the amphitheatre, *Rep. VI*, pp. 68—80. The ruins of the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus have been excavated in 1935—1936, cf. the preliminary remarks of Cte. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Comptes rendus*, 1936, pp. 144 f.

Arguments *ex silentio* are not very strong. However, in our case, with hundreds of names and several references to corps to which the bearers of the names belonged, the absence of the *II Ulpia* may be of some significance for the history of the Dura garrison.<sup>3</sup>

This observation is confirmed by the analysis of the best preserved and most complete painted inscription of the first column of the Middle Mithraeum (no. 848; Pl. XLIX, 2). The inscription occupies a prominent position on the column and was painted in fine black letters on its first coat of plaster, probably contemporaneously with the painted decoration of the column (0.20 m. × 0.14 m., letters 0.01 m.).

Ὑπὲρ Νίκης τοῦ Κυρί-  
ου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος.  
Νάμα θεῶ Μίθρα,  
νάμα πατράσι Λιβει-  
ανῶ καὶ Θεοδώρῳ,  
νάμα καὶ Μαρεῖνῳ πε-  
τίτορι, νάμα πᾶσι τοῖς  
συνδεξίοις παρὰ τῷ θε[ῶ].

More will be said below of the technical terms used in this inscription. We are interested here in its date. It was dedicated to the victory of the Emperor. Such dedications on the part of soldiers are common. What is more important is the mention of only one emperor. In the time under review (from the time of Zenobius, i. e. that of M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus, about 165 A. D., to the time of Ant. Valentinus, i. e. Severus' last years) the only emperors who ruled alone without co-rulers were Commodus, Septimius Severus for a short time at the beginning of his rule, and Caracalla. Since our inscription was probably painted on the column soon after it was plastered, it probably was not done during the reign of Commodus, many years after the building of the Early Mithraeum. For the same reasons the early years of Septimius Severus are excluded. On the other hand, Caracalla may very probably be regarded as the emperor mentioned in the inscription. A wish for victory does not suit Commodus very well, since he never intended to make war on the Parthians. It is, however, very well suited

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. II.* pp. 83—86, no. H1 (undated); for the other evidence cf. *Rep. VI*, p. 31. The Cohort was in Dura in 251 A. D. as is shown by an unpublished inscription from the Dolicheneum, but it may have been temporarily removed in the first part of the third century.

to Caracalla who, from the very beginning of his rule, made feverish preparations for war against them.

All these considerations make it very probable that it was the Middle Mithraeum with its four plastered columns which was built by the soldiers of the two legions. The Early Mithraeum was the creation of the commanders of the Palmyrene mounted bowmen<sup>4</sup> who had been stationed in the city of Dura since Parthian times (*Comptes rendus*, 1935, p. 17) in order to guard the desert roads which led to Dura. This Palmyrene detachment of archers was probably kept in station by the Romans along with the *Cohors II Ulpia* until replaced, just before the construction of the Middle Mithraeum, by a regular Roman formation, the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, recruited in Palmyrene territory. If so, it was the Palmyrene *sagittarii*, their "numerus" (from the Roman point of view), who were responsible for the first appearance of the Persian Mithras among the mixed Pantheon of the city of Dura. We must not forget that even after Trajan and Hadrian the Palmyrenes were well acquainted with ancient Persian traditions as reflected in Parthian life and religion. They might have become acquainted with Mithras through Syrian soldiers and merchants, but in all probability they knew about his origin and his role in the religion of the Parthians.

If the chronology suggested above be accepted, the date of the Late Mithraeum must not be sought very near the date of Antonius Valentinus. Many years elapsed before the Mithraeum needed thorough repairing. On the other hand, its enlargement suggests a time when the garrison of Dura became still stronger and more numerous than in the time of Caracalla. Accordingly the most suitable date would be the time of Alexander Severus, or later, in the time of the imminent Sassanian danger — not very long before the last days of Dura. It should be remembered that graffiti and dipinti on the later layers of the plaster on the columns are rare in comparison to those on the early layer. The columns after being first plastered probably stood for many years without being repaired. After the second thorough replastering they probably did not have a very long life. Moreover, the

<sup>4</sup> [In connection with the introduction of the Mithraic cult at Dura by the Palmyrenes, it is interesting to note the inscription of the Mithraeum of Dorstadt in Dacia, *CIL* III, 7728: *sacerdos creatus a Pal[myre]nis*. This reports the selection of a priest by the Palmyrene soldiers or merchants. The persons mentioned in the two inscriptions of the Mithraeum are *Aelii* (cf. *Textes*, II, mons. 256—257 and mon. 191). The Palmyrenes had therefore been converted to Mithraism since the first half of the second century. F. Cumont.]

paintings of the Mithraeum were in a very good condition when found, which shows that they had been done not very long before. Their preservation is comparable to that of the paintings of the Synagogue, which were carried out about 245 A. D.

#### IV. DECORATION

##### *A. General Description.*

*(Inscr. No. 849)*

The constant feature of the Mithraea and the center of the decoration at all times was the gorgeously painted cult bas-relief, gilded and painted in bright colors, which shone in the light from torches and lamps.<sup>1</sup> Around the bas-relief was arranged the rest of the decoration, painted, not sculptured. This painted decoration varied from period to period.

We do not know much about the decoration of the Early Mithraeum. Since no fragments of plaster with figures or ornaments earlier than the Middle Mithraeum were found during the excavation, the painted decoration of the Early Mithraeum might have been very plain, perhaps merely painted surfaces of various colors.

The system of decoration of the Middle Mithraeum will be described below. It was repeated in all its essential features in the Late Mithraeum save for the distribution of the constituent parts of it. We are inclined to think that even the scenes of Mithras hunting the wild animals were not missing. Mr. Pearson notes (p. 104) that above the bench on the left side, against the south wall, were found many fragments of plaster decorated with green leaves and tree branches, and that some fragments with the same decorations were still adhering to the south wall (cf. fig. 36, 8; below, p. 103). There is no reason to ascribe these fragments to the Early Mithraeum. We may suppose, therefore, that they belonged to a scene of Mithras the hunter (cf. below, pp. 112—115), although no subjects occur on the fragments except the leaves and branches. This fresco may have been placed near the fine picture of which we still possess the larger part. This represented the greatest scene in Mithraic theology, the sacred banquet of Sol and Mithras (fig. 36, D). Whether or not corresponding scenes were painted at the end of the bench on the opposite side we are unable to say.

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that in the Middle and Late Mithraeum the smaller cult bas-relief was not in use, see below, p. 91.



A good parallel is furnished by the scene on the back of the big bas-relief of Heddernheim<sup>2</sup> where above the banquet scene is represented Mithras hunting wild animals.

The general aspect of the Middle Mithraeum, gay in its brilliant colors, was certainly imposing. The cult niche with the central bas-relief met the eyes of the worshipper as soon as he entered the sanctuary. Above the niche stood the large and impressive painting of the tauroctone with his acolytes. Below, starting from the key of the arch, were the pictures which illustrated the mystery of the Mithraic theogony and cosmogony and the story of Mithras' activity on the earth and of his final apotheosis. The back wall to the right and left of the niche also was adorned with monumental paintings. Of the pictures to the right of the niche, few fragments only are preserved. The subjects of these paintings are therefore unknown. On the back wall to the left of the niche was painted the great scene of holy communion, Mithras initiating Sol into his mysteries. Inside the niche in the reveal sat the two prophets of Mithraism, and above them was the starry sky. The symbol of time and sky, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, surrounded the bas-relief (cf. fig. 36, p. 103).

Before the table of offerings stood the main altar decorated with a beautiful garland of rosebuds and leaves festooned by rich gilt *taeniae*. This garland encircled the shaft of the altar. The four columns of the room for the worshippers were decorated in the same style, by similar garlands. On one of them (the third) was painted a standing figure, perhaps a god (p. 68). Below it, from the shaft of the column, protruded a bracket for a lamp. Either on the walls of the room behind the reclining *mystae* or on the walls of the clerestory stood portrait figures of the donors probably performing sacrifices in the fashion familiar from the other sanctuaries of Dura. The names of the donors were near their respective heads. The person represented by one of these heads (Pl. XIII, 1) was designated by the inscription to the right of it as Ἀρχέλαος, a Roman officer, the one who was acclaimed by one of his συνδέξιοι and subordinates in an inscription painted on one of the columns or one of the walls, as follows (no. 849; 0.09 m × 0.033 m., letters 0.005—0.01 m.):

*Archelao*  
*trib(uno) felic(iter)*

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, pl. VIII.



The columns of the worshippers' room and its walls and perhaps the adjoining small room were gradually covered with hundreds of painted and scratched inscriptions, all of them of a religious character which testified to the zeal and enthusiasm of the *mystae*, and were, in part, substitutes for more expensive altars and votive offerings, so common in the Mithraea of the richer communities of the North and West.

The aspect of the Mithraeum changed considerably in the last period of its existence. The worshipper who entered the sanctuary saw the benches, the six sober white columns unpainted and undecorated, having few inscriptions (the two first columns became in this period half columns having been incorporated in the miniature Mithraeum of the cult niche), the painted figures of the new donors which replaced similar figures of their predecessors, and in front of them the closed arched door of the main chapel, of the *naos*. The arch of this door was glazed with slabs of transparent gypsum and bore an inscription looking down on the worshippers.

It was not until the holy service began that the worshippers could see, through the open door of the cult chapel, the same sight which was familiar to their earlier colleagues, the cult niche with the bas-relief surrounded by the mystic pictures, the two prophets in front of this niche, and, above them, the mystery of the tauroctony with the cypress trees and the seven burning altars. To the right and left on the side walls of the crypt or vault the worshipper saw the impressive pictures of Mithras' hunt and above them the blue sky and the stars. He might have perceived also the signs of the Zodiac on the archivolt of the cult niche.

### *B. The Bas-Reliefs.*

(Pls. XXIX—XXX)

The most important part of the decoration of the Mithraeum, the only one which changed only in details, consisted of the two cult bas-reliefs set in the back wall. It will be seen from the description that the smaller was covered with a kind of curtain and was painted only once, while the larger had no curtain and was repainted several times. This may mean that the smaller bas-relief played no part in the cult ceremonies and was kept in the sanctuary exclusively for the sake of reverence, the larger alone being used.

## 1. The Smaller Bas-Relief.

Material, gypsum, white with yellowish tinge. Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.57 m.; thickness of stone, 0.10—0.11 m., maximum depth of cutting in relief, 0.03 m. The relief has a splay border on the top and two ends, and a base (depth 0.075 m.) on the face of which is an inscription in Palmyrene enclosed in a *tabella ansata* (above, pp. 83 f.). Down the left border runs an inscription in Greek (above, p. 83).

The bas-relief shows the usual tauroctone scene of Mithras. The bull runs to the right along the ledge formed by the base of the relief. With his left hand Mithras seizes the bull by the muzzle and draws its head upward and backward. By pressing against the side of the bull and thrusting downward with the weight of his body Mithras forces the animal down onto its right foreknee, its left fore leg being thrust forward as if to regain a footing. He maintains his position by pushing against the ground, half way between the fore and hind legs of his victim; his left foot and leg are drawn up and the knee is pressed against the bull's body just back of the fore quarter.<sup>3</sup> In modelling, the sculptor obtained high relief for the hips and legs of Mithras by thinning the body of the bull on either side. With his right arm Mithras reaches around the animal's neck and thrusts in the dagger from the front. The dagger itself is not visible, but the wound is indicated by the flow of blood, painted in dark red, which splashes across the left fore leg. From the lower right corner the dog leaps against the bull, holding its nose close to the wound. Just below the dog appears the outline of a snake which also leaps against the wound in a manner similar to that of the dog.<sup>4</sup> Originally the snake was in high relief but at some time in the history of the stone it was sliced off level with the adjacent field with a sharp tool having a cutting edge 0.01 m. wide. The remaining outline is the mark of the original modeling. A similar tool was used at some time to remove the inscription on the base. The blow, however, was at a sharper angle, being directed upward and toward the left. After partially obliterating some of the letters at the left end of the inscription the attempt was given up.

Beneath the bull there is no scorpion, nor does the bull's tail,

<sup>3</sup> The nearest parallels to this motive come from Campania, cf. Cumont, *Textes*, II, mon. 92, cf. mon. 89 and 91.

<sup>4</sup> This motive is unusual, if not unique; cf. *ibid.*, mon. 86, 93, and 95. [The dog is the kindly animal who comes to lick the blood spurting from the wound; cf. *Textes*, I, pp. 189, 191. F. Cumont.]

which curls upward and backward in a large loop, end in an ear of wheat.

Mithras wears a Persian cap beneath which the hair shows in a mass of ringlets. The face of the god is youthful and is turned full front even though all the lively action of the killing demands a profile view, thus showing the strong urge to use frontality.<sup>5</sup> He wears Persian clothing. The trousers fall in loose folds about the legs and reach down to the tops of his high boots. The many folds of the garments are fairly fine and are fitted somewhat to the contour of the body. The upper garment reaches to the knee and is gathered at the waist by a belt. The mantle comes to a point in front and blows backward over the shoulders with the wind, horizontally. The lines in the mantle show the twisting motion of the wind. A dagger sheath<sup>6</sup> is visible at the juncture of the upper garment and the rear quarter of the bull.

To the right above the head of the bull is a large sun disc similar to those on Babylonian and Assyrian reliefs. The rays were cut in a star pattern on the surface of the disc. To the left is a moon crescent within the horns of which there is a large nine-pointed star. The centers of the sun disc and of the star were cut away in order to remove jewels which were set into small drill holes (diam. 0.002 m.). The bottoms of these holes are clearly visible as are also the marks of the instrument used to break away the stone. A slicing blow upward and toward the left with a dull chisel was employed to make the breaks. A similar break appears in the front of Mithras' cap which also shows the bottom of a drill hole of the same size. A drill hole one millimeter larger in diameter was used to represent the nostril of the bull. It is almost certain that it did not carry a jewel both because of its larger size and because there is no break or scar about it. Between the head of Mithras and the moon crescent the crow appears as if alighting on a perch.

On the top splay there are four holes (diam. 0.01 m.) which were spaced as follows: the first 0.13 m. from the left edge of the stone, the next 0.23 m., the third 0.34 m., and the last 0.44 m. In the first there

<sup>5</sup> [The face of Mithras is represented with frontality even in the West where there is no question of a local tradition. The reason is indicated, *Textes*, I, p. 192. The god turns toward the crow to listen to him. F. Cumont. On the question of frontality cf. now C. Hopkins, *Ars Islamica*, III (1937), pp. 187—196; H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XVIII (1937), pp. 31—43. Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> A sheath of similar design is shown on a Roman tauroctone now in the Louvre; cf. Cumont, *ibid.*, mon. 57.

is a white inset stone. The second once carried a bit of green glaze pottery, but the other two insets are lost.<sup>7</sup>

On the borders to the left and right near the top small bronze staples were set into the stone. It seems probable that these were used to suspend a veil over the relief.

The coloring of this relief as well as of the larger relief presents some uncertainties because of the nature of the remaining traces. The color in the lettering and probably on the blood of the bull was applied as soon as the relief was finished. A long period then elapsed during which the borders of the stone were damaged and age marks appeared elsewhere. It was subsequent to this that the relief as a whole was treated with color. At a still later date black was applied to the background. Before applying the black a gesso slip was used on various areas perhaps to make the surface smoother for coloring. Below is a table of the colors used with numbers indicating the order of application:

Border	1 pink
Splay	1 yellow, 2 gesso in places, 2a yellow
Base	1 pink
Lettering	Deep red — 1 pink, retraced with red
Background	1 yellow, 2 gesso in places, 2a black
Sun and star	1 natural, 2 yellow
Moon	1 natural, 2 natural
Crow	1 black, 2 black
Bull	1 natural, 2 natural (mouth, pink)
Blood	Red — 1 pink mixed with white
Dog	1 pink (mixed with white?)
Snake	1 (in relief), 2 (scar) black
Mithras' cap	1 pink; hair, 1 yellow; face, 1 natural outlined in pink with touches of black; eyes, 1 black; hands, 1 natural with touches of black; upper garment, 1 pink mixed with white (belt and some folds yellow); trousers, 1 pink (trimmings yellow); dagger sheath, 1 yellow with touches of pink, 2 black; boots, 1 yellow, 2 yellow.

<sup>7</sup> These inset stones and pieces of faience probably had a close relationship to the three jewels and may represent stars. Thus on the relief found near the Circus Maximus in Rome a star appears on the cap of Mithras and four stars are arranged in a row near the upper border of the relief. Cf. *Bull. Comm.*, LIX (1931), pl. facing p. 130.



## 2. The Larger Bas-Relief. (Inscr. Nos. 850—852)

Material, gypsum, white with yellowish tinge. Height, 0.76 m.; width, 1.05 m.; thickness, 0.10—0.11 m.; maximum depth of cutting, 0.07 m. On the base of the relief (depth 0.10—0.11 m.) is an inscription in Greek (above p. 84).

Rising from either side of the base is a round column standing on a square block and carrying a capital which does not follow any of the classical Greek types. It shows some similarities to the Nabataean capital. The total height of the column on the left is 0.40 m., on the right, 0.44 m. On the capitals are square abaci from the inner edges of which springs a low arch. Beneath this arch is a beveled surface which is occupied by the twelve signs of the Zodiac divided in the middle by the radiate crown of a bust of the sky god. The signs of the Zodiac begin with the Ram on the extreme left and end with the Fish on the extreme right. With the exception of the Crab and the Archer all the signs face toward the left. Above the back of the Ram there is what appears to be the sun, an incised circle; over the Bull is a small crescent moon (i. e., the new moon); between the heads of the Twins there is what seems to be a star; over the Lion there is a round disc which may represent the sun. Similar discs appear near the Crab and the Virgin. The last six signs show no subsidiary representations.<sup>8</sup>

The bust of the sky god in the center<sup>9</sup> has a bearded face and wears

<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that the Mithras birth relief from Trier shows a cycle comprised of the first six signs of the Zodiac in conjunction with the busts of the four seasons. Cf. Löschke, pl. XVIII (above, p. 82, n. 10); D. H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* (1930), fasc. 15, fig. 24. [The marks incised above the signs of the Zodiac are very interesting. They are clearly astrological. The circle inscribed above the Ram is the Sun, because the Ram is the "exaltation" (ὑψωμα) of the Sun. So also the crescent above the Bull represents the Moon, the Bull being its ὑψωμα. The Gemini or Dioscuri (Horace's *lucida sidera*) are often accompanied by two stars. The disk of the Sun is above the Lion, because it is the "home" (οἶκος) of the Sun; cf. e. g. Ptol., *Tetr.*, I, 15 and 17 (περὶ οἴκων, περὶ ὑψωμάτων), but the doctrine is common to all the astrologers. The disk above the Crab ought to be the Moon, of which the Crab is an οἶκος, but I do not see the reason for a disk above the Virgin, which is the οἶκος of Mercury. F. Cumont.]

<sup>9</sup> This position of the sky god is paralleled by that of Saturn in the series of scenes painted around the reliefs and also by the central position of the Mithraic Cronus on western reliefs; cf. Cumont, *Textes*, II, mon. 70; Balduin Saria, *Glavne Kultue Podobe Mitrejev v Poetovionu* (*Žbornik za Umetnostno Žgodovino*, 1932—33), fig. 9.



a *calathos*<sup>10</sup> and a radiate crown. To the right and beneath the Scorpion of the Zodiac are the outlines of a bust of the Sun which was originally in relief. It was sliced off with a narrow chisel (about 0.006 m. wide) at a period subsequent to the first application of color. The radiate crown was conspicuous. To the left of the central bust under the Lion and the Crab there was originally another bust in relief, which was presumably that of the Moon though the remaining outline does not clearly identify it. It was removed at the same time and in the same manner as the sun bust.

In the upper left hand corner of the stone, above the arch, is a bust with the shoulders and one eye full front, but the rest of the head is facing right. An almost identical bust which faces to the left appears on the upper right hand corner of the stone. These are probably representations of the two major seasons, summer being on the left over the spring and summer signs of the Zodiac and winter being over the fall and winter signs.<sup>11</sup>

The main field of the relief is occupied with two scenes, on the left Mithras killing the bull and on the right Zenobius the dedicant and four other persons.

The scene of the killing, while similar to that of the small relief, shows much less action. The bull stands more stationary on his hind legs and is crushed lower on his fore legs. Its head is pulled much farther back from a normal running position by Mithras' left hand, while the dagger is indifferently thrust into the side of the neck by the right hand. The dog and snake, much too small in proportion, leap against the neck of the bull as in the small relief. Mithras sits against the side of the bull with both feet placed on the ground between the fore and hind legs of the bull.<sup>12</sup> Arranged along the base between the knee and left fore leg of the bull are seven small objects which probably represent primitive stone altars.<sup>13</sup> There is no scorpion. The bull's

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the Jupiter on the relief of Bononia, Cumont, *op. cit.*, II, mon. 106.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the two busts on the picture of the tauroctone from Old Capua, Italy, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1924, pl. XVII; F. Saxl, *Mithras* (1931), fig. 74, and the two sets of busts on mon. 16 (Cumont, *op. cit.*). These two busts were covered with the plaster of the niche in the late period, and so were removed from sight at the same time that the busts of Sun and Moon were cut away.

<sup>12</sup> This position of Mithras on the bull has but few parallels in Mithraic art. They are found in Campania. See Cumont, *op. cit.*, mon. 92.

<sup>13</sup> [Cf. the seven(?) altars on the fresco, below, p. 111. Similar altars below the bull occur in the Danubian reliefs; cf. *Textes*, II, p. 292, mon. 163, fig. 146; cf. also fig. 148, etc. For Rome cf. *ib.*, p. 199, mon. 13, fig. 23. F. Cumont.]

tail curls upward in a manner similar to that of the small relief, but less naturally.

Mithras wears a Persian cap beneath which a mass of hair is portrayed by curls. His face is youthful and is turned full front. His upper garment is provided with long sleeves and is gathered about the hips with a belt. The large deep folds are cut without regard to the contour of the body. A long mantle cut in four even folds streams back and upward from the shoulders. On the top of the mantle perches a small crow which faces Mithras. The trousers hang in heavy folds about the legs and reach to the tops of the high boots.

The scene on the right represents a group of three persons who worship the god Mithras. The largest figure is Zenobius who stands on a square stone base near the right column. On the left hand side of the same base stands a small *thymiaterion* upon which Zenobius places incense with his right hand. He is clothed in an undergarment with half length sleeves cut in heavy folds. The upper garment is a mantle which forms a skirt reaching to the tops of his shoes. One end of the mantle is brought over the left shoulder, down the front, around the left wrist and falls at the side of the skirt.

Zenobius is unbearded and faces front. A mass of hair shows beneath a small skull cap. Between his head and the capital his name is cut in two vertical lines (no. 850; 0.03 m.,  $\times$  0.07 m., height of letters 0.015 m.).

Zη-  
νό-  
βι-  
ος

Between the *thymiaterion* and the dog there is a ledge supported by two kneeling figures whose knees rest on the ground. They are strikingly similar to the Atlantes which were so popular in Graeco-Buddhist art. These figures support the ledge by their upraised arms, the figure on the left holding up his right arm and the other one his left arm. The other two hands are clasped between them.

Standing on the ledge to the right near Zenobius is Jariboles whose name is cut in two lines above his head (no. 851; 0.115 m.  $\times$  0.06 m., height of letters 0.02—0.25 m.).

Ἰαρι-  
βωλῆς

To the left is Barnaadath whose name is cut in two lines to the left of his head (no. 852; 0.08 m.  $\times$  0.04 m., height of letters 0.015 m.).

Βαρνα-  
άδαθ

Both wear trousers without folds which reach to their shoe tops. Their upper garments extend down to the knee, are cut with diagonal folds, and are provided with long sleeves. Jariboles wears a mantle which passes around his neck and hangs down behind. No mantle is visible on Barnaadath. Jariboles carries a sword attached to a belt about his hips; his left hand rests on the sword at his side. His right arm is raised and the hand is hidden behind the head of Barnaadath. The latter carries no sword but presses his left hand across his left hip; with his right arm raised he makes a gesture of adoration by turning the palm to the front, extending the thumb, and doubling the fingers into the palm. The arm is bent at the elbow. Both face front and are unbearded. Their heads are 0.02 m. higher than the head of Zenobius. Jariboles wears no headgear, while Barnaadath has a smoothly drawn turban which conceals the hair. There is a break in the latter's head due to the decayed condition of the stone at this point. There is no clear evidence that the break was caused by the removal of a jewel. A break in the cap of Mithras leaves its cause in doubt. There is no clear mark of a drill hole, nor are there certain indications that a tool was used to make the break. On the other hand there are no traces of color in the break showing that it occurred at a late period. It is open to doubt at best whether the cap carried a jewel.

As with the smaller stone, the lettering seems to have been traced in red from the beginning. Elsewhere color was applied after the appearance of age marks. Before the first colors were applied certain corrections were made in the cutting with a gesso slip. The first general color scheme followed the pattern of the last stage of the small relief, and seems to have been applied at the same time when the small relief was given a final touching up.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Several facts point to this conclusion. The first coloring of the blood on the large relief corresponds to the final color on the smaller relief. The natural (i. e., white) bull of the small relief corresponds with the earlier period of the bull on the large relief. Gold applied to the large relief in the second period was not applied to the small relief which was otherwise more resplendent with jewels. The gesso slip marks a final stage in the coloring of the small relief, whereas it is fundamental in

Border and base	1 pink, 2 red on plaster which adheres
Lettering	Red, 1 retraced or covered with pink
Background above Zodiac	1 natural, 2 covered with plaster, red on plaster
Background below Zodiac	1 natural, 2 black (after removal of sun and moon busts)
Zodiac	1 yellow, 2 black(?), 3 black
Central bust	1 yellow
Sun and moon busts	1 (in relief), 2 (scars) black
Busts in upper corners	1 pink (garments), natural (faces)
Crow	1 black, 2 black
Bull	1 natural; blood, pink, 2 orange; blood, pink
Snake and dog	1 red
Altar	1 top, pink; remainder natural
Zenobius	mantle, 1 pink (on some folds yellow); undergarment, 1 black between folds; hair, 1 yellow, 2 (?), 3 black; eyes, 1 black, 2 (?), 3 black; boots, 1 yellow, 2 yellow.
Jariboles and Barnaadath	1 pink garments, yellow boots, 2 (?), 3 faces black
Mithras' cap	1 pink, 2 gold, 3 black; hair, 1 orange, 2 gold, 3 black; face and hands, 1 natural, 2 gold, 3 black; upper garment, 1 pink, 2 gold, 3 black; trousers, 1 pink (black stripe), 2 pink (black stripe); boots, 1 yellow, 2 yellow.

It is surprising to find the black (different from the black of the background) smeared on the surface of some parts of the bas-relief in the latest period of its existence. It may be that this was done at the last moment, before the sanctuary was buried under the sloping embankment. It seems that, in addition, the two bas-reliefs were covered by a layer of plaster, certainly in order to protect them. On the other hand, it should be noted that the final application of black was applied

the coloring of the large relief. Finally the corner busts of the large relief seem to have been covered before the second application of color or after the final coloring of the small relief. These facts, such as they are, lead us to believe that the alterations on the reliefs and the first general coloring of the large relief took place at the time when the Middle Mithraeum was reconstructed.



not only to the faces of Mithras and the other standing figures but also to the gold and to the signs of the Zodiac. It may be that the black was applied to assure a uniform appearance of the relief when the other colors had begun to flake away.

### 3. Interpretation of the Reliefs.

A few remarks will suffice to characterize the position which the two bas-reliefs occupy in the large group of similar bas-reliefs. It must be noted first and foremost that the two bas-reliefs show the strong influence of the place in which they were carved, this place being certainly Dura. Note the strict frontality rigidly observed by the stonecutter. Observe on the smaller relief the substitution of two symbols for the usual busts of Sol and Luna<sup>15</sup>, the crescent moon and perhaps the Venus star to the left and the solar rosette to the right. In addition, note the peculiar composition of the larger bas-relief, the unique addition of the group of dedicants, headed by Zenobius, to the usual scene of the killing of the bull. It is well known that such groups are canonical in the religious art of Dura.<sup>16</sup>

As to the identity of the smaller figures in the group of dedicants the two authors of this report do not agree. While Cumont regards the two figures on the ledge as the two sons of Zenobius, and the small figures supporting the ledge as his two grandsons, Rostovtzeff, without denying the possibility of such an interpretation, is more inclined to regard the figures standing on the ledge as the deified father (Jariboles) and the grandfather (Barnaadath) of Zenobius, and the two kneeling figures as decorative figures of Atlantes represented here in order to emphasize the semi-divine character of the figures on the ledge, according to a deeply rooted Graeco-Oriental custom.

In any case we may note that Jariboles was certainly in military service, perhaps the predecessor of Ethpaneï in Dura or one of the officers of Zenobius, while Barnaadath was a civilian.

Besides these peculiarities the two bas-reliefs show a composition which is unusual in the North and in the West and seems to be the

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Textes*, II, Mon. 234, from Morici in Dalmatia which shows a star and a crescent.

<sup>16</sup> [For the addition of the group of dedicants to the sacrifice of the bull one may compare the bas-relief of Palmyra published by Ingholt, *Berytus*, III (1936), pl. IX, 1, where beside an Iranian god stands the *arcapat* Vorodes pouring a libation and represented as large as the deity. F. Cumont.]



oriental version of the tauroctone type, since it recurs in two bas-reliefs found in Syria, at Sî<sup>c</sup> in the Hauran and at Arsha-wa-Qibar in the Cyrrhastica.<sup>17</sup>

The traits characteristic of and common to Syria and Mesopotamia are the absence of the scorpion and of wheat growing out of the tail of the bull, the change in the position of the busts of Sol and Luna, the latter in Syria and Mesopotamia occupying the left side, the former the right,<sup>18</sup> and some peculiarities in the treatment of the bull and his killer. It is evident that Syria had developed her own type of cult bas-relief of Mithras, derived from the Anatolian prototype common both to Syria and to the West. It is interesting to note that in the paintings the peculiarities mentioned above have disappeared and that when the temple was reconstructed the uncanonical busts of Sol and Luna on the large bas-relief were eliminated.

### *C. The Pictures of the Middle Mithraeum.*

The most distinctive difference between this period of decoration and the late period is the color scheme. The middle period decorations had green, buff, blue, red, and grey, the general effect being of cool colors, while the late decorations were black, red, light yellow, and grey, the effect being of warm colors.

The subject-matter of the middle period murals is roughly that of the last period, but the placing is different. Between the ceiling and the arch of the niche was a painting of a bull attacked by various animals (fig. 36, 1). This was flanked on either side by at least one tree, and by the two torch-bearers. Of this scene, only many small fragments remain. The feet of the left-hand torch bearer and the end of a lowered torch were distinctly visible on the fragments of plaster uncovered during the excavation. The head of the serpent and part of the bull's rump and testicles were also *in situ*. In the dirt were found fragments of his forelegs and horns. That these latter were painted on an angle of plaster shows that an angular molding existed at the juncture of wall and ceiling.

<sup>17</sup> For Sî<sup>c</sup> cf. H. C. Butler, *Princeton Expeditions to Syria*, A, II (1916), p. 398; A. L. Frothingham, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, XXII (1918), pp. 54—62; C. Watzinger, K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus* (1921), p. 109; cf. Cumont, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, LXXVII (1918), pp. 207—212. The bas-relief is now in the Museum of Damascus. For Arsha-wa-Qibar see Cumont, *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 381—384.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Textes*, mon. 283, from Sitifis in Mauretania.

Around the niche were found fragments of a series of small paintings set in a semicircular band of panels (fig. 36, 3). On the left side, next to the bottom, a reclining figure was represented, his head projecting into the border of the panel. Immediately above this another head in a similar position was found. Farther up, in what would have been the third panel of the series, a small fragment bore the legs of a kneeling figure and above this were what appeared to be the feet of two figures. If all the panels of this series were of the same width, there would have been precisely enough space for thirteen panels. The top central one may have had some especial significance. These small scenes were probably scenes from the story of Mithras.

In the reveal of the niche, on either side, and covered by the later signs of the Zodiac, was found the head of a man wearing the cap of Mithras and the cape held at the breast by a large brooch (fig. 36, 4; Pl. XIII, 2). These heads are very similar to, although slightly larger than the seated figures on either side of the niche in the last period. Just above the top of their caps, a border line in red separated the figures from a field of blue painted with white stars (fig. 36, 5). The stars have eight points and are alternately small and large. This decoration is very similar to the vault of the later shrine and may indicate that the stars had some significance. They are also similar to the stars decorating the ceiling and vault of the baptistry in the Christian building.

At the back of the niche, around the two bas-reliefs, were the signs of the Zodiac (fig. 36, 6). Of these only parts of five were found, so badly obliterated that nothing could be made from them but the two fishes and the shoulder and elbow of a man in the adjacent panel. This band of panels was terminated at the altar table by a larger panel of plaster painted to resemble marble. The borders of this series were yellow, the backgrounds blue, and the figures in red and white.

On the south bench, fallen from the back wall (fig. 36, 9, and C; Pl. XIII, 3), was found a fragmentary scene of Mithras with the Sun, painted in large scale. This painting, hidden in the recess formed by the vaulted *spelaeum* of the Late period, was certainly not of the Late period, but rather remained untouched and protected by the *spelaeum* construction.

Only the upper parts of the two reclining figures are preserved. Mithras, on the right side reclining to the left, has wide eyes, curly hair, a Phrygian cap. He is dressed in exactly the same way as Sol and all the figures of the Middle and, to a certain extent, the Late Mithraeum. He wears a Persian dress of exactly the same type as the Persian

dress of the Palmyrene nobles, a long sleeved tunic with embroidered "manchettes", a leather (?) collar divided in squares, each square being adorned with a precious stone, an embroidered front stripe going down the tunic, and a leather belt divided like the collar in squares, with a precious stone set into the centre of each. From the

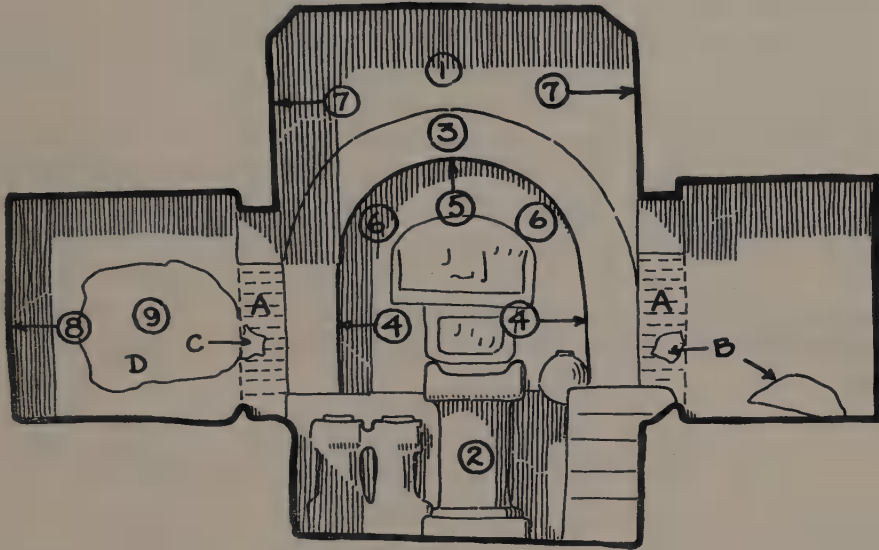


Fig. 36. Middle Mithraeum Decorations.

1. The bull attacked. 2. Wreath on altar. 3. Scenes in the life of Mithras. 4. Two heads with Phrygian caps. 5. White stars on blue ground. 6. Signs of the Zodiac. 7. Large-scale heads and fragments. 8. Fragments of foliage and branches. 9. Wall from which banquet scene fell. A. Area covered by walls of Late Mithraeum vault. B. Fragments with traces of color. C. Dislodged fragment from right edge of banquet scene. D. Probable original position of banquet scene.

shoulders hangs a cloak, fastened over the breast with the circular brooch so typical of Palmyra. The right arm and hand of Mithras are behind the waist of Sol as if he were embracing him in a friendly gesture. In his left hand he holds a *rhyton*. Sol's head is bare, encircled by a *nimbus*. His head, like that of Mithras, is in front view but while Mithras' head is slightly inclined down and to the left and he is gazing straight before him, Sol's head is turned right and up, and his wide open eyes are gazing up in the direction of heaven. His hands are not preserved and we do not know what he was holding in them.

On this same bench, where the banquet scene was found, and adhering to the south wall, were many fragments of plaster decorated with green leaves and tree branches (fig. 36, 8). No other subject was discernible. This painting had been covered by a thin coat of white plaster, left undecorated since it was also in the recess beside the *spelaeum*.

Fragments of a figure dressed in the same manner as Mithras in the banquet scene (Pl. XIII, 4) were found in the rubbish.

Several heads were found of such a large scale that they must have belonged to fairly large paintings (fig. 36, 7). There were three of them, all about of the same size and technique. It is not unreasonable to suppose them to have come from the wall over the column lintel where there would have been sufficient space for a standing or sitting figure at the scale of the heads found.

The decoration of the middle period, then, was complete and not at all crude. The first layer of plaster on the reconstructed wall is of exceedingly poor quality, and the paintings on it must have been in bad condition when destroyed.

#### *D. The Pictures of the Late Mithraeum.*

(Inscr. No. 853)

The chief interest of the Late Mithraeum consists in its pictures. They are no great artistic achievement. The man who painted them was an artisan rather than an artist. His name we know; he signed it in black letters in the left lower corner of the scene of Mithras, the tauroctone, above the niche (no. 853; 0.18 m. × 0.09 m., letters 0.02—0.025 m.; cf. Pl. XVIII, 2). Νάμα Μαρτέω ζωγράφω, "blessing to Maraeus the painter". The painter was therefore a Semite, perhaps one of the soldiers of the garrison initiated into the mysteries. Modest as they are from the artistic point of view, the paintings of the Mithraeum are exceptional in their variety of subject, and have few parallels in other Mithraea. We must note that, in general, Mithraea adorned with paintings are rare. We may cite the well known Mithraeum of old Capua<sup>19</sup> and the recently discovered Mithraeum of the Giardini Barberini in Rome not yet published.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> A. Minto, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1924, pp. 353—375.

<sup>20</sup> This is soon to be published by Annibaldi. Another Mithraeum with important remains of paintings has been found this year (1937) on the Aventine.



1. Cosmogony and the Life of Mithras.  
(Pl. XVIII, 1)

Around the large cult bas-relief in the *arcosolium* of the cult niche, divided from the bas-relief by a stylized painted garland, were painted on a layer of plaster thirteen little pictures, each one of them in a trapezoidal frame. It is the same disposition that we find on many cult bas-reliefs especially of the Rhinelands, and in the Barberini Mithraeum. These thirteen pictures with their respective frames gave the effect of an arch or front of a cylindrical vault built of stones. The key of this arch was formed by a central picture which divided the series of pictures into two halves, each one containing six pictures. Two lower pictures on the left are missing. This part of the series illustrated (in the order from top to bottom) the cosmogony of the mysteries, the right part (in the sequence from bottom to top) the life or the exploits of Mithras on the earth. We cannot describe the pictures in detail; that will be done in the Final Report. A short summary will suffice here.

1. The key stone is adorned by the upper part of the body of a beardless god, whose head is surrounded by the *nimbus* and veiled; in his right hand he holds the *harpé*. It is Cronos, the god Time, the Χρόνος ἀγήραος of the Mithraists and of the Orphics.<sup>21</sup> This figure plays in our Mithraeum the same rôle as is played in the bas-reliefs of Rome and Poetovio by the figure usually called Aion, a leontocephalic monster surrounded by a serpent.<sup>22</sup>

2. One of the usual scenes of the Mithraic cosmogony, that of Cronos handing over his thunderbolt to his son Zeus, was omitted in Dura. The next two pictures at Dura form one subject, Zeus annihilating with his thunderbolt the elemental forces of nature, the anguipede giants who revolted against him. The scene is often represented in Mithraea. It is an Hellenization of one of the episodes of the Iranian theogony, the revolt of the evil spirits, the creations of Ahriman, against Ahura-Mazda.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Minokhired*, § 8 (trans. H. S. Nyberg, *Journ. Asiat.*, CCXIV, 1929, p. 199; cf. *ib.*, CCXIX, 1931, p. 52): "Zurvan l'illimité est exempt de la vieillesse et de la mort (*azarmān, amarg*)."

<sup>22</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, mon. 70, and B. Saria, *Zbornik za Umetnostno Zgodovino* (1933), p. 75, fig. 9; M. Abramšč, *Führer durch Poetovio* (1925), p. 75; cf. Cumont, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIX (1934), p. 66. The unpublished Barberini fresco shows the same motive.

<sup>23</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 152.



3. Next comes a frequently repeated but not yet satisfactorily interpreted scene which represents a man lying on top of a mountain. He holds the *harpé*, and should therefore be Cronos. A similar figure appears on a bas-relief from Nersae in the Abbruzzi, now in the Museo delle Terme in Rome. A peculiar trait of this picture in Dura is the branch with leaves which is shown above the reclining figure. Note that the representation of mountains is that which is traditional in the Sumerian, Babylonian, and Phoenician art. The lines on the top of each summit probably represent trees.

4. In the next picture, only partly preserved, we see the birth of Mithras from the rock, Mithras πετρογενής. Mithras, already wearing his cap, holds in his hands two torches. Fire comes out of the rock. With Mithras light came to the earth.<sup>24</sup>

5. The set of pictures illustrating the life of Mithras on the earth begins below with the well known scene of Mithras shooting an arrow at a rock of his cave in order to bring forth water.<sup>25</sup>

6. Next come the scenes illustrating the struggle of Mithras with the primeval bull, created at the beginning of the world. The subject is treated more in detail in other Mithraea. Two pictures only are devoted to it at Dura. The first shows the ride of Mithras on the back of the bull, represented in the same way as the ride of Europa on the back of the Zeus bull. With his right hand Mithras is making the usual gesture against the evil eye, in his left he is holding a red sphere, perhaps the solar rosette, symbolizing the celestial world. Under his left arm on the neck of the bull is represented another larger sphere. Is it the terrestrial globe, symbol of the bull? The surface on which the bull is running is convex. Red waving lines are painted on it. Is it the terrestrial globe and the ocean or a river, or the top of a mountain?<sup>26</sup>

7. Mithras, the βουκλόπος Θεός, is transporting the bull into the cave where the bull will be immolated. Note the representation of the entrance into the cave which is unique.<sup>27</sup>

8. The next scene is frequently reproduced on the Mithraic cult bas-relief. In the Mithraic theology the episode represented in this

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 159 f.; Cumont, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIX (1934), p. 66. We have no way of guessing which scenes were represented in the two missing panels.

<sup>25</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 165, cf. F. Behn, *Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg* (1928), pp. 11-13, scenes 4 and 5. Note the Parthian form of the bow of Mithras.

<sup>26</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 170; for the globe cf. *ibid.*, II, mon. 18, fig. 20, cf. also mons. 245, 310, and 54, and R. Forrer, *Das Mithrasheiligtum von Königshofen* (1915), p. 43.

<sup>27</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, I, pp. 170 f.

picture certainly played a very important rôle. Mithras is standing in front view. Before him kneels Sol, nude like a *mysta* ready to be initiated. Mithras has taken off the Phrygian cap of Sol, which he triumphantly holds in his right hand, and puts his left hand on the head of Sol. Above the figure of Sol is the radiate crown or *nimbus*. The meaning of the scene is explained elsewhere. It is the initiation or the "sacre" of Sol by Mithras who confers on him the Iranian *Hvareno*, the supernatural fire which belongs to certain gods and is transmitted by them to the rulers. The imposition of the hand is a liturgical gesture familiar in Judaism and Christianity. Sol therefore is made by Mithras the sovereign of the world, the Ἡλῖος βασιλεύς, the *Sol invictus* of the Roman Empire.<sup>28</sup>

9., 10. Since the killing of the bull on the advice of Sol, now the ally of Mithras, the greatest mystery of the Mithraic religion was represented on the cult bas-relief, the scene which follows that of Sol's initiation is the second greatest mystery of Mithraic religion, the sacred banquet of Mithras and Sol after the killing of the bull, the holy communion of the two allies. This basic episode, the culmination of the activity of Mithras, the act which was the mythical prototype of the greatest Mithraic mystery, the common meal and the holy communion of the *mystae*, is represented in Dura on the next two panels. On the first appear the two acolytes of Mithras, Cautes and Cautopates, transporting on a big pole the dead body of the sacrificed bull. This scene is new in Mithraic iconography. There is no doubt that those who transport the bull are Mithras' counterparts, Cautes and Cautopates, members of the Mithraic trinity. They appear in a similar rôle on some Mithraic monuments of which more will be said presently.

The banquet scene which follows is one of the most common scenes of Mithraic religious art. It was the crowning episode in the life of Mithras. It was followed by his departure to heaven, a much less important event which does not appear in Dura at all. On the other hand, the sacred banquet and the holy communion is treated in Mithraic art as an act as important as the killing of the bull. In some Mithraea the cult bas-relief was a plaque sculptured on both sides. It revolved in a special niche and one or the other side of it was shown to the worshippers during the sacred ceremony. The obverse of these

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 172. A similar ceremony was performed by Nero who conferred the crown on Tiridates, Cumont, *Riv. Fil.*, LXI (1933), p. 145. Cf. also the imposition of hands or of the right hand in Manichaeism, *Manichäische Handschriften*, ed. C. Schmidt, vol. I (1935), § 9, p. 37. The scene will be interpreted more fully in the Final Report.

bas-reliefs illustrated the killing of the bull, the reverse the sacred banquet. Such were the cult bas-reliefs of the Praetorian camp at Rome,<sup>29</sup> the bas-relief of Konjica in Serbia,<sup>30</sup> the great bas-relief of Hedderheim in Germany<sup>31</sup> and a bas-relief recently discovered in Italy.<sup>32</sup>

The picture of Dura shows the two gods, Mithras in his cap to the right, Sol in his radiate crown to the left, seated or reclining behind the corpse of the bull. Each holds a *rhyton*. At the left is represented a raven with human body and a raven's head. His beak is open as if he were talking to the banqueters;<sup>33</sup> in his right hand he holds a long spit with pieces of meat which he offers to the two *convivae*. Such a version of the banquet scene is rare but not unparalleled. The nearest parallel is the fragmentary bas-relief of the Castra Praetoria now in the Schloss museum of Mannheim.<sup>34</sup> The obverse shows the left end of the scene of the sacrifice of the bull by Mithras inside of a grotto. On the reverse was represented the scene of the banquet in a kind of an *aedicula*. Behind the body of the bull is seated Mithras (the head is missing). He holds in his left hand a *rhyton*. Curiously enough, below are the same animals who took part in the scene of the killing of the bull, the snake, the scorpion, and the dog. They are, however, just spectators. Above, at the left, on the rough surface which may represent a cave, stands Cautopates turned right, i. e., not looking at the banquet scene, and below him the man-raven who extends his right hand towards the banqueters. It seems as if he were holding a spit with pieces of meat.

More elaborate is the bas-relief of Konjica.<sup>35</sup> Sol with a *rhyton* in his left hand, Mithras without the *rhyton*, both lifting their right hands, are reclining in an *aedicula* on a couch which seems to be covered with the bull's skin. Before it stands a tripodal table with four loaves of bread, at the left a lion. Two young men (the head of one is broken off), both wearing the same kind of dress and the Mithraic *tiara*, are offering the reclining gods different objects, one a *rhyton*, the other a beaker. It is probable that the two young men are not Perses and Miles but the two dadophores. Behind them at the left is the man-raven,

<sup>29</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, Ser. 4, XXI (1902), p. 12; *Bull. Comm.*, XL (1912), pp. 243—252.

<sup>30</sup> C. Patsch, *Wissen. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, VI (1929), pp. 191—196, pls. XI and XII; Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 175, fig. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Cumont, *ibid.*, II, pls. VII and VIII.

<sup>32</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 192, no. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Above, n. 29.

<sup>35</sup> Above, n. 30.

who holds in his right hand an obliterated object which seems to be a spit with two pieces of meat. At the right stands the man-lion (the left part of his body is missing).

A variant of the same scene is found in Heddernheim.<sup>36</sup> There behind the corpse of the bull Sol and Mithras are standing, not seated. However, the act is the same. Mithras, to the left, is holding a *rhyton*; Sol is offering him a grape. At the left, and right of the bull, are the two dadophores with fruit.

The motive of the corpse of the bull which serves as a table reappears in one of the scenes of the cult bas-relief of Dieburg.<sup>37</sup> At Sarrebourg the couch is covered,<sup>38</sup> as at Konjica, with the skin of the bull. On a clay cup found at Trier<sup>39</sup> the dadophores are attending Sol and Mithras, and one of them is doing the same on the bas-relief of Troia, ancient Castobriga in Portugal.<sup>40</sup>

The main point of interest in the painting of Dura is the appearance of the man-raven with the sacred meat, apparently that of the slain bull. In the Mithraic ceremony of the holy banquet the holy communion apparently consisted not only in partaking of the bread, wine, and fruit which were bestowed on mankind by the slain bull, but also of the flesh of the bull himself. We will see later that in the sacred meals of the *mystae* in Dura meat played an important part. It is not impossible that in the sacred ceremony wine represented the blood of the bull which flowed so abundantly from the body of the bull on the small cult bas-relief of Dura (above, p. 92). If so, we can better understand the allusions of Justin Martyr<sup>41</sup> when he accuses the demons of having created in the Mithraic communion a parody on the Eucharist.

The importance of meat in the rite of communion of the Mithraists is emphasized in an interesting bas-relief found in the third Mithraeum of Poetovio on an altar of the time of Gallienus.<sup>42</sup> It is the scene of the *iunctio dextrarum* of Sol and Mithras. They are shaking hands over a burning altar. From the heaven comes a raven, who probably puts into the joined hands of the gods a spit or dagger with four pieces of

<sup>36</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, pl. VIII.

<sup>37</sup> Behm, *Mithrasheiligtum*, pl. I.

<sup>38</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, pl. IX.

<sup>39</sup> S. Löschke, *Trierer Heimatbuch* (1925), pp. 322 f.

<sup>40</sup> Mendes da Costa, *O Archaeologo Portugues*, XXIX (1930/31), p. 5, fig. 26.

<sup>41</sup> *Apol.*, I, 66.

<sup>42</sup> Abramič, *Führer durch Poetovio*, p. 180, fig. 125.



meat on it.<sup>43</sup> Note that it was the raven who brought to Mithras the order to kill the bull. Now the same raven is inaugurating the sacred ceremony of communion by flesh. Note that on the right side of the same bas-relief there lies a joint of the bull which plays an important part in other scenes of the Mithraic bas-relief.

The scene of the banquet will be discussed in more detail in the Final Report.<sup>44</sup>

## 2. Signs of the Zodiac.

The signs of the Zodiac, symbolizing the celestial sphere, were painted in a counter-clockwise direction around the soffit or reveal of the arched niche. The series began at the top of the soffit with Aries, which is lost, and Taurus, also lost; then followed the usual sequence through Virgo. The second set began at the bottom at the right. There is nothing particular to be said about the signs except that they present some iconographic peculiarities.

## 3. The Two *Magi*. (Pls. XVI—XVII)

These most interesting figures, unique in their kind, were painted on the outer face of the piers of the cult niche on either side. Two persons in the usual Perso-Palmyrene dress described above are represented seated majestically in two large and finely carved arm-chairs. Both wear the Mithraic *tiara*, both are bearded and wear a drooping, short, black moustache, both have the Iranian type of face. In the left hand they hold a white roll and in the right a black cane with a flat top. It is evident from the rolls that they represent teachers or learned men, and from the ebony canes that they are *magi* or magicians whose attribute always was the ῥάβδος ἐβενίνη.<sup>45</sup> Hegemonius in the *Acta Archelai* describes the great prophet Mani in the following way: *in manu validissimum baculum tenebat ex ligno ebenino, Babylonium vero librum portabat sub ala sinistra*.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> On the unpublished Barberini frescoes Sol and Mithras each hold a spit with pieces of meat over the altar at which they make their compact.

<sup>44</sup> On the banquet scene, cf. Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 175, no. 5, where references to the monuments known at the time of the publication will be found.

<sup>45</sup> Ps. Callisth., I, 1; Jul. Val., 2, 1; K. Preisendanz, *Pap. Gr. Mag.* no. 1, line 279 (Vol. I, p. 16); cf. line 336 (p. 18).

<sup>46</sup> Hegemonius, 27 (p. 22; Beeson).



There is no doubt, therefore, that the persons represented in the paintings of Dura must be regarded as *magi*, or prophets, those who were the authors or the interpreters of the several books (λόγοι ἱεροί) of Mithraism. Since Zoroaster was regarded as the originator of the Mithraic mysteries and Osthanes was his most famous pupil, we may speculate that the two *magi* of Dura are to be identified with those two great Iranian prophets.

#### 4. Mithras Tauroctone.

Above the two prophets, the upper part of the outer surface of the arch of the cult niche was occupied by a large composition (Pl. XVIII, 2). It was found in very poor condition. Some fragments of the painting were found in the fill. The center of this picture was occupied by the representation of the bull-killing Mithras between the two dadophores.<sup>47</sup> While the cult bas-reliefs which show the same scene (above, pp. 91—101) gave a peculiar version of this scene, the painting conforms to the Western traditions. It is needless to describe it in detail. To the right and left of this scene were represented seven cypress trees and seven burning altars. Originally there were eight of the latter, but one is obliterated. In the branches of the cypress tree nearest to the right dadophore was painted a little pink figure of a child as if emerging from the tree.

The seven cypress trees and the seven altars are familiar features of Mithraic iconography.<sup>48</sup> Several times a bust with the Mithraic *tiara* is represented on Mithraic bas-reliefs, emerging from the cypress tree.<sup>49</sup> More difficult is the interpretation of the child Mithras emerging from the tree. The problem is complicated by the fact that on the bas-relief of Poetovio three heads with Phrygian caps emerge from three cypress trees and that in Dieburg one cypress tree shows three heads emerging from three branches of the tree.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless it is a significant coincidence that on the famous altar of the Capitol dedicated to Malakhbel a baby is shown born from a cypress tree.<sup>51</sup> It seems therefore probable that the legend of Mithras *παιτρογενής* or *saxigenus* was associated with that of the solar god born from a tree and gave rise to this combination of the two legends in the Mithraic theology and iconography.

<sup>47</sup> Cautes wears a radiate crown, but Cautopates and Mithras are not preserved.

<sup>48</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 164.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>50</sup> Abramič, *op. cit.*, p. 75, fig. 16; Behn, *Mithrasheiligtum*, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Cumont, *Syria*, IX (1928), pp. 105—108.

Note that Mithras sometimes appears not alone but as a member of the Mithraic triad which consisted of himself, Cautes, and Cautopates.<sup>52</sup>

### 5. Mithras the Hunter.

Quite unusual from the point of view of the Mithraea of the West is the scene of Mithras the hunter repeated twice on a large scale on the two sidewalls of the vault of the Late Mithraeum (Pls. XIV—XV). The picture on the left wall is excellently preserved. Mithras is represented on horseback galloping right and shooting arrows at two deer, two gazelles, and a wild boar. We are indebted to Professor G. Evelyn Hutchinson of Yale University for detailed analysis of the horned animals of our paintings. His statement will be printed in full in the Final Report. His conclusions are that the deer are unmistakably European fallow deer, *Dama Dama* (Linn.), common nowadays in South Asia Minor and as far south as Mount Tabor in Palestine. It is certainly not the Persian fallow deer, *Dama Mesopotamica* (Brooke) and not the roebuck of Palestine. The two figures of *Antelopinae* are in all probability gazelles. It is interesting to note that in the figures of the deer the upper part of their horns is represented as a crescent. This crescent is so unlike anything worn by any stag that it is certainly a convention or stylization, perhaps of religious significance.

Mithras the hunter is dressed exactly in the same way as Sol and Mithras, the dadophores and the prophets in the other scenes of the Mithraeum decoration. The dress is sometimes simplified, sometimes more gorgeous and represented in more detail, but it is always one and the same. We have pointed out before that it is the Persian dress of the Palmyrene nobles as it appears on numbers of monuments from Palmyra. The Palmyrenes certainly took it over from the Parthians. The only detail foreign to the Palmyrene dress is Mithras' Phrygian cap, not unlike the Persian *bashlyk* in its appearance but different in shape and purpose. Equally Palmyrene are the heavy horses with small heads and their trappings.<sup>53</sup> The most typical features of the trappings are the large breast *phalerae* and the balloon-like tassels behind. The bow, arrows, and quiver, like the bow in the scene of Mithras shooting at the rock, are typically Sassanian.

In his hunt Mithras is assisted by a large snake speeding forward

<sup>52</sup> Dionysus Areop., *Epist.* VII, cf. Cumont, *Textes*, II, p. 11 and p. 208; Behn, *loc. cit.*

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), fig. 78.

under the feet of his horse and by a big lion galloping before him. Mithras has already wounded all the wild animals. Each of them has an arrow in his neck, two of the arrows being broken, and blood is flowing in abundance from their wounds. Nevertheless they are galloping forward bravely, still very much alive.

The hunt takes place in a forest. The trees are highly stylized. Each has three fan-like leaves or clusters of branches. Besides the trees, there are some low plants on the ground, each with three stems ending in an arrow-like point.

Less well preserved is the picture on the right wall. It is almost identical with that on the left wall. The only difference is that the snake is omitted and its place is taken by a very small lion, while the place of the boar is taken by a large fierce lion, almost a copy of the lion of the other picture.

Note that this lion has no arrow in his back and probably is not one of the victims but a helper of Mithras.

The style of the two pictures is quite peculiar. It is unmistakably Iranian in its later Partho-Sassanian form, so well known to us from the early Sassanian monuments (rock sculptures, metal dishes, textiles) and from the paintings of South Russia, the earliest representatives of this style. Especially striking is the similarity to the South Russian Bosphoran paintings, the same stylization of the trees, the same representation of wounded animals, the same composition of superimposed rows of animals typical also of a special kind of late Roman *sarcophagi* and bas-reliefs. Of course there are some local peculiarities, the Palmyrene dress and horse trappings, the local, not Persian *fauna*, the Durene strict frontality, observed, by the way, in all the pictures of the Mithraeum.<sup>54</sup>

There is therefore not the slightest doubt that the painter of the two hunting scenes had before his eyes paintings which dealt with the same subject, made by Iranian painters or painters trained in the Iranian and specifically in the Parthian school. There is not the slightest trace of Greek influence. The pictures of the Mithraeum and their prototypes go back almost directly to the Assyrian compositions but are much more stylized, much more conventional, much less realistic and naturalistic.

The idea of Mithras the hunter, Mithras the champion of civilization against the elemental forces of nature represented by the wild animals, Mithras the swift archer, is not foreign to the Avesta. In the Avesta, however, Mithras is not a mounted archer; if not on foot, he appears

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX (1934), pp. 190 f. and *id.*, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V, pp. 230 f. and 266—272.

in a chariot drawn by four white horses. These early ideas of Mithras the hunter are perhaps reflected in the enigmatic hunting scene of the famous Heddernheim bas-relief where this scene appears above the scene of the banquet. The center of this composition is occupied by a standing figure; the feet only are preserved. Was it Mithras shooting his arrows? To the right and left fierce Molossian dogs, not unlike the lions of the Dura pictures, are attacking various wild animals, among them a bull and a boar and perhaps a lion. Still nearer to ancient Iranian ideas is the chariot fighter of the bas-relief of Palmyra which recently came to light.<sup>55</sup>

Gods on horseback are familiar to the students of ancient religion, and so are gods on horseback hunting wild animals. The best known is the Thracian god, the great hunter who appears always on horseback and very often is helped by dogs and lions. The style and composition of these Thracian bas-reliefs, of which hundreds are known and have been published, goes back in all probability to the Persian representations of hunters on horseback, very common in the Greco-Persian art of Asia Minor.<sup>56</sup>

Different from the Thracian hunter are the solar gods of Asia Minor, of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia who are very often represented on horseback on bas-reliefs and terracotta statuettes. The god in these monuments is represented not as a hunter but either slowly proceeding or galloping on his horse and worshipped by men.

No wonder if both the figure of the god on horseback and that of the hunter god influenced the Mithraic iconography. As a god on horseback Mithras appears on the coins of Trapezus<sup>57</sup>, on a bas-relief found near Hamah,<sup>58</sup> on the interesting stone and lead tablets of the Thracian regions, products of a kind of syncretism between the Thracian religion and Mithraism,<sup>59</sup> and on a small bas-relief of Neuenheim.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>55</sup> H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XV (1934), pp. 165—173.

<sup>56</sup> On the Thracian horsemen see G. Kazarow, *R.-E.*, A II, 478—488, *s. v. Thrake*.

<sup>57</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, p. 190. The bust of Mithras appears on the coins in the time of Trajan, accompanied from the time of Lucius Verus by the *protome* of a horse, and the god appears mounted between the reigns of Septimius and Philip; cf. W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, T. Reinach, *Recueil Général des Monnaies d'Asie Mineure*, I (1925), pp. 148—157. Cf. also L. Robert, *Études Anatoliennes* (1937), pp. 299 f.

<sup>58</sup> Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, fig. 42.

<sup>59</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Mém. Sav. Étr.*, XIII, 2 (1923). Cf. now D. Tudor, *I Cavalieri Danubiani (Ephemeris Dacoromana)*, VI, 1937), for a collection of all these monuments.

<sup>60</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, p. 424, mon. 310. Here Mithras is represented as the *cosmocrator* with the sphere in his hand.



Mithras the hunter is rarer. We see him on horseback shooting an arrow and assisted by a lion in one of the small pictures of the bas-relief of Osterburken,<sup>61</sup> and especially in the famous bas-relief of Dieburg<sup>62</sup> where Mithras the hunter occupies the place of Mithras the tauroctone. He is galloping near a cypress tree shooting an arrow, and is accompanied by three Molossian dogs. The treatment of the perspective is very similar to that in the Dura picture and the related *sarcophagi*.

The representation of the prophets and of Mithras as hunter at Dura was probably an oriental addition to those constituent parts of Mithraic iconography which became canonical. It was a natural phenomenon in countries of *magi*, of hunters, riders, and *sagittarii* like Asia Minor and Syria. The West created its own type of Mithras the hunter, which never became canonical. This happened, probably, at a time when Mithras had become the god protector of the mounted *sagittarii* of the Roman army.<sup>63</sup>

#### *E. Note on the Technique and Style of the Paintings.*

The paintings of the Mithraeum are all painted "al secco." They are not frescoes in the true sense. They are painted on a surface of plaster on mud brick. The colors used are red, yellow, and brown ochre, probably mixed with a binder, which the artist used to outline the faces and the folds of the clothing. The Persian influence shows itself in the costumes as well as in the iconography. The background, without landscape or architecture (except for hunting scene), is the plaster itself with which the wall is covered.

Some differences, however, clearly appear between the first and second styles, the paintings of the Middle and of the Late Mithraea. In the older paintings, the scale is larger, the modeling, both of the faces and of the clothing, is distinguished by a finer and more precise touch. The design of the hands and faces is stronger; the hair, cleverly treated, is outlined in detail. The modeling of the face and skin, cheeks, chin, eyes, mouth, nose, and fingers of the hand are obtained by deft strokes of the brush, placed close together and of varying degrees of

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, II, pp. 246 f., mon. 10.

<sup>62</sup> Behn, *Mithrasheiligtum*, pp. 8—10 and pl. 1.

<sup>63</sup> As a further instance of a mounted god cf. the Heracles (Verethraghna?) of Mt. Sanbulos mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.*, XII, 13), and the cave sanctuary of the god at Karafto with representations of him on horseback, the inscription from which is published in *SEG* VII, 36. (cf. Sir Aurel Stein, *Geogr. Journ.*, XCII, 1938, p. 336, fig. 21).



light and shade. The same is true of the shadow intended to mark the movement of the drapery and to make the tunic blouse at the waist. The clothing is colored with a flat tone obtained by tempering the ochres; the costume is grey with yellow embroidered trimming and the folds and details are marked by grey-brown and rose-red brush strokes. The faces are flesh colored, set off by touches of modeling. They are expressive and are presented generally in three-quarter view. The fragment showing the head of the bull is particularly well modelled.

In the more recent paintings, the scale is smaller, the proportions often less successful; the thick, heavy outlines in red and brown are less well defined. The design is severe, without shadows, and without modelling; the hair and beard are obtained by the simple thickening of the stroke. The clothing is the same color as the background; the faces covered with a flat rose tone, without expression and without modelling, are always full face. These changes already appear in the faces of the two prophets even though they are more carefully done than the other paintings. This simplification, this stylization, this type of sketch, designed rather than painted, shows up even more clearly in the scenes of the archivolt and in the two hunting scenes of Mithras. Here one sees especially how the painter has represented the hunter in full face, on a galloping horse, shown in profile, while shooting his arrow at the animals fleeing in front of him. It seems that the older paintings which still show traces of Hellenistic influence could have been executed by artists trained at Palmyra who came to Dura during the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla whereas the later works, rough sketches done with a brush rather than paintings, imbued with Oriental tradition, are the work of local artists.

## V. DIPINTI AND GRAFFITI

(Nos. 854—866)

It has been pointed out above that the successive coats of plaster on the walls, the doorposts, and the columns of the sanctuary were found covered with hundreds of painted and scratched inscriptions. Some of these inscriptions were found *in situ*, for example, on the two columns, which were incorporated into the cult niche vault in the Late Mithraeum, on the paintings of the cult niche of the Late Mithraeum (above, p. 104), and on the partition walls which separated the cult niche vault from the nave. It proved possible to restore in part a

third column (the second from the cult niche on the south side of the Mithraeum) with all its numerous dipinti and graffiti.<sup>1</sup> Most of the wall plaster of the sanctuary, however, with its graffiti and dipinti, was found in the rubbish in larger or smaller fragments of white or colored plaster. These fragments of plaster belonged originally either to one or another of the remaining columns of the sanctuary or to the wall plaster of its various rooms. These walls were painted red, black, grey, and white. We have no way to assign the fragments of wall plaster to one or another room of the sanctuary or to one or another part of a larger room. They were found in great confusion in various layers of the fill.

The columns and the walls of the Mithraeum were replastered several times. The earliest extant coat of plaster on the columns is that of the Middle Mithraeum. It is probable that the same is true of the wall plaster of the nave and of the small room on the south side of the nave. We must not forget that the latter was first built as part of the Middle Mithraeum. There is no difference in the forms of letters of the inscriptions painted and scratched on the earliest coat of plaster of the walls of the Mithraeum and those of the inscriptions on the first coat of plaster of the columns. How many coats of plaster were put successively on the columns and walls of the Mithraeum subsequently is very difficult to say. In most of the cases the present writers were able to distinguish no more than two main coats of plaster, the earlier being that of the Middle Mithraeum, the later that of the Late Mithraeum. However, after the radical replastering of the Mithraeum during its last reconstruction, the columns and walls might have been replastered and repainted several times and it is quite possible that in the time between the Middle and the Late Mithraeum the columns and walls were covered by one or more new coats of plaster. Some fragments show more than two coats of plaster. It must be remarked, however, that the theory of a thorough replastering of the walls and columns between the Middle and the Late Mithraeum seems rather improbable to the present writers. The first coat of plaster is covered with so many inscriptions that it must have remained in use for many years. The later coats on the contrary were of poorer quality and lasted apparently for a much shorter time.

For obvious reasons, no inscriptions were found on the lower parts

<sup>1</sup> On the following pages these columns will be referred to as (1) the first column on the south side; (2) the first column of the north side; (3) the second column on the south side (Pl. XLIX, 3).

of the walls and columns. The inscriptions accumulated on those parts of the wall plaster which were within easy reach of a grown man. The space available for inscriptions was therefore limited. This accounts for the bewildering accumulation of inscriptions in a comparatively limited space, new inscriptions being scratched and painted over old ones several times.

It may be noted in conclusion that some of the graffiti and dipinti were written with great care by experienced orthographers. The dipinti, especially, were sometimes written in variegated and gay colors and in letters of very elegant form. Black, red, green, violet were used to paint them. It is curious to note that one of the grateful clients of a professional writer expressed his thanks to him by invoking divine blessing on him. Thus we find on the first column the following graffito (no. 854; 0.06 m. × 0.03 m., letters l. 1, 0.015, l. 2, 0.01 m.).

Νάμα [τῷ δεῖνι ?]  
ὁρθογράφ[ω]<sup>2</sup>

The inscriptions scratched and painted in the Mithraeum were all of a religious character. They all bear on the life of the *mystae* and on the ceremonies performed in the sanctuary. They may be divided into several groups. (1) Inscriptions which invoke the blessing of the god on one or another member of the Mithraic community, sometimes in connection with a similar act of reverence for the god; the most usual type of these inscriptions is that which begins with the word νάμα (see below). However, inscriptions with the formula μνησθῆ, so popular at Dura, are not lacking, but are comparatively rare. (2) Inscriptions which give lists of foodstuffs with the corresponding prices; let us call them menus or bills of fare. (3) Lists of names, which sometimes are subscription lists containing names and subscribed sums. (4) Texts which bear on the cult ceremonies performed in the temple, and on Mithraic theology. Especially interesting are fragments of prayers.

The complete publication of all the texts found in the Mithraeum must be reserved for the final publication. They were carefully copied

<sup>2</sup> On ὁρθογράφος see the Athenian inscription published and illustrated several times: T. Birt, *Rhein. Mus.*, LXVI (1911) pp. 147—149; A. Brinckmann, *ibid.*, pp. 144—155; W. Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVI (1931), p. 119; L. Robert, *Rev. Phil.*, VIII (1934), pp. 268 f. The inscription is a tombstone of the ὁρθογράφος showing his portrait; cf. the stone of the ταχυγράφος of Salonea, *CIL* III, 8899. Cf. also Jacob in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict*, IV, 1134; Weinberger, P. W., *R.-E.*, IV A, 1996.

by the present writers in Dura but some of them need revision by comparison with the originals, most of which are now in Yale. Let us reproduce here some characteristic inscriptions of the classes mentioned above with a few comments on each group.

*A. Nama Inscriptions.*

Three texts of this type have been transcribed above (no. 848, p. 87; no. 853, p. 104; no. 854, p. 118). Similar in character but different in form is no. 849 (p. 90). Others may be added here.

A text very similar to no. 848 was painted in black letters above the couch near the southwest corner of the sanctuary. It belongs most probably to the Middle Mithraeum. A layer of plaster was found spread over the text and it was a difficult task to remove it. Moreover, after the original text was written, another one also in black letters was written over the first, making thus a *texta palimpsesta*. Of this last text very few letters remain. Better preserved is the original. Unfortunately it is not complete. The lower part is broken off.

855. 0.60 m. × 0.50 m., letters 0.03—0.05 m. Pl. L, 1.

Ὑπερβερεταίου ιδ' (or ιγ')

Νά[μ]α Καπιτω[λεί]νω

πατρὶ πατέρων

καὶ Σατορνείλω

5 πατρὶ πατέρων κ[α]ὶ

Λ[....]ω καὶ Ν[ε]ίλω

κ[α]ὶ Λωριάτῳ ἀντι-

πάτρῳ καὶ Ἀντων-

εῖνῳ καὶ στρατιώταις - -

This is the only inscription, apparently, which names simultaneously two *patres patrum*, an indication that the title does not indicate the one chief *mysta* of a particular group. It is a νάμα (see below) extended in the month Hyperberetaeus to Capitolinus and Satornilus the πατέρες πατέρων and to four other men with Greek and Latin names. The first might have been Λ[ιβιαν]ός (Livianus), the second was probably Nilus, then came Lorientus and Antoninus. Since after Λωριάτῳ ἀντιπάτρῳ follows without καὶ we may assume that it is not a name but a title. It is tempting to restore the last word as στρατιώταις followed perhaps by πᾶσι or by the name of the detachment to which

the men belonged: the *Leg. IV Scythica* or *Coh. XX Palmyrenorum*. Since they all have Greek or Latin names they were in all probability soldiers of a legion, not of the Palmyrene cohort. Or the title may be the Mithraic grade of *miles*. The inscription is dated by the month and not by the year. It is possible that the date of the inscription was important in the life of the sanctuary.

856. Fragment of wall plaster, black above. Painted red letters, later covered with a thin layer of white wash over which a second inscription was scratched (0.25 m.  $\times$  0.10 m., letters 0.03—0.01 m., diminishing in size toward the bottom). Pl. L, 2.

[Νά]μα λέουσιν  
[ἄβρ]οῖς καὶ Περσεσ-  
[ιν..] ΕΛΕΜΝΟΙΣ

Some comment on this inscription will be found below.

857. Piece of wall plaster of white color, the left corner black. Found in the fill of the left bench in many fragments. Inscription in red letters inside of a *tabella ansata* (0.31 m.  $\times$  0.19 m., letters 0.025—0.05 m.).

Νάμα Κα[μ-]  
ερίῳ στρα-  
τιώτῃ  
ἀκερίῳ

858. Above the preceding in scratched letters (0.185 m.  $\times$  0.05 m.; letters 0.01—0.02 m.):

Νάμα ἐλπίσι Ἀντωνεῖνῳ [στ-]  
ερεώτῃ ἀγαθῷ συνδεξίῳ  
τῷ εὐσεβεῖ

The wish is extended to a man who had "good hopes" (in Latin *spes*) of being promoted (*Rep. V*, no. 560, p. 225 and *Rep. VI*, no. 838, p. 494).

859. First column, first layer. Scratched letters.

[N]ama  
Maximus  
magus



This is the first occurrence of the term *magus* in the Mithraic inscriptions. Even at the end of the Empire the Mithraic clergy maintained a connection with the ancient priestly caste of Iran. Cf. Dio Chrys., *Or.*, XXXVI, 39;  $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τελεταῖς ὑπὸ μάγων ἀνδρῶν ᾄδεται, where we now know the reference is to the mysteries of Mithras. Cf. Firmicus, *De Magorum Usu Persico*, 4.

860. Fragment of a column. Scratched letters (0.07 m. × 0.06 m., letters 0.01—0.015 m.).

*Nam[a - -]*

*Maximus*

*scen[ī]co*

*Leg(ionis) IIII Sc(ythicae).*

The surname Maximus was probably preceded by a *gentilicium*. *Scaenicus* as a title of a soldier occurs in two more inscriptions of the Mithraeum. *Scaenicus* means actor and is a familiar term. It is interesting however to find soldiers acting as actors. We find them again in this capacity in two well known inscriptions of the firemen (*vigiles*) and sailors of the Misenum navy, who were stationed probably in Ostia, Dessau, *Ins. Lat. Sel.*, Nos. 2178 and 2179, of the time of Caracalla, and perhaps in an inscription of Naples (*ibid.*, 2873) of a sailor native of Seleucia (in Persis?) who bears the title of *scenicus principalis*; cf. *CIL* XIV, 2408. It seems that the emperors were eager to promote theatrical performances in the camps. Recent discoveries at Dura have shown that Domitius Pompeianus the *dux ripae* had in his household a group of pantomimes who probably were kept by Pompeianus not for his own pleasure only. In Ostia the soldiers performed mimes and so probably at Dura also. — An alternative explanation of the title at Dura and in the Misenum navy would be to regard the *scaenici* as in charge of the tents (σκηναί). It is much less probable to think of tents used in religious celebrations (e. g. *SIG* 736, ll. 34—37 [Andania, 92 B. C.]).

The *nama* inscriptions form the most numerous class of the painted and scratched inscriptions of the Mithraeum. They play in the Mithraeum the same rôle as that played by the  $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$  inscriptions in other sanctuaries and in the private houses of Dura, and their formula is very similar. The word *nama* is accompanied occasionally by the name of the god and always by the name of a man in the dative or the nominative. Whether names in the dative are names of those to whom *nama* are addressed and those in the nominative those who express the *nama* is not quite clear. It is probable that dative and nominative were

used without distinction and meant always the person to whom the *nama* was addressed. In some cases *nama* is connected with the names of groups, not of individuals. Several times, as in the  $\mu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$  inscriptions, after the name follows a phrase like  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$ .

*Nama* inscriptions have been found occasionally but very rarely in other Mithraea: scratched on the Borghese bas-relief of the Louvre (*CIL* XIV, 3566: *nama Sebesio*), in an inscription of Tibur (*nama cunctis*) and on a group which represents the nativity of Mithras now in Dublin (*nama*).<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *nama* is certain. It is, according to information furnished us by Professor Benveniste, an ancient Iranian word which means "reverence," "homage." Since Indo-Iranian times it had been used in the invocations of a deity (*namō Buddha*, *namō dharma*, *namō samegha* in the Buddhistic *sūtras*) and in the Avesta with the dative: "*Namō ahurāi Mazdai*." Professor P. Pelliot pointed out to us that *nama* is still used in China as a greeting.

The *nama* inscriptions of Dura contain a wealth of information about the social standing and the organization of the local Mithraic congregation. We learn from the names and the occasional non-religious titles added to them the social standing of the Mithraists. All the titles which are not religious are military and most of the names are Greek or Roman. Very few are Semitic. There is no doubt, therefore, that the Mithraists of Dura were mostly, if not exclusively, soldiers. As was to be expected, no names of women appear in the Mithraeum.

More important is the information on the organization of the Mithraic community of Dura. A full discussion of this topic must await the publication of all the inscriptions. A few remarks here will therefore suffice.

The general name which the Mithraists of Dura used when speaking of their  $\sigma\mu\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  was  $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . This term appears in a similar connection in a quotation of Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanorum religionum*, V, 2:  $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\ \beta\omicron\omicron\kappa\lambda\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\epsilon$  (ms.:  $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\epsilon$ )  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$ . The name  $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , designating a member of the community, is derived, without doubt, from the act of the *iunctio dextrarum* of the new *mysta* with the *pater*, a repetition of the mythical *iunctio dextrarum* of Mithras and Sol. This point will be discussed in full in the final publication.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *Textes*, II, mon. 6, pl. I; cf. I, p. 364, n. 2 (Louvre); *CIL* XIV 3567 = Cumont, *Textes*, II, p. 116, mon. 144 (Tibur); *ibid.*, II, p. 231, mon. 69 (Dublin). The new Mithraeum on the Aventine (above, p. 104, n. 20) contains numerous dipinti: *nama* to so-and-so *leoni*.

In several inscriptions are mentioned the well known grades of the *mystae* sometimes spoken of as groups, more often as characterizing one or another *mysta*. It is well known that we owe our knowledge of the seven grades of Mithraic initiation, except for some scattered texts and inscriptions, to St. Jerome (*Ep. CVII ad Laetam*, ed. Hilberg, 1912). He names seven grades: *corax*, *nymphus* (the reading of the ms., the editions substitute for it *cryphius*), *miles*, *leo*, *Perses*, *heliodromus*, *pater*. The inscriptions confirm the statement of St. Jerome. They mention only those grades which appear in his text, though not all of them. It seems certain therefore that St. Jerome transmitted to us the official and canonical names of the Mithraic grades and that Porphyrius (*De abstinentia*, IV, 16) in speaking of *mystae* by the names of eagles and falcons, either is wrong or speaks of some local "heretical" communities of Mithraists. It must be kept in mind that the same Porphyrius in the same passage speaks of women as members of Mithraic communities (with the name ὕαιναί) while no women are attested as Mithraists by our documentary evidence (except the doubtful *lea* of Tripoli, probably not Mithraic). Again we must assign this to an error of Porphyrius or to a late and local phenomenon in the Mithraic mysteries.

Dura fully supports St. Jerome. Six of St. Jerome's grades are mentioned in Dura: πατήρ (or πατήρ πατέρων as in many inscriptions of the West), Πέρσης, λέων, στρατιώτης, νύμφος, κόραξ. Note that no *cryphius* appears at Dura and that νύμφος as a regular grade is quite common in the Dura inscriptions. It is therefore certain that the manuscript tradition of St. Jerome (*nymphus*) is right and the modern scholars wrong.<sup>4</sup> However, it is interesting to observe that no *heliodromus* is ever mentioned at Dura. Instead of this grade in many inscriptions appears the title στερεώτης, sometimes combined with σοφιστής. We cannot be quite sure that is a grade. It might have been the name of an office of the community or of a special priesthood. However, the title appears so often and the bearers of it are so closely associated with the holders of other grades that it seems almost certain that at Dura it was the grade of στερεώτης which corresponded to the grade of *heliodromus* in the West. The meaning of the titles στερεώτης and νύμφος will be discussed in the final publication.

<sup>4</sup> We may note for the sake of interest that quite recently E. Wüst, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XXXII (1935), pp. 211—227, and *R.-E.*, s. v. *Mithras*, 2142, without knowing the material of Dura has tried to defend κρύφιος. The problem of the κρύφιος must be made the object of a special study.

Another novelty of Dura in connection with grades is the appearance of transitory grades inserted between two regular grades. Such is the grade of μελλολέων which recalls the terms μελλέφηβος, μελλάρχων, μελλογραμματεύς, etc., and perhaps the grade of ἀντίπατρος. The first shows the importance of the lion grade in the mysteries of Mithras; it is the first in the group of higher grades, as *corax* is the first in the lower group. Note that it was *corax* and *leo* who appeared in Konjica as the servants of Mithras and Sol at the banquet. If the interpretation of ἀντίπατρος as a grade is correct, we may regard him as a substitute for the πατήρ and a kind of μελλοπατήρ.

Finally it is interesting to see that at Dura all the grades have a standing epithet. We knew from other sources that κόραξ was called ἱερός<sup>5</sup> (the epithet does not appear at Dura), but the standing epithet of *leo*, ἄβρός, is new and so is the epithet of *Perses* which unfortunately occurs only once (no. 856, p. 120) and is mutilated (. . . ελεμνος). *Miles*, which in Amasia<sup>6</sup> and Wiesbaden has the epithet εὐσεβής, appears at Dura as ἀκέραιος (above no. 857, p. 120), a word applied to *mystae* in Dura very often like the adjective δίκαιος, while στερεώτης (no. 858, p. 120) is in one inscription qualified as εὐσεβής. Finally it is possible, as Mr. Arthur Wickstead suggests, that νύμφος had the standing epithet νέος.

It may be mentioned in addition that besides the various groups of initiates and the two presidents the inscriptions of Dura mention special priests, an ἀρχιερεύς once, a ἱερεύς once, and the μάγοι several times. The title of *curator* mentioned once may designate either one of the military *curatores* or a *curator* of the Mithraic association.

### B. Banquet Inscriptions.

We have already said that several of the scratched wall inscriptions give lists of goods with indications of prices paid for them. The goods mentioned are, for the most part, foodstuffs, with frequent mention of meat, water, and olive oil. In addition to foodstuffs were bought (almost always) lamp wicks, wood, and paper. Only two of these texts seem to be complete. Let us reproduce them here.

861. Piece of plaster greyish-black in color. Text of the scratched inscription probably complete (0.095 m. × 0.08 m., letters 0.006—0.013 m.),

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIX (1934), p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *Inscr. du Pont*, no. 108; cf. *miles pius* at Wiesbaden, *CIL* XIII, 7570d; cf. also 7571 and Cumont, *Textes*, I, p. 158.



Pl. L, 3. A translation, not quite correct, of this and the following text is given by F. Heichelheim in Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (1938), p. 207.

δάννα [ —]  
 κρέας [ —]  
 ἔλεν ✕ [ —]  
 ξύλα ✕ β'  
 ῥεφανίδια υ ε'  
 κάρτα υ β'  
 ἐλλύχνιν υ ε'

That is to say: "a jar of wine, [denarii —]; meat, [den. —]; oil, den. [ — ]; wood, den. 2; radishes, assaria (?) 5; paper, ass. 2; lamp wicks, ass. 5." I cannot go into the problem of the coins used. They were apparently denarii and assaria (or sesterces) since we are dealing with Roman soldiers.

862. The second text has been restored from several fragments at Yale by Mr. Walter F. Snyder. It is scratched on white wall plaster. It is very difficult to say whether or not it is complete (0.18 m. × 0.20 m., letters [0.015—0.03 m.] increasing in size from top to bottom).

κρέας ✕ ! [9' υ '3' ?]  
 γαρέλεν ✕ α'  
 χάρτα υ α'  
 ὕδω[ρ] ✕ α'  
 χύλα (ξύλα; Latin x for ξ) ✕ α'  
 δάννα ✕ κη' υ ια'  
 ✕ να υ ια'

That is: "meat, den. 19 ass. 17 (assuming that the account was correct); sauce, den. 1; paper ass. 1; water, den. 1; wood, den. 1; jar of wine, den. 28 ass. 11; total, den. 51 ass. 11."

It is not the place here to discuss the topic of the sacred banquets of the Mithraists. It is well known that it was the chief act of the Mithraic mysteries, just as it was in the history of Mithras. It is therefore more than probable that these hypothetical menus of the Mithraeum of Dura are records of sacred meals celebrated in the dark (the lamps!) and not subscription dinners on some memorable days (ἑρᾶνοι). The point cannot be proved, however. The menus are typical of meals



consumed on great occasions in the Orient. I may quote, e. g., the menus of the well known *P. Sachinis* (*UPZ* 158). However, the frequent mention of meat (note that in the texts reproduced above — the only probably complete menus — κρέας is present and appears at the top of the lists) and of lamp wicks indicate ritual meals, not occasional banquets.

One item of the menus is interesting. It is the entry δάνα (δάννα). The word has occurred before at Dura with the meaning "wine jar," "jar of wine" (*Rep. IV*, no. 245, pp. 122 f.=*SEG VII*, 401). In the accounts of the merchant Nebuchelus, as here, it was the unit of measure for wine. This explains the relatively large amount of the item in the account.

### *C. Ritual Inscriptions.*

Let us quote a few examples of these unusually interesting texts. It is a pity that none of them is complete and that they are so few.

863. On the third column is engraved in minute letters:

εἴσοδος  
ἔξοδος

We are reminded of Christian formulae of the same kind, e. g. *Princ. Exp. Syr.*, III B, no. 816: Κ(ύριο)ς φυλάξι τὴν εἴσοδόν σου κ(αὶ) τὴ(ν) ἔξοδόν σου (*Psalms* 120, 8). Cf. further *ibid.*, nos. 910, 933, 943, etc., and the Christian formula: δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται. Cf. also the welcoming formula εἰσελθέ (*Rep. IV*, no. 311, p. 159 = *SEG VII*, 797).

864. On a large piece of wall plaster colored black (a door post or a corner?) stood three scratched inscriptions. One, a *nama* inscription, is difficult to read and does not concern us here. A second was engraved in large letters (Pl. L, 4):

*Patri*  
*vita Ka-*  
*merio*

An acclamation of *pater Camerius* who appears in other inscriptions of the Mithraeum (no. 857, p. 120). The most interesting is the third inscription scratched in smaller letters above the inscription of Camerius (no. 865):

πυρωτὸν ἄσθμα  
τὸ καὶ μάγοις ἢ νίπτρον ὁσ{σ}ίω(ν)

The word ἄσθμα is used by Dio Chrysostomus<sup>7</sup> when he speaks of the burning breath which comes from heaven to earth in order to set the earth on fire, quoting the cosmological hymn of the *magi* of Asia Minor. Several images of *Time* with the head of a lion show him kindling by his breath the flames of an altar (Cumont, *Textes*, II, mon. 106), and it is probable that in certain secret ceremonies fire came out of his mouth (*ibid.*, I, p. 81). Finally there is a striking coincidence between the Dura graffito and Porphyrius, *De Antro Nymph.*, 15. In speaking of the initiation to the *leontica* he adds: ὡς μύστη καθαρτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ πυρὸς οἰκεῖα νίπτρα προσάγουσι παραιτησάμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ ὡς πολέμιον τῷ πυρί. Purification or baptism by fire is familiar to the Christians also.

866. Finally we reproduce a text which is apparently a fragment of a hymn or prayer in honor of Mithras. Piece of wall plaster, white with black spots (0.08 m. × 0.05 m., letters 0.006—0.008 m.). Pl. L, 5.

τὸν γῆς ἀγ[  
καὶ ὕδατος[  
παρεῖμα[  
ἀλκιμο[

It is useless to attempt a restoration of the prayer. The enigmatic παρεῖμα may be compared with the equally enigmatic παρειμειτον of another similar graffito of Dura (i. e. πάρειμι [of the god?]).

## VII. SUMMARY

It is evident that the find at Dura is important. Of course we could not have expected to find there a sanctuary which would solve the great problems of the origin of the mysteries of Mithras. At the time when the sanctuary at Dura was first built the religion of Mithras was well established and had behind it at least two centuries of existence. And yet the contribution of the Dura sanctuary to our knowledge of the Mithraic mysteries is important. It is the first sanctuary of

<sup>7</sup> XXXVI, 47; cf. Cumont, *Textes*, II, p. 63; Cumont, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII (1931), pp. 33—44.

Mithras in the East which is well preserved and which has been systematically excavated. It is one of the rare sanctuaries to have been found with its pictorial decoration almost intact. It shows the importance of the written ἱερός λόγος in the Mithraic mysteries, the "Sacred Book" which probably was the same in all parts of the Roman Empire. This gave to the religion a unity of theology and of ritual which is reflected in the uniformity of the architecture and the pictorial and sculptural decoration of the various Mithraea. Dura shows us that the Mithraists traced their ἱερός λόγος back to great prophets, probably Zoroaster and Osthanes. Moreover, the Dura Mithraeum shows that Mithras had not in the Orient exactly the same aspect as in the West. Here in the East he was no more the killer of the bull than he was the great hunter and fighter, ancestor and patron of the swift Iranian and Mesopotamian archers. And finally the modest inscriptions of Dura shed light on many problems of the organization and constitution of the Mithraic communities and allow us at many points which were doubtful to replace speculations by facts.

Still more important would be the contribution of Dura to our knowledge of the mysteries of Mithras had chance been kindlier to us in yielding even one complete text of a prayer or of a fragment of the Mithraic liturgical texts. The discovery of the Mithraeum of Dura leads us to hope, however, that similar sanctuaries may be discovered in other cities of the Mesopotamian *limes* and that these sanctuaries will yield better preserved Mithraic texts.

## APPENDIX

### THE SHRINE OF EPINICUS AND ALEXANDER

(Inscr. Nos. 867—869)

Knowledge of this structure comes solely from two inscribed stones, one found in the Mithraeum, the other not far away. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the shrine of the unnamed god stood on the site of the Mithraeum rather than somewhere else in the neighbourhood, while the fact that an inscription from it was used in the construction of the Middle rather than of the Early Mithraeum would seem to exclude such a possibility.

867. On the obverse of a gypsum stele, broken at lower left, 0.25 m. × 0.38 m., and 0.06 m. thick, found on January 18, 1935, in Wall

Street north of Tower 24. The letters are 0.015—0.01 m. high, square alphabet of the first century.<sup>1</sup> Pl. LI, 1. At Yale.

<p>Ἀνήγε[ι]ρε[ν] Ἐπί- νικος κήρυξ καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ναόν 5 τοῦτο θεῶι ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυ- τοῦ καὶ τέκ- νων σωτηρίας καὶ ζωγραφήσας 10 εἰκόνας.</p>	<p>“Epinicus the herald and priest of the god erected this <i>naos</i> for the safety of himself and his children, decorating it also with paintings.”</p>
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5 Read τοῦτον.

The text is not dated, but may be considered a generation or so earlier than the following, in which Epinicus' son has succeeded him as herald of the city and priest of the god; that is, ca. A. D. 86/87.

868. On the reverse of the same stone. Letters 0.015—0.008 m. high, square alphabet but negligent, with letters inclined toward curves. Pl. LI, 2.

<p>Ἔτους ηκυ'. [Ἀν-] ακαινίσας Ἀλέ- ξανδρος Ἐπινί- κου τὸν ναόν τοῦτ- 5 {τ}ο ὃ οἰκοδομήσας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πάλαι Ἐπί- νικος ὁ πατήρ μου καὶ προθησάμην ἐν αὐτῷ πήχεις πέντε, 10 τὰ δὲ θυρώματα ἀρχαῖα λημφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥω- μαίων, μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔνθεν ἀποχώρησιν ἐγ δευ- τέρου ἐποιησάμην ἐπ' ἐ- 15 μαιτοῦ ἄλλα θυρώ[μα-]</p>	<p>“Year 428 (A. D. 116/117) I, Alexander the son of Epinicus, renovated this <i>naos</i> which my father built for himself long ago, and I added five cubits to it in front, and the original doors were taken away by the Romans, and after their departure from the city I made anew other doors for the same <i>naos</i> at my own expense,</p>
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<sup>1</sup> This and following text have been published by Rostovtzeff, *Comptes rendus*, 1935, pp. 285—290. Cf. E. Groag, *Klio*, XXIX (1936), pp. 232—236; A. Degraffi, *Riv. Fil.*, N. S. XIV (1936), pp. 410 f.

τα τῷ αὐτῷ ναῷ καὶ	and outer doors also. May
ἐξωτέρως. μνησ[θῆ]	Ammaeus, who is the same
Ἀμμαῖος ὁ αὐτός Ἀ[λέ-]	Alexander, priest of the
ξανδρος ἱερεὺς [τοῦ]	god and herald of the city,
20 θεοῦ καὶ κήρυξ τῆ[ς πόλε-]	be remembered before
ως πρὸς τὸν αὐ[τὸν θεόν].	the same god."

Read ἀνεκαίνισα, τοῦτον, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησεν, προυθησάμην, ἐλήφθῃ. In line 16 possibly [τάς] at end.

869. On a gypsum stele of irregular shape, ca. 0.26 m. × 0.30 m. and 0.06 m. thick, serving as a support for the altar jar of the Middle Mithraeum (above, p. 75), found November 9, 1935. The letters are 0.01—0.02 m. high, colored red, square alphabet. Pl. LI, 3. A1 Yale.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.	"To Good For-
Ἔτους λυ'.	tune. Year 430
Ἀνήγειρεν	(A.D. 118/119).
Ἀλέξανδρος	Alexander the
5 Ἐπινίκου τὸν	son of Epini-
οἶκον τοῦτο καὶ	cus erected this
τὸ ἐξώτερον	<i>oikos</i> and the
θεῶ κατ' εὐχὴν,	exterior (?) to
χωρὶς τοίχου ἐξω-	the god accord-
10 τέρου - - - η	ing to a vow,
σ - - - - -	except for the
πα - - - - α	exterior wall..."

6 Read τοῦτον.

Epimicus' son Alexander commended himself to his god under the Aramaic name Ammaeus. This indicates that the god was likewise Semitic, and accounts for the fact that the god is named in none of the three texts. He must have been a local Ba'al-Zeus of the sort commonly met with at Dura as elsewhere in Semitic lands, perhaps the special patron of Epimicus' family, which illustrates in its double nomenclature, in its religion, in its uneven but determined Greek, and in its devotion to the forms of the Graeco-Macedonian civic constitution, the peculiar mixture of elements which occurred at Dura in the first and second centuries after Christ. While the position of herald, with its special technical requirements and its association primarily with the business life of the city (cf. especially the "herald's" fee, κηρύκειον, mentioned



in Dura Parchment 1, Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 286—296, of about 190 B. C.), was rather a profession than a magistracy, and heralds normally served for life and were succeeded by their sons, nevertheless the position was one of considerable dignity, as well doubtless as of prominence and substantial emoluments, and at Dura as elsewhere citizenship was probably a prerequisite for election or appointment to the post.<sup>2</sup> Epinicus and Alexander, then, would have been Εὐρωπαῖοι, members of the city's aristocracy possessing full civic rights and tracing their origin, however remotely, back to the shadowy Macedonians of Seleucus' general Nicanor.

The Greek of the first and third inscriptions is satisfactory enough, if not really exemplary. The second has a solecistic and pronouncedly Semitic flavour with its use of participles in the place of finite verbs. One may suppose that the hasty reconstruction of the shrine after the departure of the Romans allowed no time for the correction of the dedicant's idiom, colored strongly by the speech of the lower strata of the population, which he must have understood and which he probably had learned from his nurse. In any case, the historical interest of the three inscriptions is confined exclusively to this one, because of the mention it contains of the departure of the Romans from Dura in time for Alexander to restore and enlarge the shrine and have the dedicatory inscription cut and placed before the close of the Seleucid year 428; before, that is, according to such calculations as we can make, October 14, A. D. 117.<sup>3</sup> The question is, can the evacuation of Dura have been due to Hadrian, who ceded Mesopotamia to the Parthians at the beginning of his reign, when Trajan, whose troops occupied the city during his Parthian War, died in Cilicia only a little before August 11, of the same year.<sup>4</sup> Hadrian, who had been left with the army in Antioch, had, as we know from another source,<sup>5</sup> completed his arrangements with the Parthians and departed for

<sup>2</sup> The institution is best known at Athens. Cf. now U. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen* (1936), pp. 302—307.

<sup>3</sup> Calculating according to the new moon tables given by F. V. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, Vol. II, Table III, and the intercalary cycle of J. Johnson, *Dura Studies* (1932), Table I. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 5, no. 15. Unfortunately we cannot be sure that Alexander kept his calendar correctly, for the evidence of the horoscopes is contradictory (cf. *Rep. IV*, p. 108).

<sup>4</sup> August 9, according to the common view. Cf. now e. g. R. P. Longden, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, XI (1936), p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription *CIL VI*, 5076; cf. W. Weber *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907), pp. 57 f. (cited by Groag, *op. cit.*, p. 236; Degrassi, *loc. cit.*).

Asia Minor by the beginning of October. The evidence of the Alexander inscription merely serves to confirm this fact and to bring into sharper relief the shortness of time allowed Hadrian to establish himself on the throne, to make his other necessary arrangements,<sup>6</sup> to reverse the policy of his predecessor, to inaugurate diplomatic negotiations with Parthia leading to a formal treaty, and for the composition, dispatch, and execution of the necessary military orders. Leaving out of consideration the time required for Alexander to restore and enlarge the temple and to erect his inscription, which may have been less or more, depending on circumstances, it seems obvious that a considerable interval must be assumed between the conception of the idea of evacuating Dura and its execution. Communications were slow. If Hadrian might send post haste on August 9 to Parthia to open negotiations, he must not in any case make his departure seem like a flight. He must get concessions, a *quid pro quo*, to make it seem, as Suidas reports,<sup>7</sup> that the evacuation was made at the Parthians' request, as a favor to them. It is unnecessary to involve the whole question of Mesopotamia in this discussion. Our evidence concerns Dura alone, whatever its wider implications, and Dura was not geographically a part of Mesopotamia,<sup>8</sup> however essential the city may have been to protect Mesopotamia against danger from the south. This Dura evidence is small, but specific. The sources which lay upon Hadrian the charge of unnecessarily abandoning Trajan's conquests are numerous, late for the most part, admittedly hostile, and general in their statement.<sup>9</sup> Hadrian announced that his policy of territorial restriction was based upon secret instructions from Trajan.<sup>10</sup> The new evidence indicates, to my mind, that Hadrian was simply stating the truth.<sup>11</sup>

In the attempt to form an impression of the nature of the dedications of Epinicus and his son it must be borne in mind that both persons

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Weber's summary, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, XI (1936), pp. 302 f.

<sup>7</sup> S. v. Διομετιανός (Vol. II, pp. 126 f., no. 1352; Adler).

<sup>8</sup> In the Parthian period the official designation of the city was "Europus in Parapotamia" (Parchments 21 [*Rep. VI*, p. 420] and 40 [below, pp. 427-432]), and in the third century it formed part of the province of Syria, not of Mesopotamia. We have no indication whether it was included in a provincial organization by Trajan.

<sup>9</sup> Listed by Degraasi, *loc. cit.*, and cited by Groag in his notes.

<sup>10</sup> Script. Hist. Aug., *Hadrian*, 9, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Thus the statement of Rostovtzeff, *loc. cit.*, seems to me to stand in spite of the protests of Degraasi and Groag, who gloss over the difficulties in the way of accepting the conventional view of Hadrian's cessions of territory. Cf. below, p. 134, n. 13.

were not ordinary laity, but the priests of the god.<sup>12</sup> Thus I cannot think that the *naos* and the *oikos* were merely incidental chapels erected in one of Dura's large temple precincts, but that the *naos* of Epinicus was the central chapel of the god's worship, whether or not replacing an earlier one, which had originally or came presently to have a precinct and *peribolos* of its own. Building and rebuilding were easy at Dura because of the cheapness of the building materials, mud brick and plaster. The depredations or requisitions of the Roman soldiery gave Alexander the occasion and the opportunity to enlarge and expand the sanctuary of the god which had preserved his life and something at any rate of his prosperity during the Roman occupation. He renovated the *naos*, replastering and repainting. He enlarged it by the addition of five cubits in front, approximately  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet or a little more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  meters, enough for a small *pronaos*. The original θυρώματα having been removed, he replaced them with others, and added likewise ἐξωτέρας (sc. θύρας). Although the meaning of θυρώματα has never really been precised at Dura, and although the word should properly mean "door frames" rather than "doors", still the text seems here definitely to parallel the θυρώματα and the ἐξωτέρας θύρας, and I think that must be the meaning. Wood was a much more precious commodity at Dura than stone, and wooden doors served a great variety of purposes in military hands. Thus the *naos-pronaos* was complete, but Alexander did not rest there. Two years later he added to the sanctuary an *oikos*, one of the rooms or chapels for religious or social uses found commonly at Dura built around the courts of temples against the exterior walls. That is, I think, the meaning of Alexander's postscript to his dedication, which properly came to an end with κατ' εὐχὴν. By χωρὶς τοίχου ἐξωτέρου he meant to specify, for reasons to me unknown, that he had not built the exterior wall of the *oikos*, which was also the *peribolos* wall of the sanctuary court. Possibly the reason for this addition was given in the effaced last three lines of the inscription; possibly they may merely have contained dimensions. Very likely his exclusion of the τοῖχος ἐξώτερος was influenced by the fact that he had just claimed construction of τὸ ἐξώτερον, an expression, to me, of great obscurity. Is the noun to be understood τοῖχον again, and did he mean that

<sup>12</sup> Other dedications by priests at Dura are that of an οἰκοδομή in the Temple of Artemis (Rep. III, no. 152, pp. 55 f.) by Abeis "one of the priests" (τῶν ἱερέων) and a πλινθεῖον in the Temple of Adonis by a chief-priest (below, p. 169). Neither is precisely parallel.

he had not only roofed, plastered, decorated, and otherwise furnished the *oikos*, but that he had built an "exterior" wall to separate it from the temple court? That is hardly reasonable, aside from possible difficulties of grammatical gender. Probably it is better to supply μέρος and to regard the "exterior part" as a *pronaos* or portico before the *oikos*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> As this goes to press, I note that Rostovtzeff's interpretation of the inscriptions is accepted by J. Guey, *Essai sur la Guerre Parthique de Trajan* (*Bibl. d' "Istros"*, II, 1937), pp. 134 and 138. Cf. further now Rostovtzeff, "Kaiser Trajan und Dura", *Klio*, XXXI, (1938), pp. 285—292.

### III.

## BLOCK L 5. THE TEMPLE OF ADONIS

### I. ARCHITECTURE

(Pls. IV—V, 1; Figs. 42—43, facing p. 150)

Block 5 of Section L lies near the center of the west side of the city, one block north of Main Street and one block east of Wall Street. It is bounded on the north and south by Streets 4 and 2, and on the east and west by Streets B and A. The west half of the block falls in that broad strip across the whole western side of the city which, in the last period of its history, lay along the foot of the great embankment against the city wall.<sup>1</sup> In common with the rest of this belt, at the time of the construction of the embankment, the structures which occupied it were ruthlessly sacrificed to military exigencies. They were razed to permit unimpeded circulation and communication along the entire west front which bore the brunt of the siege operations.<sup>2</sup> The walls in the west half of the block in consequence exist only in their foundations, and the finds were few. The east half of the block was not affected.

A portion of the southeast corner of the block was excavated during the seasons of 1931—32 and 1932—33.<sup>3</sup> The trenches of the latter season brought to light an altar bearing a dedication to Adonis.<sup>4</sup> Systematic exploration of the site was undertaken at the beginning of the campaign of 1933—34, and continued during the months of November and December. During this work a little more than three-fourths of the total area of the block was cleared, comprising the Temple of Adonis and three private houses. The excavations were pushed far enough to ascertain that the unexcavated portion contained two more private houses.

Block 15 was originally almost, if not completely, built up with private houses of the poorer sort. Upon this pre-existing *insula* the temple was superposed. It will be shown that the temple incorporated at least two such houses in its complex, one at either end. The central portion of the east half of the block was apparently unoccupied at the

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 9—13; cf. above, pp. 43—48.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 172 f., 179 f., 208 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. V*, p. 291.

<sup>4</sup> No. 873, pp. 169 f. below; cf. p. 150.



time of the erection of the temple. This fact was no doubt decisive in the selection of this half of the block as the building site.

The temple includes the entire east half of the block. It consists of an open court with its long axis north and south entered from Street B near the center of its east side. At its south end is the principal sanctuary unit, *pronoas*, *naos*, and accessory chambers. The north end is closed by a colonnade and flanked on the west by a second sanctuary group of three rooms. A series of nine chapels extends along the entire east side, and along the west are a number of subsidiary structures (Pl. IV, 1).

The type of construction of the various elements of the temple is uniform throughout. A superstructure of mud brick rises from a foundation and socle of rubble. The rubble is composed of chunks of gypsum and red limestone breccia laid in gypsum plaster. The faces of the foundations were laid up with some care in horizontal layers, 0.50—1.00 m. high, and rendered with a thick coat of gypsum plaster. Into the interior of each layer were dumped mud and loose *caementa* over which a lesser quantity of plaster was poured. Foundations and socles vary from 1.50 m. to 2.00 m. in height. They rest directly on the bed rock without more elaborate footings.

Except for the stone trim of doors, bases of columns, capitals, steps, and certain pavings, all the architectural members, columns, entablatures, arches and sides of doorways were carried out in rubble. The whole was decidedly oriental in character and appearance, modified only by an obvious Hellenistic influence in the columns and door trim mouldings. These were in the regular emasculated Hellenistic-Doric style of Dura, and even this influence did not extend to the entablatures of the colonnades. These consisted, as is usually the case at Dura, of rubble epistyles, reinforced with wood and moulded with one or two broad flat fasciae in the old oriental manner. There were no vaults. The rooms were covered by flat roofs carried on tie and cross beams over which reed matting was spread to support the plaster and mud above. The roof line was emphasized on the façades by a flat unmoulded projecting cornice, probably surmounted by a low parapet.

The court, 54.00 m. long and 8.00—11.00 m. wide, exhibits as a whole two distinct paving levels. The first, 0.30—0.60 m. above bed rock, is that of the time of the construction of the temple; the second, averaging 0.30 m. higher, dates from twenty to thirty years later. Both are firm pavings of rammed earth. At no period was the court

perfectly level. It sloped slightly down from the sides to the center and up from the south to the end by the sanctuary.

Five rooms (1, 2, 2<sup>1</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, and 3) made up the sanctuary unit (Pl. IV, 2). From the first court level three rubble steps, diminishing in width and depth, led up to the entrance of the *pronaos*, with a total rise of 0.62 m. Into the top step was set a stone tread. The second paving level obliterated the lowest step. The original second step became the lowest and was prolonged eastward along the façade by a bench, 0.16 m. high, which turned to extend also along the front of chapel 4. The entrance of the *pronaos*, since it shows no traces of jambs or door sockets, was undoubtedly an open arch. The *pronaos* (3), 5.50 m. deep and 10.30 m. wide, is floored with gypsum mortar, 0.09 m. thick, bedded on a fill of earth and stones. A narrow doorway in the east wall gives on a side room (9<sup>1</sup>). The south wall is broken by an arch of almost the full width of the *naos*, on which it gives.

Before the center of the rubble sill of the arch, beneath the paving of the *pronaos*, was the foundation deposit of the sanctuary. Upon a burnt brick, 0.32 m. square and 0.04 m. thick, reposed an empty two-handled commonware jar, 0.48 m. high, its lip originally flush with the bottom of the paving. Both were set in place when the fill was dumped to support the floor. The brick rested upon the fill and the jar was packed about with it. The jar, though originally empty and not covered, was, when found, partially crushed by the settling of the paving and contained a few bits of plaster and stone debris.

This foundation deposit seems to differentiate itself sharply from the other deposits uncovered in Dura. These latter appear to be related to a Mesopotamian type, a receptacle of brick, plaster, or pottery containing offerings or remains of a foundation sacrifice.<sup>5</sup> The empty jar deposit, on the other hand, is characteristic of the Syrian coast region of Palestine where it is probably a substitute for the earlier custom of placing sacrificed infants in jars.<sup>6</sup> It would be hazardous to insist upon a direct relationship. Still it is not impossible that the Dura deposit reflects the transmission of the ancient usage of the Syrian coast lands, the home of the cult of Adonis.

<sup>5</sup> Below, pp. 240 f.; *Rep. VI*, pp. 7 f., 399.

<sup>6</sup> H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente* (1907), pp. 196—200; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer* (1912), II, pp. 431—437. These deposits are quite distinct from the late Babylonian "incantation" bowl deposits. J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (1913), pp. 16 f., 40 f. Cf. S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* (1930), pp. 82—88.

The arch, 4.75 m. wide, spanning the entrance to the *naos* springs from impost pilasters projecting 0.52 m. from the side walls.<sup>7</sup> Its sill is 0.35 m. above the *pronaos* floor. The floor of the *naos* (1), 0.20 m. higher than that of the *pronaos*, is also of gypsum mortar. On either side of the small rectangular room, 6.05 m. × 3.50 m., narrow doorways give on small lateral chambers (2<sup>1</sup> and 2<sup>2</sup>). There is no trace of a base for a cult statue. Its place was filled by the paintings of the rear wall which portrayed the god presiding over a supplicatio in his honor.<sup>8</sup> The rear wall is separated from the exterior wall of the building by a narrow blind corridor (2), 1.15 m. wide, without apparent entrance or exit.

The plan of the sanctuary unit reproduces that already familiar from the temples of Artemis and Atargatis, a wide *pronaos* and smaller *naos* flanked by lateral chambers. Here the arrangement is not perfectly regular since it was to some extent determined by the position of the walls of the house over which it was built. The west wall of the *pronaos* and the east wall of rooms 2 and 2<sup>2</sup> are reused walls of the earlier building. Beneath the floors of 2<sup>1</sup>, 1, 2<sup>2</sup>, and 2 run the perpendicular foundations of the front and partition walls of the earlier *diwan* and adjacent room (dotted in plan, fig. 42). In corridor 2 the bench of the earlier *diwan* has been preserved intact, wanting only 0.07 m. of filling the exact width of the space. The only essential element of difference, however, is the blind corridor feature. It occurs in two other temples of Dura and cannot be explained as an anomaly forced on the builders by the disposition of the pre-existing house. The side walls of the *naos* might much more conveniently have been continued to meet the rear exterior wall. It is obvious that the actual rear wall of the *naos* and its side chambers was built across one of the earlier walls for the express purpose of reserving the space (2) between it and the exterior. The solution is provided by comparison with the sanctuaries of the temples of Azzanathkona and Zeus Theos.<sup>9</sup> In either

<sup>7</sup> Such arches, replacing the narrow doorway between *naos* and *pronaos* of Babylonian architecture, are found in the Temples of the Palmyrene Gods, of Aphlad, Zeus Theos, the Gaddé, and Zeus Megistos (unpublished). The earliest appearance of the feature is in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, ca. 50 A. D. It represents a modification of the old Mesopotamian sanctuary scheme by the introduction of the Parthian *liwan* arch and appears contemporaneously in the Parthian temples of lower Mesopotamia. (Cf. J. Jordan, *Uruk-Warka* [*Wiss. Veröff. d. Deut. Orient-Ges.*, LI, 1928], pp. 36—38, pls. 14, 30a, 43b, 73a, b; *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1935, no. 2, pp. 33—36, pls. 12, 13, 23—31).

<sup>8</sup> See below, pp. 158—163.

<sup>9</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. III. and p. 139; below, p. 183, fig. 48, facing p. 194.

case a narrow corridor, open at one or both ends, giving access to a subsidiary room or rooms, separates the rear of the sanctuary from the external wall of the precinct. With the exception of E-Sagila, corridors of precisely this type characterize the temples of Babylon, the temple of Borsippa, and the Anu-Antum sanctuary of Warka.<sup>10</sup> Koldewey has formulated the theory that they represent a development from an earlier type of temple with the sanctuary standing free in the court. Perhaps in the evolution of the Babylonian temple from the gateway, if Andrae is right, it was felt imperative that there be free space on either side of the sanctuary rear wall.<sup>11</sup> The direct derivation of the Dura temple plan from the Babylonian has long been recognized.<sup>12</sup> Indeed in two temples, those of Artemis and Aphlad, we have examples of the free-standing sanctuary. The blind corridor, 2, of the Adonis temple is then the conception expressed by the corridors of the Babylonian temples and of the sanctuaries of Azzanathkona and Zeus Theos reduced to its ultimate attenuation. The corridor has here become a mere symbol, functionally meaningless, architecturally useless and wasteful.<sup>13</sup>

The side chambers (2<sup>1</sup> and 2<sup>2</sup>), on the analogy of similar rooms in other temples, probably served as sacristies for the keeping of vestments and cult instruments. Nothing of such a nature was found in them but the chambers (C<sup>1</sup> and C<sup>2</sup>) on either side of the *naos* of the temple of Artemis and room 4 beside the *naos* of the Temple of Zeus Theos were clearly designated as sacristies by the finds.<sup>14</sup> Room 2<sup>2</sup> had something of the nature of a mere passage, for it was cut in two by a step, 0.23 m. high, leading down to the doorway of room 9. The latter was evidently frequented only by the priesthood. A low rubble bench skirted two sides and a higher seat was built beside the doorway. In the southeast corner a large commonware *amphora* was sunk to the rim in the rammed earth floor. It is not as evident that room 9<sup>1</sup>

<sup>10</sup> R. Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (1913), pp. 63, 219 f., 224, 289, with figs. 137, 142, 244, 246; Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, pls. XVIII, XXII.

<sup>11</sup> Koldewey, *op. cit.*, p. 63; W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus* (1930), pp. 16—18.

<sup>12</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 34; *Rep. III*, pp. 18—24; cf. *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, IV (1931), pp. 173 f.; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies*, V (1935), pp. 205 f.

<sup>13</sup> It is possible, of course, that the builders no longer understood the origin and function of the corridor, and regarded it simply as a protection against the pollution of the shrine by contact with the exterior. In any case it served a practical purpose of protection against τοιχωρύχοι. In three Dura temples, those of Atargatis, the Gaddé, and of the Palmyrene Triad, the corridor feature has been completely suppressed.

<sup>14</sup> *Rep. III*, p. 20; below, p. 187.



was absolutely interdicted to the profane. In addition to its original entrance from the *pronaos* an opening from the court was later cut out of the corner of chapel 4. That this opening was not original is clear from the fact that its sill was laid after and 0.35 m. above the bench of period 2 which lies before it.

The nine chapels ranked along the east side of the court display a striking uniformity. They are square or rectangular chambers, 4.10 m. to 5.10 m. deep. In the west wall of each a doorway, 1.10 m. to 1.50 m. wide between the jambs, gives access from the court. The trim of these doorways is of gypsum; jamb caps and lintels are moulded with an uninspired succession of cavetti and fillets. With one exception low benches, 0.20—0.27 m. high, skirt the rooms on two or three sides. With two exceptions each has a somewhat higher (0.27—0.40 m.) seat beside the entrance to the south. Floors are uniformly of rammed earth.

The entrance to chapel 4 was originally preceded by a broad rubble step, later partly destroyed and partly incorporated in the bench of period 2. Within, the doorway was framed by shallow rubble pilasters, 0.35 m. wide.<sup>15</sup> Before the south pilaster the bottom portion of a pointed *amphora* was sunk in the floor. The original southwest corner of the room was replaced by a thin, convex screen-wall when the court entrance to 9<sup>1</sup> was cut.

The inscribed lintel of chapel 5 dates its construction in 157/8 A.D.<sup>16</sup> Opposite the doorway close by the bench a roughly squared slab of gypsum, 0.32 m. wide and 0.08 m. thick, is set in a circular collar of plaster, 0.60 m. in diameter let into the floor. In the center is a shallow circular sinking, 0.12 m. in diameter, about a hole, 0.017 m. in diameter, which pierces the slab. This socket arrangement held a standard, *ex voto*, or candelabrum. It is identical in form and manufacture with the *gandaileh* of the modern Arab *sibat* in which an iron candlestick or lampstand is stuck.

Chapel 37 is remarkable only for the absence of bench and seat. Originally a rubble bench or step, 0.18 m. high, extended across its façade. The subsequent rise in the level of the court obliterated it.

Chapel 38 is dated by an inscribed dedication of 153 A.D.<sup>17</sup> Its doorway has shallow pilasters on the interior. The section of bench along the north wall is of mud rubble and later than the benches on the other two sides.

The jambs and lintel of the doorway of chapel 43 were found before

<sup>15</sup> For the functional significance of these and similar pilasters, see *Rep. VI*, p. 271.

<sup>16</sup> No. 872, below, pp. 168 f.

<sup>17</sup> No. 871, p. 168, below.



it in the court, fallen in position as they had stood. Their dimensions give a height of 2.45 m. from sill to lintel on a width of 1.10 m. from jamb to jamb. The doorway was profiled with shallow pilasters on the inside, and in the northwest corner a common pointed *amphora* was sunk to about one-third its height in the floor.

A rubble step, 0.15 m. high, led up to the entrance of chapel 40. Its doorway, like those of chapels 38 and 43 was framed by flat rubble pilasters on the interior.

Chapel 44 was also preceded by a rubble step, in this case 0.25 m. high. Near the west end of the bench along the south side of the room stood a heavy plaster jar-stand or cooler, height 0.57 m., top diameter 0.70 m., thickness of sides 0.07—0.09 m.<sup>18</sup> Against the north wall ascended a single steep flight of steps (fig. 37).

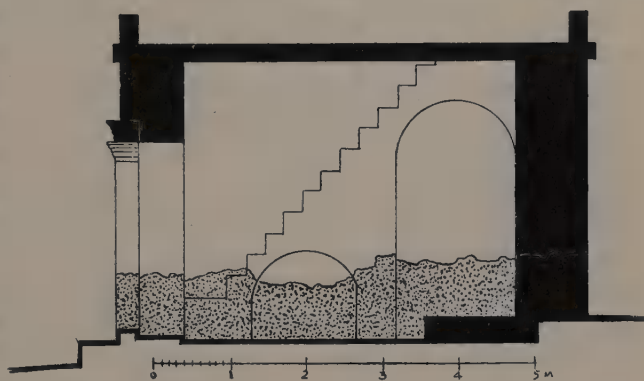


Fig. 37. Temple of Adonis. Chapel 44, Section.

In the northwest corner of the room stands the solid rubble mass of the narrow bottom landing, 0.54 m. from the floor, together with the first step and a fragment of the second. It shows the west springing of the lower of the two arches carrying the stair. In the middle of the north wall is the central impost pier of the two arches, 1.10 m. high, showing the east springing of the lower arch. This arch appears to have been slightly rampant. The preserved first step gives a riser of 0.28 m. and a tread of 0.25 m. Calculating from these measurements and allowing about 1.50 m. for a landing at the top, we may restore a total rise of approximately 3.90 m. The stair led to the roof terrace. No evidence of any supplementary structure there appeared in the excavations. It is probable that a roof terrace accessible by a stair from below is what is designated as τὸ ὑπερῶν in Cumont's inscription (no. 1) from a chapel of the temple of the Palmyrene gods.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Rep. V*, p. 33, pl. VI; below, pp. 305 f. These "bowls" are better explained as stands for *amphorae* of wine or water. The thick sides when moistened would impart to the vessel which they supported the coolness gained from slow evaporation. Cf. *Rep. VI*, p. 269.

Chapel 46 had originally a second smaller doorway, 0.70 m. wide, south of its principal entrance. It was fitted with jambs on the inside, i. e., designed to open outward into the court. Its precise utility is not apparent. Eventually it was solidly blocked with rubble, but only after the lapse of considerable time. Inside the chapel the portion of bench directly before the doorway was deeply worn with use. The lintel of the larger door bore an inscription only portions of which were recoverable.<sup>19</sup>

Chapel 45 also had two doorways, a larger opening under portico 42, and a smaller giving directly on the court. Both are without jambs or door sockets, and were evidently arched. In the rubble sill of the larger doorway is a curving groove, 0.08 m. wide and 0.06 m. deep, rounded in section. Like somewhat similar grooves in the sills of certain Pompeian shop doorways it may have accommodated a sliding door of overlapping upright wooden sections.<sup>20</sup> The east wall is broken by a shallow niche formed by the walling up of a former doorway from the exterior with a rubble screen. A similar niche was left on the outside. Into the inside niche was built a rubble seat 0.40 m. high. The presence of this doorway is the only remaining token that this portion of the temple was previously occupied by another structure. It can never have served as an entrance to the chapel. Indeed it was walled up when the chapel was erected. Its sill, laid bare on the exterior, was built to a street level considerably beneath that of the original temple entrance, and it is clear that the blocking had already been accomplished when the chapel bench was built about the interior walls. It was rather wider (ca. 1.85 m. between the jambs) than the average of street doors to private houses, and may have been a shop entrance. Against the section of west wall between the two doorways stood a square altar of rubble with a narrow stone step, 0.50 m. high, before it. The altar is preserved to a height of 1.20 m.

The line of chapels is broken between chapels 5 and 37 by the *propylaeum* of the temple and a stairwell (rooms 6, 7, and 8). They are structurally a unit and rose considerably above the chapels on either side. The great doorway of the temple, 1.90 m. wide between the jambs, opened between massive buttresses 0.70 m. square.<sup>21</sup> Originally

<sup>19</sup> No. 877, below, p. 173.

<sup>20</sup> E. g., Reg. IX, Ins. X, no. 10; P. Beccarini, *Un Decennio di Nuovi Scavi in Pompeii* (1922), p. 23. Cf. August Mau (ed. A. Ippel), *Führer durch Pompeii auf Veranlassung des Arch. Inst. des Deut. Reiches* (1928), p. 126; Tatiana Warscher, *Pompeii, Ein Führer durch die Ruinen* (1925), pp. 238 f.

<sup>21</sup> These buttresses, which occur in almost identical fashion on either side of the gates of the Temples of Artemis and Atargatis, are probably a survival of the gate

it was approached by a gypsum step, 0.25 m. high, before a sill 0.20 m. high, rising from the level attained by the street at the time of the erection of the temple. Subsequently, to match the rise of 0.25—0.30 m. in the street level, two rubble steps, 0.15 m. and 0.20 m. high, the top one fitted with a stone tread, were laid upon the original step. The surface of the top step was thus raised to 0.15 m. above the door sill, and the effect produced was very much the same as in a mosque. Within, heavy pilasters with a projection of 0.43 m., framed the doorway and took up the overhang of the doors beyond the normal width of the wall. Between them a step of 0.17 m. led down to the level of the *propylaeum* (8), a lofty square chamber, plaster floored. At the southeast corner a narrow door opened into 7, which was a closet or porter's lodge beneath the stair. In the north wall was a niche, and in the northwest corner the base, standing only 0.20 m. high, of a simple stone stele or altar. The *propylaeum* gave on the court by a great arch, 3.35 m. in span.

From the dimensions of this arch and the remains of the stair the height of the unit can be approximately ascertained. Of the ten rubble steps of the first flight seven remain with the outlines of the missing three on the wall plaster at either side. The average tread is 0.30 m., the average riser 0.19 m. The short end flight consists of two steps. To achieve the height which so wide an arch would have developed, according to the normal proportions at Dura, the stair must have ascended in at least five flights with a total rise of 5.70 m. to roof level.<sup>22</sup> The arch, springing from a height about equal to its span would have been about 5.25 m. to the crown.

An elevated terrace roof over the *propylaeum*, gained by a staircase, is also a feature of the Temple of Atargatis. In both cases it is distinctive enough to justify the assumption that it had a place in the cult of the divinity. The staircase of the Anu-Antum Temple in Warka<sup>23</sup> led to the roof of the *propylaeum* and here certain ceremonies are known to have taken place on the roof. In Babylonia<sup>24</sup> the daily morning rite of the opening of the temple doorway is well documented.<sup>25</sup> In the

towers flanking the entrances to Babylonian and Assyrian sanctuaries. Cf. below, pp. 234 f.

<sup>22</sup>  $10 + 2 + 8 + 2 + 8 = 30$  steps. Since the steps were 1.10 m. wide, two steps of the third and fifth flights would have had to be sacrificed to give room for the fourth.

<sup>23</sup> Jordan, *op. cit.*, p. 12 f.

<sup>24</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* (1921), pp. 35, 39, 41, 45.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82, no. 4, 85, 94, 98, 124, 130, 132, 140, 145.

West the daily *apertio* of the great doorway of the sanctuaries of Isis is familiar.<sup>26</sup> An analogous ritual probably figured in the daily service of Atargatis at Hieropolis,<sup>27</sup> and we may expect it to have been retained in her temple at Dura. Nothing is known of any daily temple ritual of Adonis. In his sanctuary here he is the *πάρεδρος* of Atargatis, and no doubt the cult knew many of the same observances. Probably one may imagine the terrace roof of the *propylaeum* as the station of a pre-Muslim *muezzin* calling the faithful to morning prayers, and perhaps as serving for the performance of certain preliminary rites.

The portico which closed the north end of the temple court was raised 0.28 m. above the first court level and gained by a rubble step, 0.16 m. high, between the central columns. It was paved with rammed earth and surrounded on three sides by a bench 0.12 m. in height. The two columns of the portico rose from square, unmolded gypsum bases, 0.74 m. on a side and 0.15 m. high, which rested on a rubble stylobate, of the same width, 0.28 m. high. To them corresponded rubble antae at either side rising from similar unmoulded bases. The axial intercolumniation is 3.30 m. The columns, 0.65 m. in lower diameter, were 0.49 m. in upper diameter according to the evidence of the caps. If restored with a height of six lower diameters they show a very pronounced taper of 0.035 m. per meter. The antae were 0.62 m. wide at the base. Their capitals have not survived. The column caps (fig. 38) are of gypsum, the square abacus 0.08 m., the echinus with a coarse rounded profile 0.10 m. high. The echinus terminates at the bottom in a narrow collar 0.008 m. high. Columns and antae carried an entablature of plaster reinforced with rounds and beams of wood. The upper surface of the caps had drafted margins 0.06 m. wide; the face was left raised and roughly pointed to give purchase to the plaster. One cap still retained, when found, a fragment of entablature plaster showing the impress of a squared beam. The numerous small fragments of the entablature itself seem to indicate that large rounds or beams carried the load near the bottom, while the upper part was reinforced with smaller pieces. The outer face was molded with a broad flat fascia.

Near the northeast corner of the portico a narrow doorway from Street 4 was cut at a late period of the temple. Its floor is 0.80 m. above that of the portico, corresponding to the level of the street outside. Two reused building blocks of gypsum served as steps, 0.25 m. and 0.20 m.

<sup>26</sup> Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, §§ 20, 22; Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, XVIII, 3, 4, § 74; cf. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain* (1929), pp. 88 f.

<sup>27</sup> Lucian, *De Dea Syria* (ed. A. M. Harmon, *Loeb Class. Lib.*, Vol. IV), § 44.



high, down to portico level. Set in the rubble floor of the doorway itself against the east reveal was the lower part of a small gypsum column, probably votive.<sup>28</sup>

At the northwest corner of the temple was a group of three rooms, 47, 48, and 51, whose disposition and appointments mark them as a second sanctuary unit. Room 47 constituted a *pronaos* to *naos* 51, and its arrangement suggests that it served the same ends as the *salles aux gradins* of other temp-

les.<sup>29</sup> The south end is treated as a stage, the north end as an orchestra surrounded by seats for spectators (fig. 39). The room was entered from the court by a great doorway, 1.64 m. wide between the jambs. Its lintel bore a dedicat-

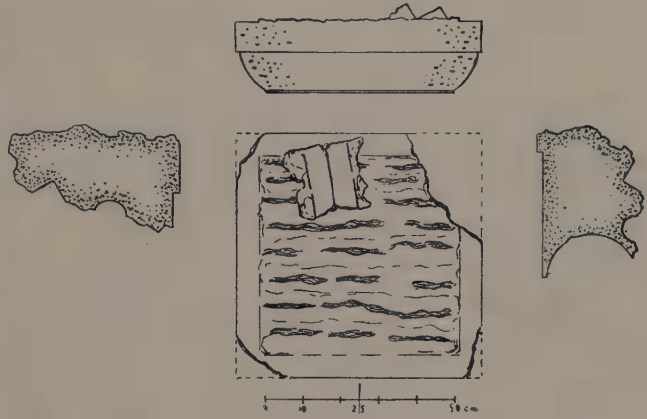


Fig. 38. Temple of Adonis. Portico 42, Details of Order.

ion to Atargatis dated 152 A. D.<sup>30</sup> The central portion of the room was paved with roughly squared flags of gypsum, 0.08—0.10 m. thick, bedded in gypsum mortar. One of them was removable and concealed an ovoid plaster-lined pit, 0.42 m. deep. The remaining area to either side was floored with gypsum mortar, ca. 0.04 m. thick. A step flush with the south reveal of the entrance set off the south portion of the room, raised 0.16 m. above the rest. Opposite each other in the center of the east and west walls are the bases of the engaged impost piers of an arch, 1.35 m. wide with a projection of 0.52 m. The faces of the rubble piers were profiled on either side by engaged stone pillars, 0.47 m. square, projecting 0.12 m. beyond the face of the pier. They undoubtedly terminated in a moulding or cap of some sort at the springing. The piers were simply built against, not bonded into, the side walls and fell with the arch leaving only their bases, 0.71 m. and 0.53 m. high. The arch itself could have been in no sense structural, but served only

<sup>28</sup> See *Rep. VI*, pp. 397 f. for votive columns in the temple of Artemis.

<sup>29</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 202—204; *Rep. III.*, pp. 22—24; *Rep. V*, pp. 171 f.

<sup>30</sup> No. 870, below, pp. 167 f.



to frame, like a *proscenium*, the south end of the room. Its fragments show that the soffit was plain, not moulded nor profiled.

On either side of the west pier was a square rubble seat, that to the north 0.43 m. high, that to the south 0.31 m. high. By the north side of the east pier was a similar seat of stone, 0.37 m. high. Along the south wall ran a narrow bench, 0.19 m. high, which turned the corner before doorway 47—48 and abutted against the east pier.

Along the east and west walls at the north end of the room ran narrow rubble benches, 0.50 m. and 0.27 m. high respectively. In the west bench near the south end were two sinkings with three straight and one curved side, 0.41 m. deep, sockets for standards, candelabra, or *ex votos*. At its south end the bench abuts against a square rubble seat, 0.38 m. high overall, capped by a stone slab bearing a dedication by a treasurer (γαζοφύλαξ) dated 178 A. D.<sup>31</sup> Across the north end of the room extends a broad bench of plaster-coated mud brick 0.74 m. high, preceded by a narrow rubble step 0.52 m. high.

A gypsum step of 0.21 m. mounts to doorway 47—51. *Naos* 51 was a small bare rectangular chamber stoutly paved with gypsum mortar. No traces of decoration or a cult image came to light. Into the east wall, just south of the doorway, was let a deep niche, 0.60 m. high. It was roofed with six rounds of wood and showed traces of a wooden casement designed to contain a door.

Room 48 is a later addition to the group. The original plaster rendering of its outer northeast corner laps over the third exterior plaster coat of the east wall of 47 where it abuts against it. The south and east walls of 47 long made a free corner here, as the continuity of the earlier plaster shows. Room 48 was entered across the south bench of 47, and its rammed earth floor was 0.32 m. higher than the south portion of 47. Its function was doubtless the same as that of the sacristies of the *salles aux gradins* of the temple of Azzanathkona (*Rep. V*, pl. III, room 10 W) and of the Gaddé (below p. 252).

The rubble bench, 0.50 m. high, which extends across the façade of 47, broken only by its doorway, seems, from the relation of its plaster rendering to the wall behind it, to have been built at the same time as chamber 48.

Still later, in 181/2 A. D., the re-entrant area south of 48 was filled by a portico of two columns *in antis* and a small dependent chamber, 49 and 50 (Pl. V, 1). In the dedicatory inscription the former is termed peristyle (περίστυλον) the latter a wine cellar (οἶνοχυτεῖον) for the

<sup>31</sup> No. 874, below, pp. 170 f.

service of Adonis.<sup>32</sup> The rubble columns, 0.45 m. in lower and 0.39 in upper diameter, rested upon gypsum bases, 0.52 m. square and 0.08 m. thick, set on a rubble stylobate, 0.12 m. high. The south *anta* was an almost free standing pillar, 0.45 m. square at the base, engaged at one corner with the outer wall of 48, which had been once replastered before this took place. The column caps were plain unmolded slabs of gypsum 0.47 m. square and 0.09 m. thick. Bases and caps were, like the columns, rendered with plaster after they were set in place. Consequently the underside of each cap bears the unplastered impress of the top of the column. No fragments of entablature were recovered. The area of 49 was

floored with gypsum mortar, 0.04 m. thick, and surrounded on three sides by a rubble bench, 0.11 m. high. Its rear wall owes its irregularity to the fact that it comprises the junction of the rear walls of two of

the houses in the west half of the block. It is broken by two niches between which was painted an inscription in honor of a priest of Apollo.<sup>33</sup> Chamber 50, separated from 49 only by a thin partition, showed no traces of its function.

Along the west wall of the court just south of the "peristyle" ran a portico of four rubble columns resting on rubble plinths 0.70 m. square and 0.40 m. high. The columns were 0.63 m. in diameter at the base. No fragments of caps or entablature came to light. The smallest diameter shown by the numerous fragmentary rubble drums was 0.51 m., which may be taken as the top dimension. Assuming a taper of about 0.03 m. per meter, the columns may be restored as about 4.00 m. or six and one-third diameters high. The axial intercolumniations were irregular, though the center was markedly the widest (2.96 m., 3.46 m., 3.05 m. from south to north). From the court level indicated by the termination of the original rendering of the plinths, the portico appears to have been constructed at an intermediate period about contemporary with room 48.

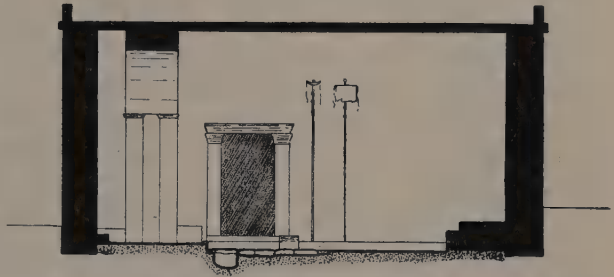


Fig. 39. Temple of Adonis. *Pronaos* 47, Section.

<sup>32</sup> No. 875, below, pp. 171 f.

<sup>33</sup> No. 876, below, pp. 172 f.

Of the *aedicula* placed against the wall opposite on the axis of the temple *propylaeum* only the bare foundations remain. They consist of the bottom (0.10—0.25 m.) of two rubble columns, 0.42 m. in diameter, 2.27 m. apart axially, resting on stone bases 0.44 m. square and 0.10 m. thick, and engaged to the ends of two thin screen walls. The area comprised within the walls and columns was paved with gypsum mortar at the level of the tops of the bases. Enough fragments, however, were recovered to show that the columns supported an arched façade, and that the general appearance of the *aedicula* was very like that of the Torah shrine of the Synagogue and of the *aedicula* in the court of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods<sup>34</sup> (fig. 40). Fragments of the columns show a top diameter of 0.35 m. and a taper of about 0.02 m. per meter, indicating a total height of about 3.50 m. No fragments of caps were found. A large fragment of arch at the springing shows that the foot of the arch was considerably wider than the top of the column, and accordingly, probably sprang from the inner edge of the cap. The side walls would have supported a light flat roof behind the arched façade. None of the fragments bore traces of the painted decoration which must originally have enriched them.

Upon a rubble plinth, 1.15 m. square, standing 0.52 m. above the earlier court level, 4.70 m. from the west side of the *pronaos* façade, stood a single rubble column, 0.86 m. in diameter at the base (Pl. IV, 2). A large fragment of its capital shows a low abacus, 0.85 m. square and 0.086 m. high, and a still lower echinus, 0.076 m. high, 0.71 m. in diameter at the base. The latter has a rounded profile with an extremely marked projection of more than 20% of the upper column diameter. It is possible that the echinus was originally somewhat higher with the lower part carried out in rubble. In its actual state the bottom is very roughly finished off. The top of the abacus has drafted margins, 0.04 m. wide; the center is raised and roughly pointed. Probably it carried a reinforced plaster entablature like that of colonnade 42.

To this column, originally some 4.50 m. high, corresponded a rubble anta, 1.08 m. wide and 0.18 m. deep, built into the west wall of the court opposite. The pre-existing house wall at this point consisted of a low rubble socle, 0.60 m. high, and a mud brick superstructure. For the construction of the anta to take the heavy weight of the entablature a section of the wall 1.60 m. wide was torn out and replaced by a solid rubble pier from the face of which the anta projects.

This isolated column and pier standing devoid of any apparent

<sup>34</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 320 f.; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 35.

function before the sanctuary façade is a feature quite unparalleled at Dura or elsewhere.<sup>35</sup> In character it is most reminiscent of the honorary and funerary bi-columnar monuments of the Hellenistic world, whose primary function was to carry groups of statuary.<sup>36</sup> It is even possible that our pier and column supported sculptures of which every vestige has disappeared. On the other hand a parallel may be sought in the pairs of columns which stood before several west-Semitic sanctuaries.<sup>37</sup> A third possibility is that the pier and column with their entablature served primarily as an effective frame for ritual expositions before the gates of the sanctuary, while not divorced from the religious associations of the latter nor from the architectural form realized in the former class of monuments.

Though the court boasted no great central altar, numerous small altars and *thymiateria* found place about its perimeter. Against the west court wall just north of the isolated column monument stood two gypsum incense altars behind and to either side of a rectangular gypsum base or socket (fig. 41). They were found fallen but in their relative original positions. The south altar was 0.97 m. high and of the "horned" type. The "horns" enclosed its shallow, circular, fire-marked bowl. It had sharp flat base and cap mouldings, and the center

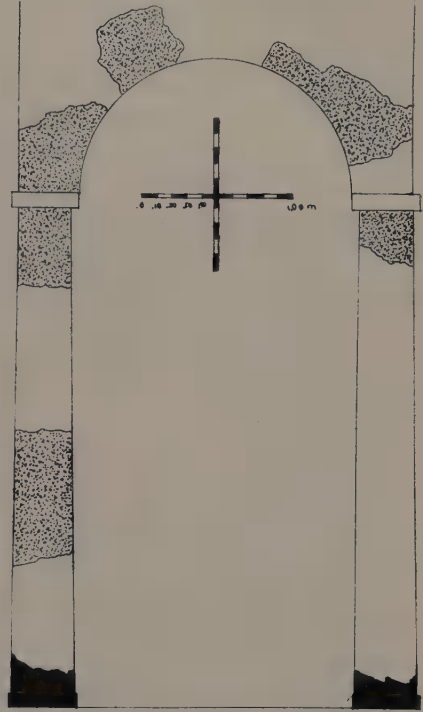


Fig. 40. Temple of Adonis. *Aedicula* opposite Entrance, Restored Elevation.

<sup>35</sup> *Rep. III*, p. 10. It is not to be confused with the votive columns set before the entrances to such Dura sanctuaries as those of Artemis-Nanaia and Atargatis.

<sup>36</sup> Examples in the West are collected by M. P. Nilsson, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XLIX (1925), pp. 147—155; for Syria, cf. Butler, *Architecture*, pp. 59—62, 73; K. Humann, O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (1890), pp. 212—217, 218—227, figs. 24, 39—41, pls. XV—XVIII; cf. S. B. Murray, *Hellenistic Architecture in Syria* (Diss. Princeton 1917), pp. 14—16.

<sup>37</sup> W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1927), pp. 208—212, 456 f. Much evidence is collected by G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III, pp.



of the die face was panelled with a simple moulding reminding one of late medieval "linen-fold" patterns.<sup>38</sup> The north altar, 0.89 m. high, showed similar base and crown mouldings. In this case the „horns” were formalized to a simple slotting of each face of the square bowl. Both showed traces of the practice, frequent at Dura, of refurbishing the blackened bowl from time with coats of whitewash, which in the end almost obliterate its outline. The socket consisted of a rectangular base, 0.22 m. high, moulded with a broad flat fascia, and a circular collar, 0.045 m. high, pierced through the center with a hole 0.065 m. in diameter. The faces of the die and of the fascia beneath inclined inward. The hole showed no traces of metallic oxidation and served, obviously, to contain the wooden staff of some cult object, probably a standard. An analogous base supports the crescent standard of a Dura relief.<sup>39</sup>

Against the court wall of chapel 5 opposite stood a rubble altar, 0.91 m. wide and 0.87 m. deep, which originally bore a dedication to Adonis dated 175 A. D.<sup>40</sup> It rested upon a gypsum plinth, 0.34 m. high, which projected 0.13 m. on three sides and was approached by a rubble step, 0.16 m. high. It stands actually only 0.41 m. high above the plinth, but originally must have been at least 0.65—0.70 m. higher to account for the inscription and a crown moulding of some sort.

On the same side of the court against the outer wall of chapels 46 and 45 stood a group of three contiguous altars. All three are of rubble and are broken off below the top. The first, to the south, is 0.92 m. square and preceded by a broad step 0.55 m. high. The second is columnar, rising from a square gypsum base 0.10 m. high. It rests upon a rubble plinth 0.40 m. high. These two were already in place when a broad low rubble platform, 0.20 m. thick, was laid before chapels 44 and 46. It belongs to the earlier period of the temple, for it was

119—122; cf. E. A. Gardner, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, IX, (1888), pp. 203—215; S. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, XV (1930—31), pp. 168—172, pl. XXXIV; Z. Mayani, *L'Arbre Sacré et le Rite de l'Alliance chez les Anciens Sémites* (1935), pp. 62—66. For a third or fourth century representation on a glass cup, H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, (1927), no. 504. Cf. a terracotta temple model from Idalion in Cyprus, Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, III, p. 277, fig. 208; IV, p. 291, and the three palace-temples of *Khorsabad*, Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 141, 213, fig. 72.

<sup>38</sup> For this moulding which at Dura appears on lintel soffits, see *Rep. V*, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> *Rep. III*, pl. XIX, 1, pp. 117 f. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 114—123 for the religious standard in general.

<sup>40</sup> No. 873, below, pp. 169 f.







obliterated by the paving of period 2. The third altar rests on a cubical gypsum base 0.38 m. high. It is rectangular in section, and each of its three exposed sides is channelled with two deep grooves, square in section.<sup>41</sup>

A second group of three contiguous altars stands against the court wall of room 48. All three are of rubble and are practically intact. They

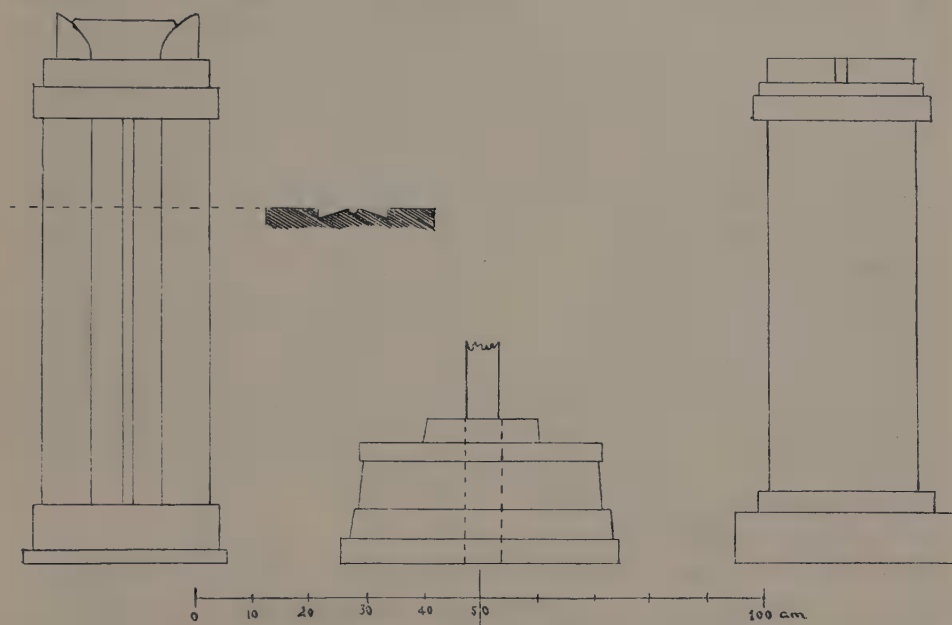


Fig. 41. Temple of Adonis, Altars and Standard Base.

appear to be about contemporary with "peristyle" 49. They were incense altars. Each was crowned with a course of burnt brick, of which fire-blackened fragments in each case remain, while the wall plaster above them is heavily smutted. The first, to the south, has the form of a truncated pyramid 0.51 m. high. It rests upon a rectangular rubble plinth 0.43 m. high. The second, set upon a square rubble plinth 0.38 m. high, is a truncated half cone 0.43 m. high, moulded with a quarter-round at the base. The third, 0.45 m. high, is semi-columnar and rests on a plinth 0.39 m. high.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Rep.* VI, pp. 500 f.

<sup>42</sup> These two triads of altars are striking enough to suggest a possible relation to the triads of pillars found as cult objects at Petra and elsewhere; cf. Gustaf Dalman,

## II. HISTORY

The evidence of the extant remains taken in combination with that of the dated inscriptions gives an exceptionally clear picture of the temple's history. Two main building periods are to be distinguished. The first is represented by inscriptions 870, 871, and 872, recording the construction of room 47 (and with it, clearly, room 51) in 152 A. D., that of chapel 38 in 152/3 A. D., and that of chapel 5 in 157/8 A. D. This period lasting from ca. 150 A. D. to 160 A. D. saw the construction of the temple in gross. Since the secondary sanctuary unit was completed by 152 A. D., it is logical to assign the main sanctuary group to ca. 150—151. All the evidence goes to show that the chapels do not differ appreciably from one another in date. The entire series appear to have been erected during the decade 150 to 160 A. D. Since the two antae of portico 42 are of one piece with the walls of 45 and 47, the portico is contemporary. It has been observed that this earliest period is associated with a first paving level of the court. The *aedicula* opposite the *propylaeum* and the isolated column monument are definitely built to this level. They too fall in the same decade. For similar reasons<sup>1</sup> the triad of altars against the court wall of chapels 46 and 45 is to be assigned to this period.

The second main building period, from ca. 175 A. D. to 182 A. D. is represented by inscriptions 873, 874, and 875. It witnessed the completion of various minor improvements, the dedication of "peristyle" 49 in 181/2 A. D., of the altar before chapel 5 in 175, of a seat in *pronaos* 47 in 177/8, in short, the attainment of the temple's final form. The second marked paving level of the court is to be associated with it, as are the erection of the altar triad before room 48, the cutting of the entrance to 42 from the street, and of the court entrance to 9'. During the intervening years, room 48 and the colonnade south of room 50 had been added.

*Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* (1908), p. 311, no. 606, fig. 263; *Neue Petra-Forschungen und der heilige Felsen von Jerusalem* (1912), p. 48, no. 172<sup>2</sup>, fig. 47, and no. 298', fig. 48; Gressmann, *loc. cit.*, no. 437, cf. no. 452; Jane E. Harrison, *Themis* (1912), p. 192. In Carthage, at least, the pillar triad was associated with the "Tanit symbol" and so, possibly, with the Triad, Tanit, Ba'al Hamman, Iolaos-Eshmoun-Adonis; W. W. F. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (1911), pp. 15—56.; H. Usener, *Rhein. Mus.*, LVIII (1903), p. 32. For the Tanit symbol see P. Gauckler, *Bull. archéologique du Comité* (1894), pp. 295—303; Cook, *Rel. of Anc. Palestine*, pp. 45—50.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 150 f.

The temple of Adonis is thus the latest among the pagan temples of Dura, the last great sanctuary to be erected before the advent of the Romans. Its most immediate predecessor is the Temple of Zeus Theos,<sup>2</sup> its nearest successor the Mithraeum.<sup>3</sup>

### III. THE CULT

Adonis, the chief god of the temple, is named in the dedications of the "peristyle" and of the altar before chapel 5 (nos. 875 and 873). His youthful effigy adorned the rear wall of *naos* 1, which was consecrated to his worship. He is the Phoenician Adonis-Eshmoun whose real nature and origin the mythological tablets of Ras Shamra have so vividly demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> The second sanctuary unit enshrined his mother-consort, here called Atargatis,<sup>2</sup> the ancient Asherat-Astarte-Anat,<sup>3</sup> the Aphrodite of the Greek myth. The name of a third divinity, Apollo, is preserved by the honorary dipinto of the "peristyle" (no. 876). It is far from clear that this dipinto refers to a divinity actually worshipped in the temple. Moreover the sole myth which specifically relates Adonis and Apollo, though it perhaps reflects a valid tradition, is of late date and dubious cogency.<sup>4</sup> It may be thought that Apollo here in his character as a solar god stands, in somewhat attenuated form, for Kronos-Helios-El-Ba'al, the great solar first person of the late Phoenician trinity.<sup>5</sup> He can scarcely be the curious Apollo-Nebo, *σύνναος* *Θεός* of the triad

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 194 f.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 83—89.

<sup>1</sup> R. Dussaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII (1931), pp. 377—408; *ibid.*, CV (1932), pp. 259—275; *ibid.*, CXI (1935), pp. 5—65, who confirms an earlier theory of Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, XI (1926), pp. 355 f.; *ibid.*, XV (1930—31), p. 190. Cf. W. F. Albright, *Journ. Palestine Oriental Soc.*, XII (1932), pp. 190 f.; J. A. Montgomery, *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, LIII (1933), pp. 105—109.

<sup>2</sup> No. 870; and below, pp. 163—165.

<sup>3</sup> Dussaud, *Notes de Mythologie Syrienne* (1905), pp. 82 f.; W. F. Albright, *American Journ. of Semitic Languages*, XLI (1925), pp. 73—101; Dussaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII, pp. 369 f., 376; CV, pp. 275—280.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemaeus Chennus in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, codex 190, p. 243H = Migne, *Ser. Graeca*, CIII, p. 609. Cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 144. More than dubious is a proposed identification of Apollo and Adonis on certain coins of Side, J. P. Six, *Numismatic Chronicle*, XVII (1897), pp. 201 f.

<sup>5</sup> For this trinity, Dussaud, *Notes*, pp. 131—155; Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 15—65; cf. n. 42 above, p. 151. For its probable development out of the pantheon of Ras Shamra cf. Dussaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII, pp. 407 f.; for Apollo, A. Hauvette-Besnault, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI (1882), pp. 500 f., no. 24; and the Apollo-Hadad of a relief from ed-Doueir, E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (1864), pp. 675—677; Dussaud, *Notes*, pp. 88 f.



of Hierapolis.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand the Apollo of the dipinto may well be merely the old Seleucid dynastic Apollo mentioned here in the honoring of his eponymous priest for some unspecified benefaction. [Cf. additional note, below, p. 179.]

His temple at Dura is unique. No other sanctuary dedicated to him and to his worship as god paramount has come to light.<sup>7</sup> Adonis-Eshmoun from his origin appears always as a son-god subordinate to the greater deities of the Phoenician pantheon. In the developed triad of later times and in its equivalents at Heliopolis and Hierapolis he is the third person, inferior in importance to the other two.<sup>8</sup> It is apparently in this character that he figures in the temple of Atargatis at Dura.<sup>9</sup> His great annual festival at Byblos was celebrated in the temple of Astarte-Aphrodite.<sup>10</sup> It has even been denied that he was

<sup>6</sup> Lucian, *op. cit.*, § 35; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 17, 67—70; Pseudo-Melito in W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, pp. 44 f. Cf. E. Renan, *Mem. Ac. Inscr.*, XXIII, 2 (1858), pp. 322—325; below, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup> There appears to be a question of a Temple of Eshmoun in the Ras Shamra tablets, *Syria*, X (1929), pl. LXX, frag. 14, l. 2; Dussaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CV, p. 270. For an identification of the Temple of Byblos represented on coins of Macrinus with that of Adonis, cf. Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, XV (1930—31), pp. 161—201; for other views, Dussaud, *Syria*, VIII (1927), pp. 113 f.; XI (1930), pp. 167—170; M. Dunand, *ibid.*, IX (1928), pp. 178—180; X (1929), pp. 211 f. It is possible from the wording of Pausanias IX, 41, 2 that Adonis was the dominant divinity of the temple Ἀδώνιδος . . . καὶ Ἀφροδίτης at Amathus in Cyprus. The mention of a "sacerdos Adonis" in *CIL* VIII, 1211 from Carthaginian Africa may be taken to imply a temple. Such edifices as the αὐλὴ Ἀδώνιδος (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii Tyanæi*, 32) and the *Adonaea* of Rome (Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, frag. 44; Huelsen, *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Ser. II, XI, 1914, pp. 114 f.; cf. Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 1929, s. v.) or the κῆπος Ἀδώνεως of Lattaquie (*Syria*, V, 1924, pp. 333—337, 341) scarcely come into consideration.

<sup>8</sup> See n. 6, above. For Heliopolis, cf. Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, X (1925), pp. 215 f.; Seyrig, *Syria*, X (1929), pp. 348—353; Dussaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII (1931), pp. 400 f.; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Arch. Or.*, V (1903), p. 380. For Hierapolis, cf. Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 33; Pseudo-Melito, Cureton, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Dussaud, *Notes*, pp. 107—114; *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII, pp. 369, 381, 393; CV, p. 263. Cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI, p. 498, no. 16 for Adonis-Eshmoun in the Syrian triad at Delos.

<sup>9</sup> *Rep. III*, no. D 146, pp. 46—49 = *SEG* VII, 380. This inscription is now to be restored. Ἔτους 3λ (or μ) [φ] Ὑπερβέρε[ταίου] ζωγράφ[ημα τ]οῦ Δαν[ύμου] Ἀδών[ιδι καὶ] Ἀτργάτῃ (Ἀτάργατι) ἐζωγράφησε [...].

The reading [τ]οῦ Δαν[ύμου] originally proposed by the editors was given up by them on inadequate grounds. For parallels to the construction ζωγράφ[ημα τοῦ] δέϊνος see e. g., Strabo, VIII, p. 381; Dio Cassius, V, 27; Wessely, *Studien*, VIII, no. 1160. The restorations of Cumont (*Syria*, XIII, 1932, p. 306) and Mouterde (*Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, XVI, 1932, pp. 221 f.) are impossible.

<sup>10</sup> Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 6.

strictly a god at all,<sup>11</sup> rather a sort of δαίμων and such, indeed, in a greater or less degree, is his nature in the familiar myth of later antiquity. In his temple at Dura, Adonis is more akin to the potent divinities of the Ras Shamra tablets. He is supreme in his own sanctuary, where the great goddess and, probably, the great god of the trinity were relegated to the background.

It will have been observed that the temple reproduces in its elements the normal Dura temple plan of a central open court surrounded on two or three sides by chapels with a sanctuary unit at one end. In the disposition of these elements it differs from the plan in important particulars. The sanctuary unit in the other temples of Dura is oriented and occupies one of the long sides of the court on the axis of the entrance. Here it faces north and closes one end of the narrow extended court. The entrance is on a cross-axis. Centred in the court before the sanctuary is normally the temple's great altar. Here none exists. It is possible that these abnormalities of plan are not intentional, but merely represent a concession to the nature of the site. It is more probable that they reflect the influence of a foreign architectural tradition from the home land of the cult of Adonis itself. The temples of Soli in Cyprus with a group of related buildings among which are probably to be numbered the temples of Ras Shamra show that in the eastern Mediterranean culture sphere in which the Adonis cult arose a temple type with a long court leading up to the sanctuary was the rule.<sup>12</sup> In any case the unorthodoxy of such a plan for Dura was acutely felt. The builder attempted to compromise with the ruling convention by reproducing the normal sanctuary plan and other features of Mesopotamian derivation and by placing his monumental entrance in the east side with an *aedicula* on axis opposite. To achieve this he neglected the obvious expedient of placing his main entrance in the center of the north end to exploit the dramatic possibilities of the long sweep of court up to the sanctuary.<sup>13</sup> The orientation of the Atargatis sanctuary is another element of compromise. As a result the plan achieves a sort of impressiveness only on paper; it was not conceived as a unit and actually from the point of view of the worshipper fell into two halves, north and south.

<sup>11</sup> By Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 f.

<sup>12</sup> A. Westholm, *The Temples of Soli* (1936), pp. 86—99, 153—224. For Ras Shamra cf. *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 119—122; cf. *ib.*, XVI (1935), pp. 154 f., pl. XXXVI; XVII (1936), pl. XXIII.

<sup>13</sup> The narrow doorway at this end was no part of the original plan, as has already been noted; above, p. 144.

It remains to ascertain whether specific elements of the Dura temple will be found to be related to specific aspects of the cult. Unfortunately the little that is known of the cult of Adonis relates almost exclusively to his great yearly festival.<sup>14</sup> Regular daily or periodic temple observances are not documented. There is, however, evidence for mysteries of Adonis,<sup>15</sup> of which the dedication of the περίστυλον καὶ οἶνοχυτεῖον perhaps betrays the traces in our temple. One of the dedicants is a δεσμοφύλαξ, possibly a mystic title,<sup>16</sup> and οἶνοχυτεῖον suggests the well attested use of wine in mystic ceremonies.<sup>17</sup> The *pronaos* of Atargatis, room 47, with its disposition as a theatre, no doubt answers to the δεικτήριον of the Adonis festival in Alexandria and served for ritual pantomimic dances.<sup>18</sup> The presence of a treasurer (no. 874) and of a pit designed as a strong box strongly suggests that, as in Alexandria, an admission fee was charged, and, indeed, constituted an important item of temple revenue. The position of room 47 at the opposite end of the court from the sanctuary proper corresponds with that of the *telesterion* of the Syrian sanctuary of the Janiculum, which was peculiarly sacred to the Mercury-Dionysus member of the triad.<sup>19</sup>

The precise function in the life of the sanctuary of the "chapels"<sup>20</sup>

<sup>14</sup> C. Vellay, *Le Culte et les Fêtes d'Adonis-Thammouz* (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, XVI, 1901); Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 121—202; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1919), Chaps. I, IX, X; G. Glotz, *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, XXXIII (1920), pp. 168—222; Cumont, *Syria*, VIII (1927), pp. 330—341; *Mélanges Glotz*, I (1932), pp. 257—264; de Vaux, *Rev. Bibl.*, XLII (1933), pp. 31—56; Cumont, *Syria*, XVI (1935), 46—49.

<sup>15</sup> Hippolytus, *Adv. Haeres.*, V, 7, 10—20; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 12; Ammianus Marcellinus, XIX, I, 11. For a connection with supposed Babylonian mysteries: H. Zimmern, *Zeit. Deut. Morgenländ. Gesell.*, LXXVI (1922), pp. 51—54.

<sup>16</sup> See below, pp. 171 f.

<sup>17</sup> *Rev. Phil.*, XL (1916), p. 68, l. 180, p. 89 = *P. Oxy.* XI, p. 190; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1915, p. 330; cf. Cumont, *Mysterien des Mithra* (1923), p. 131, no. 1, pp. 146 f.; *SIG* 1109, 54; cf. Cumont, *Comptes rendus* (1917), pp. 281 f. Wine certainly figured in the rites of the Mercury-Dionysus of the "telesterion" of Heliopolis; and Adonis was to some extent identified with Dionysus. Cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, X (1929), pp. 316, 348; Baudissin, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 f.; Dussaud, *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CIII (1931), pp. 401 f.; cf. n. 8, p. 154, above. But for a possible prohibition of wine during the great Adonia of Alexandria, see Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

<sup>18</sup> Glotz, *op. cit.*, pp. 201—208.

<sup>19</sup> Gauckler, *Sanctuaire Syrien du Janicule*, 1912, pp. 209—220, pl. XXXIV; Nicole-Darier, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 1909, pp. 21—24, pl. X; Cumont, *Comptes rendus*, 1917, pp. 281—284; *Religions Orientales*, pl. XI, 3 and note.

<sup>20</sup> These rooms are denominated indifferently in the inscriptions, ναός, οἶκος, οἰκοδομή in that order of frequency. In two inscriptions they receive special appellations without apparent difference in plan or function: ἐξέδρα (no. 9a, Cumont,

in this as in other Dura temples remains undefined. Their common characteristics are the low benches along two or three walls and the higher seat beside the doorway. In two were found remains of pointed *amphorae* partially sunk in the floor, in another a plaster jar-stand or cooler.<sup>21</sup> One, we know (38, cf. no. 871, below, p. 168), was dedicated by a college of eight men of seven different families, another (5, cf. no. 872, below, pp. 168 f.) by a high priest.<sup>22</sup> It is certain therefore that the chapels served for private or group reunion and devotion. The *amphorae* and jar stands carry us a bit further. The existence in a group of temples northwest of Palmyra in the Jebel Sha'ar of analogous "chapels" obviously designed for sacred repasts<sup>23</sup> affords a strong presumption that the chapels of Dura fulfilled a similar purpose. The sacred banquet, εὐωχία, in Syrian cults is exceptionally well documented, and already attested at Dura.<sup>24</sup> The "chapels" of the Jebel Sha'ar are in general constructed as ordinary *triclinia* with high benches about the walls and a narrow service or table space between. Those of Dura are more purely oriental in appointment. The repasts would have been taken Arab fashion with the diners sitting or reclining on the *diwans* while servants placed food before them on the floor in great platters of metal or basketry.<sup>25</sup>

*Fouilles*, pp. 364 f.); ἀνδρών (no. 418, *Rep. V*, pp. 114 f.). In general it appears that in the first century either the construction was not named (nos. Cumont 85, H4, 148, 161, 504) or the term οἰκοδομή was preferred (nos. 150, 152, 157). In the second century οἶκος (nos. Cumont 1, 159, 453, 869, 871) and ναός (nos. Cumont 50, 867, 868, 877, and 888) are the rule. In the sanctuary of the Syrian gods at Delos ναός is the term affected for such rooms (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI, pp. 489 ff., nos. 7, 12, 13; cf. M. Holleaux, *Comptes rendus*, 1910, p. 300). No. 15 of Delos has the word ἐξέδρα apparently in the same sense. Cf. now *Inscr. de Délos*, nos. 2242 with new reading, 2226, 2247, 2264; cf. 2237 and 2253).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Chapels D8 and D9 of the temple of Azzanathkona, *Rep. V*, p. 142.

<sup>22</sup> Of the chapels of other temples whose inscriptions are preserved the great majority were dedicated by private individuals and their families, two (nos. Cumont 50 and 418) by colleges, and three by members of the clergy and their families (nos. 152, 867, and 868). It is the same at Delos. There, of four chapels two were dedicated by priests and their families (nos. 7 and 12, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI, pp. 489 ff.), and two (nos. 13 and 15) by private individuals.

<sup>23</sup> D. Schlumberger, *Jahrbuch d. Deut. Arch. Inst.*, L (1935), *Arch. Anz.*, pp. 606-612.

<sup>24</sup> Cumont, *Religions Orientales*, p. 256, n. 52; cf. Jalabert-Mouterde, *Inscr. Gr. et Lat. de la Syrie*, I, l. 91. and note. For Dura cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 22, p. 385.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. a Phoenician (Cyprian) grave relief representing such a scene, Gressman, *op. cit.*, no. 551.



IV. THE PAINTINGS OF THE *NAOS*.

The painting which covered the rear wall of the *naos* is represented by about two hundred and fifty small fragments found in the first 0.20 m. of fill above the floor. With their help a considerable portion of the composition can be reconstructed with a fair show of accuracy (fig. 44 and Pls. XIX—XX; only the larger fragments and those of special significance for the restoration are indicated by stippling in the drawing).<sup>1</sup> It showed a version of the familiar subject of a *supplicatio* performed by worshippers in the presence of the god. The left of the whole, which alone could be restored, contains the god and four of the devout. As reconstructed it lacks slightly more than a meter of filling the wall space to the corner. There was, perhaps, a fifth worshipper to the left with one or more servitors on a smaller scale, of whom fragments remain.<sup>2</sup> A symmetrical group of four or five main figures probably filled the right half. There remain a portion of a second *thymiaterion* and fragments which may be assigned to at least two standing figures.

The mural was bounded above and beneath by a border consisting, from top to bottom, of a black, a white, and a red stripe (the black, 0.005 m. wide; the white, 0.013 m. wide; and the red 0.07 m. wide). Beneath the lower border extended an undecorated dado of indeterminate height. There was no second register. The principal figures were somewhat less than life size, 1.15—1.20 m. high. The god, on a considerably smaller scale, occupied the center of the composition. Above his head the upper border was broken into an arch giving the suggestion of an *aedicula* setting him off from the mortals on either side. Beyond this there are no indications of an architectural setting. He has been restored as standing upon a plinth, i. e. conceived as a cult image. It is equally possible that he stood upon a globe like the gods of the Otes mural or upon some other form of base like those of the sacrifice of the Tribune.<sup>3</sup> In any case it is to be assumed that his head was at approximately the same level as those of his worshippers,

<sup>1</sup> These are at Yale. Since the great majority of the painted fragments come from the west half of the wall, it is to be supposed that this portion of the wall plaster fell first, while that of the east half stood long enough for the color to be weathered away.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that one of the small scale figures intervened between the god and the first worshipper as in the "Otes" mural; Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. LV.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pls. L, LV.



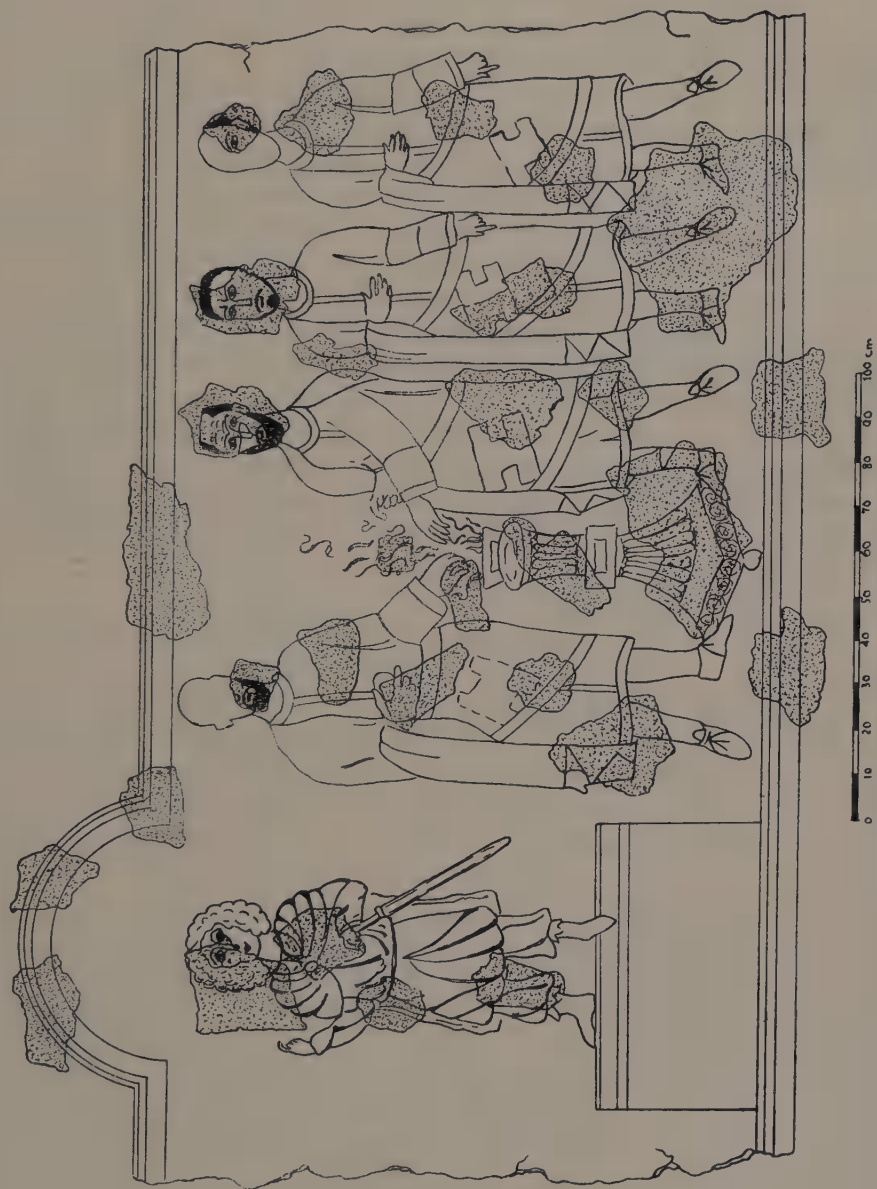


Fig. 44. Temple of Adonis. Paintings of the *Naos*, Restored.

whether in conformity with a rule of isocephaly or with an idea of perspective. The young beardless oval of his face was framed by a great dark *zazzera* of curling hair (Pl. XIX, 1). He had high arching black brows over enormous, heavy-lidded, staring eyes, the iris about one third hidden by the upper lid. His costume is Iranian: a long, loose, white or pale violet sleeved shirt girt about the waist; light red trousers and cloak; white boots with top turned over and cut into points. The position of the preserved left hand is most natural if it is conceived as resting upon the pommel of a sword. The attribute in the raised right hand was probably a lance or staff.<sup>4</sup>

The four or more figures to his left were uniformly clad in long white or pale blue sleeved tunics and white *himatia*. The tunics, which fell to below the knee, had violet bands at collar, hem, and cuff, and a narrow violet stripe down the front. The *himatia* were thrown over the right shoulder, brought around the hips, and fell over the right arm. They were decorated with the H shaped insignia in pink (Pl. XX, 5), familiar from the Conon and Otes frescoes, and from the Synagogue.<sup>5</sup> The figures were shod with white linen ceremonial shoes with ornamental red tie laces,<sup>6</sup> and went bareheaded (Pl. XIX, 2; Pl. XX, 1, 2, 3).

All the figures stood out against a general background of light yellow ochre. Nearest the god was a group of two sacrificants on either side of a *thymiaterion*. This is of the later type exemplified in the Tribune and Otes murals: a fluted concave shaft rising from a square or triangular base and interrupted in the middle by a large boss, in this case rectangular. The base is fitted with small round feet and decorated with a spiral tendril pattern (Pl. XX, 3). Since the *thymiaterion* is simply outlined in black on the yellow background, it is impossible to deter-

<sup>4</sup> The similarity of this figure as restored to the two pagan cult images of scene 12 of the Synagogue (*Rep. VI*, p. 350, pl. XLVIII; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XLII (1934), pp. 211, 218, fig. 2) is so striking that one is tempted to see in the latter a consciously malicious imitation. Cf. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, V (1935), pp. 193—201. For gods in Iranian dress at Dura, cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, pls. XLIII, LV; C. Hopkins, *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.*, LI (1931), pp. 126—128. Like his temple, the image of Adonis was framed to local convention. It has nothing save youthfulness in common with the normal Hellenized representations. Cf. H. Haas, *Bilder atlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, 9—11 (Leipoldt), nos. 94—110; Cumont, *Religions Orientales*, pl. XI, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pls. XXXII, LV (in Cumont's description of the latter [p. 125] they are wrongly called "lozenges", though quite clear on the plate), *Rep. VI*, pls. LI—LIII. Cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, XVIII (1937), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 63 f.

mine whether it was intended, like its parallels, to simulate gold or gilded bronze. The flames of burning incense are represented above by deep red curling lines. The figure to the right of the *thymiaterion* stands with his weight on the left foot, left hip thrown somewhat forward. His left hand is amid the flames in the act of dropping incense into the fire. In his right he holds a small white object, probably, as in the analogous figure of the Otes fresco, a box of incense or a *patera* (Pl. XX, 4). The fragment which has been assigned to his face portrays him as bearded. The figure to the left of the *thymiaterion* is symmetrically placed, carrying his weight on the right leg. With his left hand he feeds the flames. His right presumably held a few twigs or flowers like Iabsymsus of the Otes mural. His face is that of a man of advanced middle age, lined and gaunt, with a full dark beard and mustache. His head is partially bald and his eyebrows meet above the bridge of his nose (Pl. XX, 2).

To the left were the two or more spectators of the ritual act. They stood apparently in the same attitude as the second sacrificant, but with right hands held against the body and left arms extended downward. We have no means of judging whether they held attributes of one sort or another. To the first has been assigned a young but mature face with mustache, goatee, and scanty fringe of beard. It is full and heavy, the eyes abnormally large (Pl. XX, 1). To the second belongs perhaps the fragment comprising the left eye and ear of a similar face.

The other large scale figures would, from the scant fragments, appear to have been of the same type. The smaller figures of servitors seem to have been youths dressed in sleeved red tunics.

The technique and colors are uniform throughout. The colors employed are yellow, brownish red, black, blue, violet, and light red. All contours are boldly drawn with a heavy continuous black line. In most cases they are then painted over with a shading line of a deep value of brownish red. The outlines of tunics against the neck are left black. The drapery of the large scale figures is treated flatly with no modelling. Two or three lines of brownish red serve to distinguish the most important folds. The stripes at neck, wrists, and down the front of the tunics are flatly painted in light violet. The tunics themselves in two cases show traces of having been colored with a powdery light blue pigment, now almost completely gone. The god's drapery is somewhat more elaborately handled. His white tunic is barred with violet shadows. The folds of his cloak and trousers are heavily indicated in black painted over with brownish red. The same powdery light red

pigment was used for them as for H insignia of the other figures' *himatia*. Flesh is rendered by different values of the brownish red. High lights and smooth masses are in a light value, lips and ordinary shadows in a deeper value. Outlines and deep shadows (about the eyes and mouth), hair, beard, and mustache are in the brownish red painted over or mixed with black. The god's hair is rendered by a disc of a deep value of brownish red painted over with curving black strokes to represent curls, with a row of black scallops standing out about the edges. Otherwise hair and beard are rather carefully picked out with minute strokes. Eyes are somewhat impressionistically painted in shadow outlines. Pupils are not indicated, but the rotundity of the iris is denoted by shading one side. Except for the god the irises are tangent to the lids. The whole gives an impression of bold, free, rapid, not very careful execution.

It is instructive to compare an almost contemporary Palmyrene painting.<sup>7</sup> Its closer dependence on western painting of the second century is at once apparent. The characteristic relationship of the sculpture of Dura to that of Palmyra<sup>8</sup> is repeated in its painting.

In the yellow field above the bottom border ran an inscription painted in slender black uncials, of which only one fragment remained. It no doubt originally set forth the names and styles of the dedicants and spectators. Four tiny fragments of border display bits of names in graffito.<sup>9</sup>

The solemn *supplicatio* with incense and wine,<sup>10</sup> performed by pairs of worshippers upon *thymiateria* in the presence of the god, is but one of several current sacrificial compositions in the Hellenistic and Roman East.<sup>11</sup> All ultimately derive from the scene of sacrifice before the god common on seal cylinders and in the Hittite reliefs.<sup>12</sup> The particular variant under discussion does not appear before the late Hellenistic period and is probably of Hellenistic-Iranian origin.

<sup>7</sup> H. Ingholt, *Acta Arch.*, III (1932), pp. 4—12, pls. II, III.

<sup>8</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 44 f., 63—65; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), pp. 226—242; below, pp. 208—210, 274.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 883, 884, below, p. 175.

<sup>10</sup> The wine for the second part of the ritual act was probably being brought to the sacrificants by the servitors in the background, as in the Otes mural.

<sup>11</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 66—72, 128; Seyrig, *Syria*, XV (1934), pp. 156—159, 182, pls. XVIII, XXIII; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), pp. 252 f.

<sup>12</sup> W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910), pp. 360—367; K. Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients*, (1925), pls. 3—10, 15—16; A. Moortgat, *Bildende Kunst des Alten Orients* (1932), pp. 73—83.



The parallelism between the group of two figures on either side of the *thymiaterion* and the similar group on the Otes mural of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods has already been noticed. This parallelism goes much deeper. It amounts, as far as may be judged, to a practical duplication of technique as well as subject. A typical common detail is the drawing of the flames of the *thymiateria*. Unfortunately the Otes mural no longer exists for comparison but Cumont's description<sup>13</sup> may almost be taken to apply with equal force to the painting of the Temple of Adonis. The two might have been executed by the same hand. Cumont (pp. 123, 142 f.) has dated the Otes scene roughly in the second half of the second and early third centuries. Its date may now be fixed more definitely nearer the earlier limit of this period. The murals of the *naos* of the Temple of Adonis are painted on the room's original plaster coating and were never covered by a later coat. It is unlikely that after its erection in ca. 150 A. D. the *naos* should have remained long without its cult painting. The murals may plausibly be assigned to the decade 150—160 A. D., which witnessed the construction of the temple as a whole. The Otes murals cannot be separated from them by more than a very few years.

## V. SCULPTURE

### A. Relief of Atargatis.

(Pl. XXXI, 1)

Upper part of a relief stele in two fragments found in portico 42, made of the same chalky white limestone as the reliefs of Aphlad and Zeus Kyrios.<sup>1</sup> Part of the top and right margins preserved, left margin missing. Originally about 0.25 m. wide, preserved portion 0.13 m. high. Otherwise intact except for slight chipping of tips of nose and chin. It shows the head of a goddess flanked by doves in high relief, slightly more than half round, the tip of the nose projecting 0.052 m. from the background. The upper edge of the relief was not squared but came to an obtuse angle. The whole was framed by a raised margin, 0.018 m. wide, projecting 0.01 m., with a bevel of 0.005 m. on the inside interrupted in the center of the top by the goddess' crown. The background was worked perfectly flat, 0.034 m. thick. The style is sharp, crisp, and highly formalized, the execution finished and careful.

<sup>13</sup> *Fouilles*, pp. 122—134.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. V*, p. 107; below, p. 292. The relief is at Yale.



The face is plump and oval with a short "Grecian" nose. The mouth is small and pouting, turning sharply down at the corners, the chin full and rounded. The arching eye-brows are indicated only by the sharp change of plane between forehead and eye-socket. The great staring eyes protrude somewhat. They are almond-shaped, slanting slightly downward to the outer corners. The lids are bold and sharp, emphasized by deep incisions above and below. Their junction at the outer corners is prolonged downward and back by an incised line. Iris and pupil are rendered by concentric incised circles. The top of the former is just hidden by the upper lid.

The hair is symmetrically arranged in eight stiff spiral waves curling in toward the center and terminating in a row of formal ringlets. Beneath the lowest ringlets on either side appear the ear lobes carrying large crescent earrings. Beneath these descend twisted strands of hair. Over the hair passes a portion of *himation*. At about mouth level on either side is the beginning of a strip of beading or embroidery. Above the *himation* rises the deity's mural crown, realistically conceived as a stone wall with three projecting towers, crowned with battlements and pierced by embrasures.

On either side in profile sits a dove with folded wings. The plumage is carefully indicated in detail. The fine neck feathers of the right bird are shown by minute parallel incisions. That on the left is sufficiently well preserved to show that both were perched upon the rectangular tops of two uprights. These are probably to be interpreted as the posts of the throne upon which the deity is seated.

She is Atargatis-Astarte, *paredros* of Adonis. In her customary character as Ba'alat, Gadda of the city, she wears the mural crown of Tyche as at Hierapolis. The dove is sacred to her, and at Hierapolis probably crowned the posts of her throne as here.<sup>2</sup>

In style the fragment falls into a group of Dura pieces comprising the reliefs of Aphlad, Zeus Kyrios, and Hadad, all from the first half of the first century.<sup>3</sup> The treatment of hair and eyes and the general character of the modelling are the same. The profoundly hieratic

<sup>2</sup> *B. M. C.*, Galatia etc., pl. XVII, 14, 17; G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Coll.*, III, pl. LXXI, 22, 24. The precise nature of the ornament which crowns the throne posts on these coins is impossible to make out. It clearly appears to be winged. The parallel is striking enough to justify the guess that it was a dove. Cf. *Rep. V*, p. 210, no. 3, pl. XIX, 3, for Atargatis with doves perched on her shoulders.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 42—45; 106—112, 116—120; Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), pp. 226—233, 234 f.; below, pp. 292—302.

formalism and expressionism of these early Dura sculptures is in sharp contrast to later pieces which exhibit some of the same superficial characteristics.<sup>4</sup> Their style has been carefully analyzed by Hopkins.<sup>5</sup> It must accordingly be assumed that the relief of which our fragment was a part was carved in the first century, brought from elsewhere and installed in the temple of Adonis about a century later.

*B. The Dromedary God.*

(Pl. XXXI, 2)

Fine-grained gypsum of regular texture, 0.335 m. high, 0.455 m. wide, 0.08 m. thick overall, found in portico 42, now at Yale. A plain margin 0.02—0.025 m. wide and 0.01 m. high gives the original surface of the slab. The relief is high, cut back 0.03 m. from the surface at the deepest. The carving is of the crudest and most perfunctory. The edges of the relief planes are for the most part cut straight back to the ground. Many surfaces show not the slightest pretence of modelling but are simply shaved flat (e. g., the tree, the dromedary's neck and off legs). The plaque is intact except for the missing lance head, and a slight chipping of the nose.

It represents a figure astride a dromedary standing left before an altar. The rider sits with leg in profile, torso and head facing. He wears a sleeved coat and probably boots, though he may be unshod. A mantle is brought around his waist, lying in heavy folds over his hips and thighs. A fringed *chlamys* or scarf crosses his chest, is thrown back over his shoulders, and flies stiffly out behind.<sup>6</sup> The rider sits with knees flexed, thighs gripping his mount, toes cocked up with the effort. In his left hand he holds the bunched reins which rise in a rigid loop above his hand. The ends trail down and are visible beneath the beast's neck. His right hand reposes on his abdomen. The face is round, the features summarily depicted. Large almond eyes slant down to the pointed outer corners without indication of brow or

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the two reliefs published below, pp. 258—260 and 260—262, which are contemporary with the Adonis temple and represent a much more Hellenized Palmyrene style. The treatment of the hair in "snail" curls, which is typical of the second century in Palmyra (Ingholt, *Studier*, pls. I, 2, III, 2, V, 2, 3), is similar to that of the earlier Dura group.

<sup>5</sup> See n. 3, above.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of this garment, cf. *Rep. VI*, p. 230. For the costume as a whole, see *Syria*, XVIII (1937), p. 5.

lids. The mustache is large and drooping and conceals the mouth. The nose is broad. The hair is the Parthian *zazzera*, blocked out by parallel incisions as if combed back from the face. The drapery folds are indicated by deep, coarse, parallel incisions. Those of the body of the coat give the effect of a stiff corselet. There is no attempt to represent the actual proportions or forms of the body.

The mount is a dromedary in full profile. It shows the stiff curling brush of the running or aroused animal, characteristic of contemporary Syrian representations.<sup>7</sup> Its harness comprises bridle and saddle. The former consists of a simple strap about the muzzle held by a cheek strap passing back of the ears. The reins attach apparently at the same point on the off side of the muzzle strap.<sup>8</sup> The saddle is placed atop the hump like the modern Syrian bedouin *sh'dad*. Its elements do not seem to have been clearly envisaged by the sculptor and the result is confused. What is represented is a quilted saddle-cloth with tasselled or weighted corners, a pad secured by a chest strap, and a high cantle visible beneath the rider's right arm. The saddle cloth is shown as covering the pad, while the cantle appears to be placed upon it. Comparison with similar reliefs indicates that the intention was to show a padded saddle with high cantle and no pommel set over a saddle cloth, and secured by a chest strap. The necessary girth is hidden by the rider's leg.

Behind the leg appears a long lap of trapping or saddle bag hanging from the camel's off side. Behind the saddle is a rolled bundle. Athwart the animal's flank hangs the rider's long lance and beside it his small round buckler, its surface marked with five gouges of the chisel.<sup>9</sup>

The altar has a simple profiled base and capping and a flat, unsculptured die. Upon it apparently rest offerings of fruits, at either side a large pine cone, in the center two superposed apples, and behind them what appears to be a large pomegranate with a bouquet of flowers or bundle of stalks or twigs.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XXII (1932), pl. XXV; cf. Ingholt, *Studier*, pl. VII, 2; *id.*, *Syria*, X (1929), pp. 179 f.; Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, fig. 20, p. 626; Ingholt, *Berytus*, III (1936), pp. 116—123.

<sup>8</sup> For this bridle and other details of harness and saddle, see Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, pp. 117—120.

<sup>9</sup> These are no doubt meant to suggest a blazon or device of some sort like the rosette which adorns the buckler of the Azizü relief.

<sup>10</sup> The parallel with a relief from Palmyra showing altars of Aglibol and Malakbel charged with pine cones, apples, and pomegranates is striking. Cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, XIV (1934), pl. XXII. On the other hand the representation is so maladroit that

The space behind the rider and his mount is occupied by the representation of a curious broad-leaved plant. Down the center, in place of a stem, runs a deep triangular groove. The interpretation is doubtful. It is probably either a palm branch or a tree of some sort.

Directly above the plant is the crescent moon. In the field to the left of the rider's head is a large four-petal rosette.

In style, if one may speak of the "style" of a work so infantile, the piece is closest to a relief head and torso found in the Market Place,<sup>11</sup> to the stele of Ašadu and Ša'dai, and the sculptures of the Mithraeum.<sup>12</sup> The shapeless, wooden drapery with its ranks of deep parallel grooves and the *chlamys* are characteristic. The hair finds its parallel in the Mithraeum reliefs. Like them our piece probably dates from the second half of the second century.<sup>13</sup>

The solar rosette and crescent proclaim the divinity of the rider.<sup>14</sup> He is the Arabian camel god who appears in Syria under the names Monimos, Arsu, and Sa'ad.<sup>15</sup> The rôle of the palm branch or plant is difficult to interpret. It may find place merely as a symbol of victory or may define a locality or specific aspect of the cult of the god like the date palm in a relief from the Temple of Bel in Palmyra.<sup>16</sup>

## VI. INSCRIPTIONS

(Nos. 870—884)

870. (Pl. LII, 4). Lower portion of the gypsum lintel over the entrance to *pronaos* 47. In two fragments, combined length 1.505 m., original bottom length ca. 2.25 m. The inscription is cut on the two bottom fasciae, 0.07 m. and 0.065 m. high. Modified square alphabet. Letters deeply cut, almost entirely with the drill. Height 0.03—0.035 m. (l. 1), 0.017—0.03 m. (l. 2).

it may be interpreted as showing the "horns" of the altar between which is seen the central cup with incense burning in it.

<sup>11</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 86—88, pl. XVIII, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 228—233, pl. XXX; cf. Chap. II above, Pls. XXIX—XXX.

<sup>13</sup> For the style cf. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), p. 226.

<sup>14</sup> For the significance of these cosmic attributes, cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, XII (1931), p. 55, n. 7.

<sup>15</sup> Ingholt, *Studier*, pp. 44—47; Rostovtzeff, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XXII (1932), pp. 107—110; Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 619—628. Cumont, however (*Syria*, X [1929], pp. 30 f.), and, apparently, J. G. Février (*La Religion des Palmyreniens*, 1931, pp. 16—29) attribute the camel rather to Azizu than Arsu.

<sup>16</sup> Seyrig, *Syria*, XV (1934), p. 182, pl. XXIII.



Ἔτους χξϛ', Πανήμου [— —

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων σωτηρίας Ἀταρ[γάτιδι

Only the bottoms of the first eight letters of the first line are clear, but the date seems certain (July/August 152 A. D.)<sup>1</sup>

871. (Pl. LII, 2). Gypsum slab, 0.46—0.47 m. high, 0.335—0.31 m. wide, and 0.10 m. thick. Dedication of chapel 38. Found face down in the court before the entrance. Originally probably set in the court façade above the lintel. Traces of plaster remain on back, sides, and margins up to the beginning of the inscription. Letters similar to those of no. 870 above, 0.01—0.025 m. high, rubricated.

August/September 153 A. D.

Ἔτους δξϛ', Πανήμου,  
ἀνηγείροντες τὸν οἶκον  
Ἀβεμμῆλος Σαλαμ  
Βαρναῖος Βηλακάβου  
Βαρναῖος Βααθαίου  
Βαρναναῖος Βαφαλαδάδου  
Μημαρναῖος Ἀβιδνηρ  
Ῥονναῖος Βαργάτους  
Σήτταβος Βαργάτους  
Δαδδᾶς Γόρου  
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων  
καὶ τέκνων σωτη-  
ρίας κατ' εὐχὴν.

Presumably ἀνηγείροντες, line 2, is for ἀνήγειραν. For the augment in the participle, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik*, I, p. 345 f. The participle used in place of a finite verb is probably to be explained as an unconscious Aramaism. Cf. H. Bauer-P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramaischen* (1927), pp. 294—296; W. B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* (1924), pp. 56 f. Cf. further the inscription of Alexander, above, n. 868, pp. 129 f.

The chapel is dedicated by a confraternity of eight men with purely Semitic names, of whom two are sons of the same Bargates.

872. (Pl. LII, 1). Upper part of the lintel over the entrance to chapel 5. In two fragments, combined length 1.94 m. at the top. The inscription

<sup>1</sup> For the calculation cf. above, p. 131. n. 3.



is cut in a single line on a fascia crowned by a cavetto and two fillets. Same alphabet as nos. 870, 871 above. Letters 0.015—0.025 m. high, showing traces of rubrication. The surface is badly weathered and the letters difficult to read, though none is missing.

Θξυ', "Ανεινις Μημαραίου ἀρχιεραίως ἀνήγειρεν τὸ πλινθεῖον.

The date is 157/158 A. D. This Aninis, son of Memaraeus, is probably a brother of Gornaes, son of Memaraeus, in no. 875 below. For the name cf. Professor Torrey's note, below, Chap. XIII, and also *Rep. IV*, no. 245; *Rep. V*, no. 459. Memaraeus was presumably ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀδωνιδος, since ἀρχιεραίως = ἀρχιερέως. The meaning of πλινθεῖον is obscure. In view of its occurrence in *D. Pg. 40* in connection with θυρώματα (see below, p. 432) and in an inscription from a later campaign, it may, perhaps, be taken to refer to stone door trim. Cf. also *P. Cairo Zen.* 663 where it denotes window casings.

873. (Pl. LII, 3). Gypsum slab 0.55 m. high, 0.52—0.55 m. wide, 0.11 m. thick, with a plain raised margin 0.05 m. wide. Found face down before the altar against the court façade of chapel 5, into the die of which it had originally been set. The upper right hand corner had been broken off and lay face up so that all its letters were effaced by weathering. Square alphabet. Letters 0.01—0.02 m. high, showing traces of rubrication.

Ἔτους, ὥς τὸ πρ[ότερον]  
 ρπυ', Γορπιαίου κ', ἀ[ν]ήγει-  
 ρεν Θαισάμος Ἰαβσ[ύ]μσου  
 τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος Ἀ[5 or 6 letters]  
 Ζαβιδάδου τόνδε [τὸν βω-]  
 μὸν Ἀδῶνι θεῷ, ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς]  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ἐκλαπάτο[ς]  
 τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ  
 σωτη[ρ]ίας κατ' εὐχὴν,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ [...]1 καρπώσai  
 κατ' αὐτὸ[v] τῷ αὐτῷ  
 θεῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

Year 486 by the old reckoning,  
 the twentieth of Gorpiaeus.  
 Thaesamsus, son of Iabsymsus,  
 also called A-, son of Zabid-  
 adus, erected this altar to the  
 god Adonis for the preserva-  
 tion of himself and his wife  
 Eklapat in performance of a  
 vow, with the condition that  
 he have the right to make a  
 burnt offering privately (?) to  
 the god each year.

The date is September 24, 175 A. D. For the ὥς τὸ πρότερον formula see *Yale Class. Stud.*, II (1931) pp. 39—42. It is common in more recent Dura texts.

The name Thaesamsus is probably the same as Thaemisamsus (*Syria*, XII, 1931, pp. 101 f.), a compound of *shamash*, "sun" (cf. Iasamsus, Iabsymsus, Cumont, *Fouilles*, nos. 6 and 9 with note) with an element, *Thaemi-*, appearing in many Palmyrene names (Wuthnow, s. v.). The alias is perhaps Ἀ[βουίου] and the man a grandson of the Abouis son of Zabidadus in *Rep. V*, no. 418, l. 12. The name Zabidadus is not infrequent at Dura, cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, nos. 50, 57, 121. For the feminine Eclapas cf. below, Chap. XIII; it is to be equated with Greek Κλεόπας, etc.

The form Ἀδῶνι (l. 6) is less usual than Ἀδώνιδι, although elsewhere attested (Hesychius, s. v.; *Anthology*, VI, 275; *Theocritus*, XV, 149).

The verb καρπύω means "make a burnt offering"; cf. P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 166 ff. The *loci classici* are *IG*, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 1367, ll. 4 ff. and Dittenberger, *SIG* III, 1025, ll. 34 ff. In the Septuagint καρπύω and κάρπωμα are regularly used in this sense. Cf. also Cantineau, *Inventaire*, VI, no. 13. The particular specified offering like that of *IG*, II/III<sup>2</sup>, 1367 may well be a cock. Cf. Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 192 (above, p. 156, n. 14). This provision must be rather a privilege reserved for himself than an obligation assumed by the dedicant. The missing word is perhaps [ἕξ]ει.

The confusion of κατ' αὐτόν and καθ' αὐτόν is not uncommon in later Greek. Cf. Kühner-Gerth, *Grammatik*, I, pp. 559, 564.

874. (Pl. LII, 6). Gypsum seat block in *pronaos* 47 beside the north jamb of doorway 47—51, 0.48 m. wide, 0.13 m. high, 0.39 m. deep. The inscription is cut on the die beneath a projecting fillet 0.035 m. wide. Modified square alphabet. Letters 0.01—0.02 m. high. Surface crystalline and badly eroded. A fault in the stone cuts across the upper left hand corner.

Ἔτους θπν', μηνὸς Πανή-  
μου, Βαρλάας, ὁ ἐπικαλούμενο-  
ς [..]σίας Βαργάτους, γαζοφ[ύλαξ]

The date is August 178 A. D. The space before -σίας (l. 3) would accommodate three letters of normal size, but the original fault in the stone was here probably avoided by the stone cutter. The obvious restoration is [Λυ]σίας Βαργάτους. Cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 6, p. 361. If this is the same individual a date is furnished for *Tableau* IV of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. All three names are among the commonest at Dura.

For another gazophylax cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 50, pp. 405 f. from the Temple of Artemis. Here also the treasurer is almost certainly not a municipal but a temple functionary.

875. (Pl. LII, 5). Gypsum slab 0.47—0.485 m. high, 0.30—0.325 m. wide, and 0.06 m. thick. Dedication of portico 49 and room 50. Found face down in the court before and between the two columns of the portico. Originally probably set above the epistyle. Round alphabet; letters 0.015—0.025 m. high, showing abundant traces of rubrication. At Yale.

Ἔτους γϞϚ',	Year 493,
Σολαίας Βου-	Solaeas son of
βαίου καὶ Γορ-	Boubaeus and
ναῖος Μημα-	Gornaesus the
ραίου, δεσμοφύλ-	Jailor, son of
αξ, οἰκοδόμησ-	Memaraeus, built
αν περίστυλον	the peristyle
καὶ οἶνοχυτεῖ-	and the wine cellar
ον εἰς τὰ Ἀδώνι-	for the rites of Adonis
δος κατ' εὐχὴν,	at their own expense
εἰς διακονίαν α-	in performance of
ὕτοις καὶ οἱ ἐπί-	a vow for the use of
γονοὶ εἰς ἑῶ-	themselves and their
να ἐκ τῶν ἰδίω-	descendants in
[ν] ἀνηλωμάτων.	perpetuity.

The date is 181/182 A. D. For the name Solaeus see Wuthnow, *s. v.* It probably = Arabic *Sulaih* (Littman, *Princeton Expeditions to Syria*, III, A, on no. 158, p. 93). For Gornaesus, cf. *Rep. II*, no. D131; for Memaraeus, cf. no. 872 above.

The title δεσμοφύλαξ perhaps denotes Gornaesus as holder of the municipal office familiar from the New Testament and the papyri. On the other hand it would be extraordinary if this modest civil title were introduced here and it is more plausible to look for a religious title like γαζοφύλαξ and ἀρχιερεύς. It is possible that the title is a mystic one. Prison (δεσμοτήριον) is a constant figure for the body and senses in mystical writers, and escape from it a symbol of mystic salvation (e. g. Philo Judaeus, I, 118, 4; 122, 10; II, 80, 10 ff.; 89, 25 f.; 170, 8 f.; III, 20 ff.; 235, 5). It may be conjectured that in the mystery an actual prison symbolized the lower earthly state and that the initiand issued from it in token of his attainment of higher spiritual

realization.<sup>1</sup> Something similar probably took place in the Eleusinian mysteries.<sup>2</sup> An analogous rite was the mystic *occultatio* and *ostentatio* of Thrace.<sup>3</sup> This interpretation would make the "Jailor" the functionary peculiar to this grade of initiation.

It is possible, however, that the title is to be explained from the Adonis ritual itself; cf. the symbolic imprisonment of Marduk and his jailors in Babylonian ritual: H. Zimmern, "Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest," II (*Ber. Gesell. Leipzig*, LXX, 5, 1918); S. A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akîtu Festival* (*Kgl. Danske Vid. Selskab, Hist.-fil. Medd.*, XII, 1, 1926), pp., 221—233.

In lines 6—7 οἰκοδόμησαν is for ὠκοδόμησαν with the loss of augment typical of later Greek. Cf. Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik*, II, p. 21.

The word οἶνοχυτεῖον (ll. 8—9) is not elsewhere attested, but cf. Nonnus, *Dion.*, XIII, 256; XXXIII, 74 etc. where οἶνόχυτος = οἶνοχόος. Here it is best taken to denote the room from which wine was served out, i. e. the wine cellar, room 50. For the use of wine in the cult, see n. 17, p. 156 above.

This colorless middle use of διακονία (l. 11) is difficult to parallel but probably grew out of the middle use of the verb in such passages as Aristophanes, *Ach.*, 1017; and *N. T.*, I Peter, I, 12; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, X, 242. Perhaps, however, τοῦ Θεοῦ is to be understood after the words εἰς διακονίαν and the following dative is to be connected directly with the verb.

876. (Pl. LIII, 1). Red dipinto on wall plaster. In seventeen fragments. *Tabella ansata* with a palm branch at either side and a crown beneath. Field of the inscription 0.36 m × 0.19 m. It was originally in the center of the rear wall of portico 49. Ornamental round hand. Letters ca. 0.02 m. high. Each line terminates with a leaf ornament; the first line is punctuated by two additional ones, and the last line broken by a double palm branch. At Yale. [Cf. additional note, p. 179.]

Σεπτίμ(ιον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἑλινόδω-  
ρον Λυσανίου, ἱερέα  
Θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, Αὐρρ(ήλιοι)  
Ναβουχῆλος, Βαζζῆος,  
Βαρλάας, καὶ Βαβούιος  
τειμῆς ἔνεκεν.

<sup>1</sup> For mysteries of Adonis see n. 15, above, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> V. Magnien, *Mystère d'Eleusis*, Paris (1929), pp. 185—187.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *Mysterien des Mithra*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 140 f., 147 f.; Rostovtzeff, *Mém. Sav. Étr.*,

A date posterior to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* is indicated by the *nomina* of all five persons. The influence of Latin inscriptions is pronounced, witness the abbreviations of the first line and the plural abbreviation in l. 3. At Dura this is paralleled only in inscription no. 50 of Cumont, which is likewise after Caracalla. Aurelius Nabuchelus is perhaps the owner of the House of the Archives (*Rep. IV*, pp. 136—139). The name Bazzaeus does not seem to occur elsewhere. For Babuius cf. *Rep. VI*, nos. 754, 764, and below on no. 915, p. 308.

877. (Pl. LIII, 2) a, b. Two fragments of the lower part of the gypsum lintel over the entrance to chapel 46: (a), 0.18 m. long, 0.10 m. high, 0.275 m. wide; (b), 0.46 m. long, 0.10 m. high, 0.275 m. wide. Both fragments comprise the two lower fasciae of the lintel with a fillet above. The inscription is cut on the upper fascia, 0.05 m. high; (a) is badly weathered but legible; (b) is clear and well preserved. The letters are in the square alphabet, 0.02 m. high.

(a) ]Δημήτρι[ος (or -ου)      (b) ἀνή]γειρεν τὸν ναόν

(b) preserves the finished end of the lintel. A space of 0.18 m. is left between the last letter and the end of the stone. The stone, since it spanned the doorway, was originally ca. 2.05 m. long. Assuming that the same space was reserved at the beginning of the inscription, we have a written surface 1.69 m. long. Of this 0.46 m. are taken up by the twenty letters preserved. A space of 1.23 m. is left, room for about fifty three letters. These letters would have supplied the year, the month, and two more names, or a name and a title. Demetrius may be either the dedicant, his father, or grandfather.

878. (Pl. LIII, 3) Crude round base of gypsum, 0.35 m. in diameter, 0.12—0.16 m. high. Both the upper and lower surfaces are hollowed out concave leaving margins of 0.05—0.60 m. Found in the court south of the *aedicula* opposite *propylaeum* 8. The letters are in the round alphabet, cut extremely uneven and crude, 0.02—0.03 m. high.

. . .] Μηκαννέα  
Βητέου

The three illegible letters would have contained the date.

For the feminine name Mecannaea cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, nos. 74, XIII (1923), p. 396. Cf. the ἀντροφύλακες of the Dionysiac mysteries, Cumont, *Am. Jour. Arch.*, XXXVII (1933), pp. 258—260.



75, 78; the masculine Meccanaeus occurs in *Rep. V*, no. 507. Betaeus does not occur elsewhere.

879. a, b. Graffito. Two fragments of fallen wall plaster containing portions of two columns of names in the same autograph. Found in corridor 2, and belonging to the earliest house. Letters average 0.01 m. high.

a. [Βαρ]λάας	b. ] μαν [
Ζιχραιαβ	'Αββούη
Γερμανός	Βουβέας
Βουβέας	Φιξᾶς
Σαμίφα	ιη'
Βερᾶς	
ιη'	

Each column appears to be summed at the bottom by a numeral, 18, whether there were originally eighteen names in either column or for some other reason.

In (a) Βαρ]λάας and Γερμανός are common at Dura, Ζιχραιαβ and Σαμίφα do not occur elsewhere. For Βουβέας cf. no. 875. above. For Βερᾶς cf. Professor Torrey's note, below, Chap. XIII.

In (b) Φιξᾶς does not occur elsewhere. With 'Αββούη cf. 'Αββοῦις, *Rep. V*, no. 426 and note, and below, p. 308.

880. Corridor 2. Graffito. Fragment of fallen wall plaster. Letters ca. 0.01 m. high.

]αρηνός

881. Corridor 2. Graffito. Fragment of fallen wall plaster. Letters ca. 0.017 m. high.

]ος Μαπρίνος

A version of the Roman or Aramaic name Marinus.

Another fragment bears a Palmyrene text (cf. *Rev. Et. Sem.*, C, 1936, p. xxx). Letters, ca. 0.015 m. high.

] דביר

] ברנו

"May [---] son of Bou[---] be remembered."

882. Graffito. Portico 49, west wall near north end. Letters ca. 0.02 m. high, clear.

Βηλᾶς	Θάκον
ΣΙΣΣ	᾿Αδδῆον
ΣΑΣ	Σιλαμγα
	Φαραάτ
	Φριαάβης

Apparently a list of names partly in the nominative and partly in the accusative. σισσ and σας are unintelligible; perhaps abbreviated or unfinished words. Θάκον and Φριαάβης do not occur elsewhere. ᾿Αδδῆον and Φαραάτ are the common names ᾿Αδδαῖος and Φραάτης. With Βηλᾶς cf. Cumont, nos. 31, 72; For Σιλαμγα, cf. no. 871, line 3 above.

883. Dipinto. *Naos* 1. Fragment of inscription below figures of mural. Letters ca. 0.035 m. high.

]ρίας Αρ[

884. a, b, c, d, e. Graffito. *Naos* 1. Fragments of bottom border of mural. Letters ca. 0.03 m. high.

a. Λ]υσίο[υ	d. ]ος
b. Βαρλ]άας Β[	e. ]ου[
c. ]Βα[	

## VII. THE PRIVATE HOUSES

### A. Description.

A. A small square dwelling in the southwest corner of the block, divided into four almost equal chambers, 14, 23, 10, and 11. Room 14 was the open court, entered directly from Street 2. Along its east wall ascended a staircase to the roof, supported by an engaged pier of which the base remains. Room 23 was presumably the *diwan*. In its northwest corner was a quarter-round hearth or fire box.

B. Originally a seven room dwelling, rectangular in plan, comprising rooms 15, 16, 12, 18, 22, 21, 20. Room 18 was the court, entered from Street A by vestibule-corridor 15. Along the north wall of the court, supported on two engaged piers, rose the staircase. Beneath it lay the opening of the latrine-cesspool. The southeast corner served as

kitchen. A deep pilaster shielded it from doorway 18—20. Beside doorway 18—22 was a square hearth. Room 22 was the *diwan*. It communicated at either side with the living quarters. At the time of the construction of the temple, rooms 17 and 24 of the house partly incorporated in the sanctuary were added to House B. A doorway giving access to them was cut at the southeast corner of room 21.

C. A modest house rectangular in plan, comprising rooms 29, 18, 25, 26, 27. Entrance corridor 29 from Street A gave on court 25 by a doorway and a right-angle turn (28) with a descent of three steps. The stairway 27, along the north wall of the court, was inclosed and had a storage chamber beneath it. Room 26 was the *diwan*.

D. Only three rooms of the adjacent house were uncovered: 30, the *diwan* with a broad low plaster bench along two sides and a higher narrow one along the north, and 31 and 32, living quarters.



Fig. 45. Temple of Adonis, Gypsum Capital.

### *B. Gypsum Capital.*

Room 14. Large fragment (about one half) of the curious flat square capital of a pillar or pier of gypsum. It was originally 0.324 m. square at the bottom, about 0.56 m. square at the top, and about 0.25 m. high. It consists of an adaptation of the Corinthian volute above a heavy bead-and-reel, supporting a flat unmoulded abacus. The volutes originate in the center of either side beneath a large formalized leaf, channelled down the center, its tip bending right. From the point of origin subsidiary tendrils extend right and left along the top of the bead-and-reel. Each volute tendril gives off two other shoots toward the center in its course. The volute makes a spiral of two complete turns. The volutes are thick and clumsy, their offshoots grooved down the center. The junction of the volutes at the corners appears to have

been masked by a twisted leaf or rope pattern. The bead-and-reel is fat and clumsy, disproportionately large.

There is no exact parallel for the type and form. It is related to the numerous variants and adaptations of the Corinthian and plant capitals,<sup>1</sup> and is reminiscent of "Nabataean" forms.<sup>2</sup>

*C. Inscription No. 885.*

885. (Pl. LIII, 4). Room 24. Stamp of fine grained gypsum, 0.085 m. long, 0.048 m. wide, 0.015 m. thick, with a raised oval handle on the back. The stamping surface is inscribed in reverse with Latin capitals averaging 0.01 m. high. The engraver omitted to reverse the S and the first N. At Yale.

} PLOTIA  
 NI STERTI  
 NI CED[R]INI

Plotianus (Plautianus) and Stertinius are common Latin names. For Cedrinus, cf. *CIL* XI, 4513 (Cedrina) and *CIL* IV, 3376; IX, 3713; XIV, 427 (Cedrus). The stamp is probably to be read: (*Centuriae*) *Plotiani, Stertini Cedrini*; i. e. it is the personal stamp of Stertinius Cedrinus of Plautianus' century. Since the names are all Latin, the century is probably legionary.

*D. Scratched Drawing.*

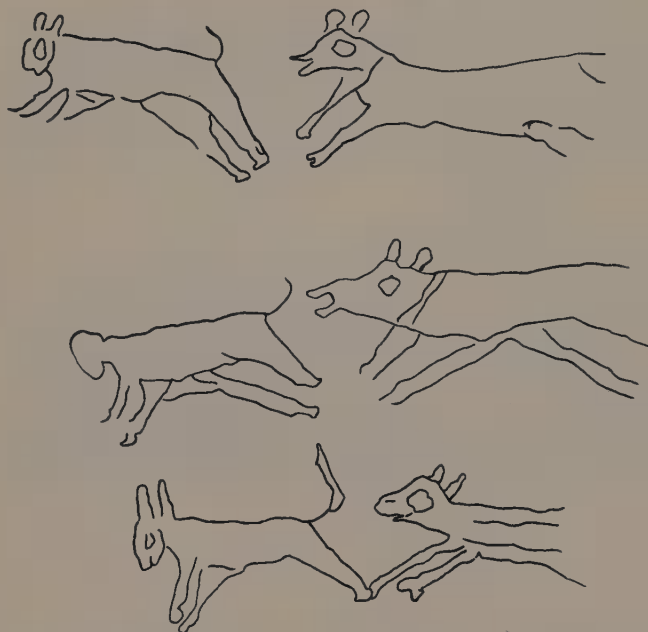
Room 32. On fallen wall plaster (Pl. LVII). To the left: head, arms, and torso of a facing male figure. The head is uncovered showing short hair and beard. The figure is clad in a tunic or coat of armor with indication of lacing, embroidery, or metal plates down the front. The left hand is missing. With the right he grasps the staff of a tall military standard. Its decoration consists from the top downward of: (1) a bird r., perched on a crossbar above the head of the standard; (2) two wreaths or *imagines*; (3) a *vexillum* hanging from a crosspiece. It is deeply fringed, and on either side, from the ends of the crosspiece hang streamers terminating in weights or tassels. To the right stands

<sup>1</sup> Collected by K. Ronczewski, *Act. Univ. Latv.*, VIII (1923); *ibid.*, XVI (1927); *Jahrb. d. deut. arch. Inst.*, *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI (1931), pp. 1-102; XLVII (1932), pp. 38-89.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Schlumberger, *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 288-290, 311-315.

a second figure, uncovered, with short hair and beard. He wears a belted tunic to the knees, military *braccae* to the calves, or high boots. His left hand supports a lance. In the fingers of his right he appears to hold a ring or diminutive crown. Between the two figures a bird like the former is represented, standing right. In its beak it holds a ring or wreath similar to that of the right figure.

The scene may possibly be taken as attempting in its infantile



fashion to depict the garlanding of the standard by a soldier or officer and by the sacred eagle.<sup>3</sup> The standard itself is remarkable. It is possibly the ensign of some unit of the Roman garrison of Dura, yet its form is quite unparalleled. *Vexilla* are frequently seen in conjunction with garlands, *imagines*, and other elements, but regularly occupy the top of the standard.<sup>4</sup> The closest parallels are two praetorian *signa*,

which can scarcely be adduced in evidence for a unit at Dura, where the standard is surmounted by the eagle.<sup>5</sup> Yet here too the *imagines* etc. follow beneath the *vexillum*, and nothing is interpolated between eagle and *vexillum*. In the graffito either the artist has erred, or the standard is of another sort, not a military standard, though it is probable from the presence of the stamp (no. 885, above) that in a late period soldiers were quartered in the houses of Block L5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. discussion of *Rosalia Signorum* by A. S. Hoey in *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, XXX (1937), pp. 15—35; cf. *Rep. I*, pp. 68—71, pl. V.

<sup>4</sup> Domaszewski, "Die Fahnen im römischen Heere", *Abh. d. Arch.-Epigraph. Seminare d. Univ. Wien*, V (1885), figs. 21, 28, 61, 62, 67, 68, 73, 78, 81.

<sup>5</sup> Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, figs. 57—80.



About the edges of the fragment are portions of other figures, some clearly scratched before or after the principal scene was drawn, and some, perhaps, in relation to it. Thus above and between the figures of the scene are an eagle in profile view and the legs and talons of another. To the right of the top of the standard are the legs and talons of a third. These are as clearly eagles as they are clearly different from the bird on the standard. It is tempting to assume that the latter was meant for a dove, and that the standard in consequence is a religious one, the sacred symbol of Atargatis as displayed in the rites of the neighboring temple.<sup>6</sup> The animals (bull and dog?) to the left are rather to be related to the fragment following.

2. (a and b) Room 32. On fallen wall plaster. Fragment (a) shows three pairs of animals, dogs in pursuit of hares, represented in the conventional "flying gallop". The hares are presumably the common desert variety of *lepus timidus*. The middle dog appears to wear a collar, an indication that all three are hunting dogs of some sort. Fragment (b) shows three cocks. The drawings probably represent merely animals familiar from the chase and the barnyard. It is possible, however, that fighting cocks are meant and that the hares are animals raised for coursing, taken from the *leporarium* to be hunted (cuts, pp. 178 f.).

[Additional note on no. 876, p. 172. The elaborate character of this text, with its fine calligraphy, its palm branches and the wreath, distinguishes it from the others in the temple. Sept. Aur. Heliodorus bears a distinctive name. The priesthood of Apollo is known from Parchment 23 (*Rep. VI*, p. 430) to have had a special aristocratic significance as one of the old Seleucid cults. This text dates subsequent to the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. It is not impossible that Lysanias, the father of the man here signaled out for honor (as a benefactor of the cult?), was the son of the Sept. Lysias *strategus Durae* of *Rep. II*, pp. 148—151.]

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, p. 150 and n. 39.



#### IV.

### BLOCK B<sub>3</sub>. THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS

#### I. ARCHITECTURE

(Pl. V, 2; Figs 48/49, Facing p. 194)

Block 3 of Section B is situated at the eastern verge of the upper plateau of the city over against the citadel height. It is bounded on the east and west by Streets K and J, and on the north and south by Streets 4 and 2. The temple occupied the central portion of the block, and only this portion with a few house-rooms adjacent was cleared. The excavation was undertaken in December, 1933, and concluded in the following March, 1934.

The area included in the temple, roughly 37.00 m. square, was obtained at the expense of a number of modest private houses. Their rooms wherever suitable were adapted to the uses of the builders as far as possible, but for the most part they were simply razed to below the level established for the temple. These houses had themselves undergone alterations and repairs which left abundant traces. The result was a disconnected collection of fragmentary foundations of gypsum or mud rubble present everywhere beneath the temple pavings (stippled on plan, fig. 48). Since the foundations themselves were too ruinous and the lacunae between them too great to permit of a satisfactory restoration of the house-plans, they will be disregarded in what follows.

The temple conforms to the normal Dura temple plan. Its central open court, entered by a great eastern gateway, is closed on the west by the sanctuary unit, and flanked on either side by chapels and subsidiary rooms (Pl. V, 2). Sanctuary and court, as far as the block plan would allow, faced east. The type of construction is, in general, the usual one at Dura; a superstructure of mud brick on a socle of gypsum rubble, 1.20 to 2.10 m. high.<sup>1</sup> The exceptions will be noted in the discussion of the individual units of the building. The general architectural features were the same as those of the Temple of Adonis.

The central court received no complete paving at any period of its history. At the time of the temple's construction it was filled in with earth and graded to a given level above the pre-existent foundations.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 136 for this type of construction.

From then on it rose gradually in the process of time, always a level earth surface, beaten smooth by the feet of worshippers. Only here and there, chiefly before the doorways which gave on it, segments of paving were laid from time to time. From the succession of these partial pavings and from the relation of court levels to neighbouring steps and doorways a total rise of 0.20—0.30 m. may be gauged. The court was remarkable for the absence of a great central altar. As will appear, its place seems to have been taken by the arrangements of the *naos*.

The temple gateway, 1.68 m. wide between the jambs, was originally approached from Street L by two gypsum steps, 0.24 m. and 0.20 m. high, to a sill, 0.25 m. high. Before the destruction of the city the street had risen 0.27 m., covering the lower step. Late in the temple's history a gypsum stele or altar, 0.38 m. × 0.34 m. at the base, was set up beside the north jamb. It is preserved to a height of only 0.43 m. Within, there was originally a step of 0.18 m. down from the doorway to the court. Eventually the court level rose to the level of the floor between the reveals. The lintel of the gateway bore a dedicatory inscription of 114 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

In the gateway itself were found three objects, presumably part of the furniture of this important point in the life of the temple. (1) A small altar of incense, 0.365 m. high (A in cut), with uninscribed die and simple profiling in broad fasciae. The shallow round bowl which crowned it showed abundant trace of fire. (2) A small altar for offerings — a roughly cut block of gypsum, 0.36 m. long, 0.17 m. wide, and 0.19 m. high, with three shallow circular sinkings in the top (B in cut). One of the sinkings had been filled with plaster; the other two were glazed over on the inside by a deposit of indeterminate character, perhaps oil.

A similar, though more elaborate, altar formed part of the *temenos* of Aphlad.<sup>3</sup> It consisted of a rectangular rubble base with a column-altar or stele at one end and seven shallow cup-like sinkings, which showed traces of a deposit similar to that of the altar under discussion. Both are to be related to the Canaanite altars with cup-marks whose precise use is still a matter of dispute.<sup>4</sup> At Dura, in any case, they

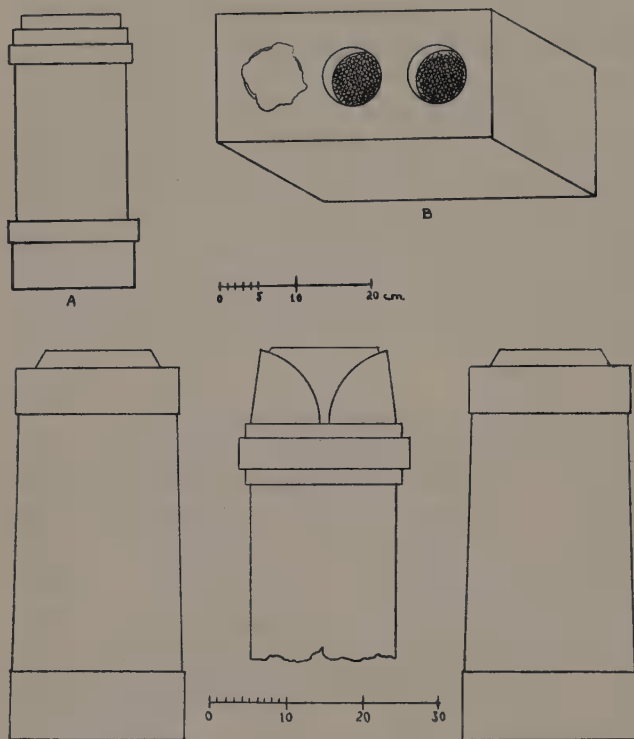
<sup>2</sup> No. 886, below, pp. 212 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. V*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente* (1907), pp. 125—131, 252—254; H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1927), pp. 117 f., pls. CLXII—CLXIV; S. A. Cook, *The Rel. of Anc. Palestine in the Light of Arch.* (1930), pp. 11—15. R. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le Site Archéologique de Mischrifé-Qatna* (1935),

were used for offerings of some sort, perhaps of oil or cakes. The altar of the Temple of Aphlad finds a close parallel in certain flat altars with cup marks set before Punic funeral stelae.<sup>5</sup>

(3) The somewhat fragmentary gypsum Doric cap of a slender rubble votive column, 0.21 m. in upper diameter. The abacus was 0.425 m. square and 0.08 m. high, the echinus 0.34 m. in greatest diameter and 0.09 m. high. No column fragments appeared.



“horned” altar bearing an inscription of 113/4 A. D.;<sup>6</sup> (2 and 3) two identical small column-altars with rounded dies and simple square base and cap, uninscribed. The shallow round bowls which crowned them all were fire marked. The purpose of the counter wall is no longer apparent, and the presence of the altars in it is difficult to explain. Probably they are to be related to a change in the ownership of one of

pp. 103 f. Cf. L. M. Ugolini, *Malta* (1934), fig. 66, pp. 112 f., for a cup-marked altar at Hal Tarxien.

<sup>5</sup> L. Carton, *Le Sanctuaire de Baal Saturne à Dougga*, pp. 398 ff.; Lt. Godin, *Bull. Arch. du Comité*, 1905, p. 275, fig. 2.

<sup>6</sup> No. 887, below p. 213.



the chapels (chapel 25?) coincident with a re-dedication and the removal of all evidences of the former proprietor's presence.

The sanctuary unit, rooms 1—4, was isolated from contact with the exterior by a circumambient corridor, 7—7.<sup>7</sup> It was accessible by a doorway, presumably arched, 1.80 m. wide, from Street K, from the court by an archway beside the sanctuary to the north, and by a narrow passage south of the sanctuary. Fallen fragments of the north archway were recovered in the excavations. It sprang from a pier continuing the east wall of room 26 to a buttress of the north sanctuary wall. Against the inside of the west exterior wall opposite the south end of the *naos* was a stout buttress, 1.20 m. wide, with a projection of 0.75 m. A similar buttress occupied almost the same position in the Temple of Azzanathkona, and three of them face the rear sanctuary wall of the Temple of Artemis. They served apparently in every case to buttress long stretches of wall unsupported by abutting chamber walls.

Corridor 7—7 like the court was never paved, and its floor exhibits a similar gradual rise in level, which may be gauged from the levels of the entrance from Street K and of doorway 7—6 and from the ground level wear on buttresses and pier. At the time of the construction of the temple it was graded to the same level as the court, as is shown by the early sills of the entrance from Street K and of doorway 7—6, and the lowest line of wear on buttresses and pier. Its level, however, rose much more rapidly than that of the court and eventually it was found expedient to raise the sill of the entrance from Street K 0.50 m. with a step down of 0.15 m. and that of doorway 7—6 0.36 m. There was no trace of a step in the north archway, so that there must simply have been a gradual slope up from the court to the corridor level.

The sanctuary unit consisted originally of rooms 1, 2, and 4. It was built over the walls of earlier houses, but quite independently of them. It exemplifies the second main type of sanctuary arrangement at Dura. The first type is represented by the Temples of Artemis, Atargatis, and Adonis,<sup>8</sup> and consists of a broad *pronaos* and a narrower *naos* flanked by lateral chambers. The second type has *pronaos* and *naos* of about the same size with a single side chamber appended to the *naos*. The closest parallel to the sanctuary under discussion is that of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. The only essential difference is that in the latter the side chamber is on the north rather than the south.

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of this feature, above pp. 138 f.

<sup>8</sup> Above, p. 138.



Both show subsidiary side entrances to the *pronaos*. The sanctuary of Azzanathkona is a variant of the first scheme. As in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods the *pronaos* is set off from the *naos* by a wide arch sprung from engaged piers.<sup>9</sup>

The walls of the original sanctuary, uniformly 0.97 m. in thickness, rose to a height of 7.00 m. or more. They were constructed entirely of rubble, laid not in the usual system of layers or courses but of one piece from bottom to top. They were carried down to bed rock without footings of any kind except for a slight batter in the lowest 0.90 m. Care was taken in the choice of *caementa* and mortar for the walls to lighten the upper portions. The bottom 3.00 m. or so were composed of chunks of hard red limestone breccia laid in coarse gray mortar; above the *caementa* were for the most part light yellow calcareous marl laid in soft white gypsum plaster. The sanctuary unit was flat roofed. At 0.90 m. to 1.30 m. from the floors a stratum of fragments of reed matting, of rotted bits of beams, and of the plaster surfacing was encountered. On the exterior the roof line was marked by a heavy projecting unprofiled cornice, and, to judge from the fragments, crowned by a parapet, 0.37 m. high, with semicircular openings at its foot for the insertion of sections of terra-cotta pipe to carry the rain water beyond the wall beneath.

The plain façade of the sanctuary was relieved only by an *aedicula* centered against the segment of wall north of the doorway. Two half colonnettes, each 0.28 m. in diameter and without taper, 1.97 m. apart axially, resting on square gypsum bases 0.12 m. high, were engaged to slender rubble piers. Originally they would have carried an arched façade no traces of which remain. The *aedicula* is to be compared with the similar structure built against the façade of the sanctuary of Atargatis, with the Aphrodite porch of the Temple of Artemis, which is merely a magnification of the same feature, and with the *aedicula* close to the façade of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. Each was probably dedicated to a σύνναος θεός of importance, that of the sanctuary of Atargatis, at one period, at least, to Adonis,<sup>10</sup> the second to Aphrodite. When erected, apparently together with the sanctuary, the *aedicula* rested on a rubble platform 0.28 m. high, which extended from the steps before the *pronaos* entrance to the edge of a rubble altar or votive pier, erected against the sanctuary's northeast corner. It rises from a square rubble base 0.16 m. high, and stands actually to a height of

<sup>9</sup> For the significance of this feature cf. above, p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> *Rep. III*, pp. 44, 46—49; above p. 154; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 35.

0.90 m. The rubble platform was subsequently obliterated by the rise in the level of the court.

The *pronaos* entrance was gained originally by a flight of three steps with a total rise of 0.85 m. The lowest step, 0.14 m. high, was of rubble, the others of stone. The top step was of double width, 1.00 m. Eventually the rise in the court level obliterated the lowest step and all but a bare 0.05 m. of the second. Due partially, no doubt, to this lowering of the entrance in relation to the court, the sill was raised 0.24 m. by the addition of a new course of slabs, and a new step, 0.25 m. high and 0.50 m. wide, was introduced before it on the original top step of double width. The entrance itself was an archway without jambs, exceptional in being fitted with doors on the inside. The square sinkings for the sockets were let into the surface of a rubble step of 0.25 m. leading down to floor level.

The *pronaos* at first was an unadorned rectangular chamber 9.45 m. × 4.40 m., paved with fine gypsum mortar 0.02 m. thick on a fill of earth and broken stone. A narrow doorway in its south wall, 0.64 m. wide between the jambs, gave on the exterior. Subsequently the floor was raised 0.40 m. and repaved with stout gypsum mortar 0.08 m. thick. The new paving obliterated the step within the entrance, but the door sockets were built up 0.15 m. to floor level. The reveal floor of the south doorway was raised 0.56 m. with a 0.16 m. step on the inside, and a rubble step 0.32 m. high was built before it on the exterior. Two benches were introduced: a rubble one, 0.42 m. high, along the north wall, and one in the southwest angle of the room made up of three large gypsum blocks, 0.38 m. high.

Fairly late in the history of the temple, probably after the changes which took place in the *pronaos*, a new side chamber, 3, was added to the south. Its rubble walls, only 0.40—0.45 m. thick, were built to very nearly the highest level attained by the court. Its south wall makes a curious jog, presumably to leave more space before the doorway of chapel 5, and is pierced by a single narrow splayed window, 2.60 m. from the floor. It was entered from the court by a doorway fitted with a single door and preceded by a narrow rubble step, 0.17 m. high, and from *pronaos* 2 by its old south exterior doorway. The interior level of the new chamber was the same as that of the court.

The impost piers of the great arch spanning the opening between *pronaos* and *naos* were carefully designed to withstand its thrust. The north pier was backed by the north external buttress, the south pier by the east wall of room 4. Of their 1.04 m. projection 0.50—0.60 m.

was of rubble of a piece with the walls in which it was engaged. The remainder was built up of roughly squared gypsum blocks of irregular sizes with wide plaster joints (fig. 46). Both piers rested on a solid rubble foundation, 1.30 m. thick, descending to bed rock. It extended across the opening between them and originally formed a step 0.30 m. high. Contemporaneously with the repaving of 2, the step was raised 0.22 m. The portion of the south pier next the wall stands 2.70 m. high, the front portion only 2.40 m. It is unlikely by comparison with other Dura buildings that the room should have much exceeded 7.00 m. in height. A springing height of from 2.50 m. to 3.00 m. is indicated for the arch. The arch itself, of which a huge fragment, 3.20 m. long, lay before the north pier where it had fallen, was, like the upper walls, of rubble of chunks of light white gypsum and yellow marl in gypsum plaster. Before each pier was a narrow bench, 0.35 m. high, built after the raising of the step on which they rest. The bench before the south pier was a single block of rubble. Into its face at floor level was cut a socket, 0.13 m. square and 0.16 m. deep, into which a square wooden beam was set and anchored with plaster. Bits of the wood were still in place. The bench before the north pier was made up of three gypsum blocks and had a corresponding cutting containing fragments of the original beam. It is evident that the wooden beam, originally extending from socket to socket, formed part of some device for preventing casual penetration into the holy of holies. Its precise nature we are not in a position to determine. The *naoi* of both the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and the Temple of the Gaddé were similarly closed to the profane.<sup>11</sup>

The original paving of the *naos*, of gypsum mortar 0.08 m. thick, was never altered. Originally it lay flush with the step between the piers. Later, with the raising of the latter, it lay 0.22 m. below it. At the east end of the south wall a doorway gave on chamber 4. It measured 0.96 m. between the jambs and 1.76 m. from sill to lintel. The jambs had a  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  inward batter. It was hung with a single door and elaborately fitted for locking with a pair of bolt slots in either jamb face and a fifth in the reveal back of the east jamb.

Room 4 was never paved, and its hard earth floor did not rise appreciably in level. At a height of 1.40 m. at either end of the south wall was a niche. In the room were found a jewelled and a figured silver *fibula*, a silver stud, and a large onyx setting.<sup>12</sup> Together with

<sup>11</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 31; below, p. 240.

<sup>12</sup> Below p. 212.

the niches and the precautions for locking the only entry, they show that the room was a sacristy or treasury.<sup>13</sup>

The permanent sacred furniture of the *naos* was singularly well preserved. In the southwest corner stood the unmoulded rectangular die of an altar or stele 0.88 m. high. At a distance of 0.35 m. in front of either outer corner a round socket, 0.06 m. in diameter, was sunk through the floor. Sockets similarly placed accompanied the altar or statue-base of the Temple of Azzanathkona,<sup>14</sup> and in either case were probably designed not for cult standards, but to carry off liquid from portable libation altars placed above them.

Against the center of the rear wall stood a stepped plinth, 0.70 m. high, of burnt brick, 0.38 m. × 0.38 m. × 0.045 m., mortared with mud and rendered with gypsum plaster. Its top area measured 1.03 m. × 0.55 m. Its first step was broad and low, 0.07 m. high, the second narrow and 0.21 m. high. The plinth was erected before the rear wall was decorated with paintings. Although it was built against the same coat of plaster which carries the paintings, the plaster behind it was unpainted, while the decoration descended on either side and a great figure was centered above it.<sup>15</sup>

Directly before it, abutting on the lowest step, stood a rectangular

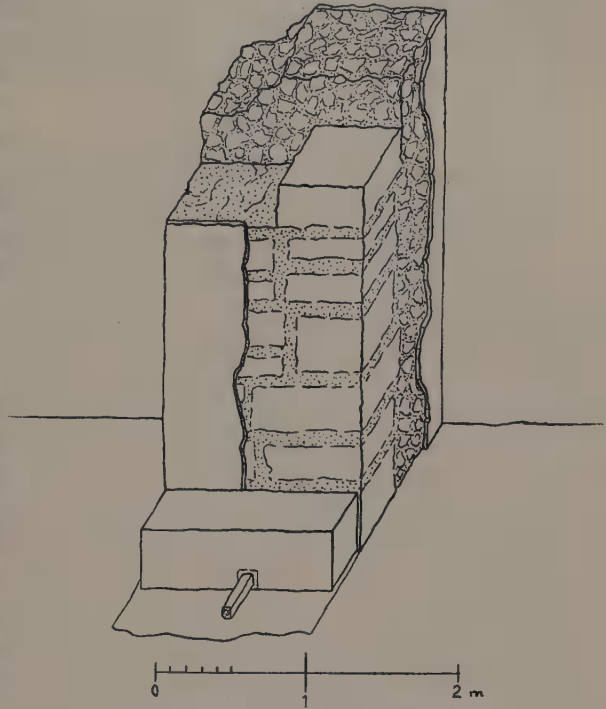


Fig. 46. Temple of Zeus Theos.  
South Impost Pier.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. above p. 139.

<sup>14</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 138 f., cf. p. 145; for the Temple of the Gaddé, see below, pp. 242 f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. below, p. 198.



altar or "table" 0.90 m. high, flanked on the south by two small square bases. The "table", 1.45 m.  $\times$  0.84 m., was built of roughly squared gypsum blocks and burnt bricks mortared with mud, and capped by two courses of brick of two types, one 0.38 m. square, the other 0.28 m. square, both 0.045 m. thick. It was covered with a plaster coat 0.02 m. thick. The bases, 0.45 m. square, were constructed of the same two sizes of brick with mud mortar. The westernmost stood 0.62 m. high when uncovered. Originally both probably equalled the "table" in height.

On the same axis but slightly askew stood a tapering round altar of rubble on a stepped base of brick. The bricks of the base, of the 0.38 m. square format, were laid without mortar with joints ca. 0.01 m. wide. Amid the *caementa* of the altar was much broken brick. The whole was heavily rendered with plaster and a plaster quarter-round moulding was run about the foot of the altar.

In the north end of the room lay a broad bench., 0.645 m. high of similar construction. A rectangle, 3.40 m.  $\times$  1.47 m., of gypsum and plaster blocks ranged without mortar formed its foundation. The stone blocks are of fairly regular dimensions, being 0.44—0.45 m. long, 0.27—0.28 m. wide, and 0.20—0.26 m. high. The plaster blocks are smaller and more variable, 0.23—0.26 m. square, and 0.16—0.21 m. high. This foundation was topped by three courses of mud brick. The interior was packed solid with mud, and the whole was capped by a course of burnt brick of the 0.28 m. square variety. A thick coat of plaster concealed the construction.

The stepped plinth, erected before the rear wall was decorated with painting, was probably almost contemporary with the room itself. All the evidence of construction goes to show that the "table", the altar, and the bench were built at the same time.

The *naoi* of no other temples at Dura or elsewhere have preserved so complete an array of the apparatus of worship, either because none were so elaborately equipped or because their furnishings were more portable or more destructible. The *naoi* of Dura temples normally contain some sort of structure for the reception of a cult image or images, either in the form of an *aedicula* or of a simple plinth. Only from the Temple of Adonis is this feature entirely missing. In certain cases they are preceded by a small altar (Temples of Aphlad, and of the Roman Archers), in others by sockets for portable altars or standards (Temple of Azzanathkona, Temple of the Gaddé, and Sanctuary W7 in the Temple of Azzanathkona). The plinth of the Temple of



Atargatis and the *aedicula* of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods stand free in the room. Elsewhere the plinth or *aedicula* is centered against the rear wall.

It is evident that in the temple under discussion this common element is reproduced in the stepped plinth against the rear wall. It is questionable whether it ever supported a sculptured image. On the contrary, it was probably surmounted by a painted representation of the god, and was more or less symbolic in character — a projection in relief of the painted surface.

The interpretation of the other appointments is embarrassed by the dearth of parallels. The existence, however, of the *lectisternium* as a cult feature in Palmyra, Dura, and elsewhere in Syria, attested by inscriptions and by a *tessera*,<sup>16</sup> suggests the identification of the bench-like structure with the *lectus* of that rite.<sup>17</sup> The bare and formless bench bears little resemblance, it is true, to the resplendent couches described and represented. It must be conceived as originally covered with a thick mattress and decked with rich *toralia* or στρώματα and προσκεφάλidia, on which reclined the image or symbol of the divinity, sumptuously appareled.<sup>18</sup>

The round altar presumably takes the place of the great altar which would normally appear in the center of the temple court. The religious significance, if any, of this displacement is not apparent. The table with its two bases offers some analogy to the arrangement of the *hekal* of the Temple of Jerusalem with its table of shewbread and its altar of incense.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately the function of the square bases beside the "table" is not clear. They probably served as separate small altars of incense or libation or as supports for candelabra or the like, but may together have carried a seat or shelf. It is possible also that the "table" stood rather in relation to the *lectus*, as the table normally accompanying

<sup>16</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 115, 369—375, no. 13, l. 9; Fevrier, *Réligion des Palmyréniens*, pp. 162 f.; Seyrig, *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 260—263.

<sup>17</sup> For the *lectisternium* in Babylonian and Assyrian religion cf. Schawe, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 22, s. v. *Bett*; Herodotus, I, 181; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (1920—1925), II, pp. 72 f.; in Greek and Roman religion: Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, III, 2, pp. 1006—1012; *R.-E.*, XXIII, 1108—1115.

<sup>18</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 13 (pp. 372—375) = *SEG* VII, 371, is in all likelihood a list of the appurtenances of the image used for the *lectisternium* in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and of the table.

<sup>19</sup> For the offerings of meat, drink, and fruit set four times each day before the gods of Warka, see, F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel Accadiens* (1921), pp. 74—86. Cf. the similar table with adjacent supports in the Nebuchadnezzar temple, E-Nun-Mah, at Ur, L. C. Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, III (1923), pp. 327 f.

it, and that upon it the sacred dishes to be offered to the reclining deity were placed.

The chapels and accessory chambers which flank the complex on north and south to a considerable extent made use in whole or in part of the walls of rooms of the pre-existing houses on the site. For this reason they tend to be somewhat irregular in plan and somewhat diverse in details of construction. The chapels proper are seven or eight in number, and chiefly remarkable for the fact that three of them are double, each preceded by a foreroom. In each case these forerooms have the nature of porches. One is essentially a deep portico. The other two open on the court by wide arches, closely resembling the Parthian *liwan*. The chapels themselves, like those of other Dura temples, were surrounded by broad low benches from 0.10 to 0.25 m. high, and five among them have also separate seats, 0.25 to 0.30 m. high.

Chapel 24—30 was the largest in the temple. Its foreroom was a porch of three rubble columns *in antis*. The three western intercolumniations averaged 3.50 m. from axis to axis; the eastern was only 2.65 m. The columns, 0.64 m. in diameter at the base, were made up each of six rubble drums, 0.50—0.75 m. high, and rested directly on a rubble stylobate, 0.25 m. high. The westernmost column lay complete as it had fallen, 3.65 m. high, with a taper of about 0.03 m. per meter. One fragmentary gypsum capital of the familiar debased Doric type designed to be completed in plaster was recovered. Numerous small fragments of the reinforced rubble architrave indicated that it was about 0.68 m. high and profiled with a simple taenia at top and bottom.

Only the area comprised within the three columns and the eastern anta belonged strictly to foreroom 24, and was surrounded by low benches in continuation of the stylobate. The westernmost intercolumniation formed a corridor of entry to room 31. In the center intercolumniation of 24, opposite door 24—30, the stylobate was interrupted for a space of 1.75 m. Centered in the architrave above was set the inscription of dedication, dated 120/21 A. D.<sup>20</sup> Originally the base of an earlier house wall was left, 0.17 m. above court level, projecting 0.62 m. along the front of the portico, whose stylobate was partially footed on it. It extended as far as the center intercolumniation, and served as a step. It was later covered by the rise of the court. The

<sup>20</sup> No. 888, below pp. 214 f. The columns of 24 fell not directly forward into the court but obliquely westward. The inscription, accordingly, was found in the debris of the northeast corner of the *pronaos* between the fallen drums of the two eastern columns.

north wall of 24 was broken by the great doorway to chapel 30, 1.60 m. wide between the jambs. Its stone sill was carried 1.63 m. east of the opening as plinth for a slender gypsum stele, preserved to a height of only 0.60 m. The reveals of the doorway were widely splayed and rounded. Chapel 30, paved with burnt brick, 0.28 m. square by 0.045 m. thick, was bare save for its plaster bench. Its walls were originally adorned with paintings of which hundreds of damaged fragments too tiny for piecing out the subject were found in the room.

Forerroom 23 of chapel 29 is of the *liwan* type. Its arch, 3.96 m. in span, sprang from impost piers projecting 0.65 m. from the side walls. A narrow rubble step, 0.16 m. high, preceded it. Forerroom 23 originally communicated with porch 24 by a narrow archway at the south end of its west wall, which was later blocked with a thin screen of mud-brick, leaving a deep recess on the 23 side. The original floor was of rammed red sand, surrounded on all four sides by a plaster bench. This floor was subsequently covered by a paving of gypsum mortar, 0.09 m. thick. A doorway 1.50 m. between the jambs gave on chapel 29. Its reveals, like those of chapel 30, were widely splayed and rounded in section. The room's floor of rammed earth originally extended between the reveals to the door sill. Later a pavement, 0.14 m. thick, was laid, filling the space between the reveals and projecting into the room and along the south wall as a bench.

Chapel 25 when first built opened on the court by an arch 3.40 m. in span. A step of rough cut gypsum blocks and rubble, 0.21 m. high, extended in front of the opening, and an irregular area before it was lightly paved with plaster. Within, the floor was of rammed earth, and there seem to have been no benches. At a later date, perhaps in consequence of a change of ownership,<sup>21</sup> the arched entrance was narrowed to 0.96 m. by extensions of rubble on either side, and fitted with a gypsum sill, 0.32 m. high. At the same time the floor level within was raised 0.20 m. and a gypsum mortar paving, 0.07 m. thick, was laid down. Along the east wall was built a low bench and beside the new entrance a higher seat. The rise in the level of the court eventually obliterated the step and paving before the entrance.

Chapel 12—13 was made up of two rooms taken bodily from an earlier house. Forerroom 12 was of the *liwan* type, its great arch, 4.70 m. in span, springing from impost piers with a projection of 0.62 m. from the side walls. The rubble sill of the opening lay at the outset 0.30 m. above the court level which for a slight distance before it was paved

<sup>21</sup> Cf. above, p. 183.

with plaster. Long after when the court had risen 0.20 m. a second paving was laid at the new level. Against the east pier stood a small engaged column altar, 0.49 m. high, bearing the date 160/61 A. D.<sup>22</sup> Into the face of the rubble arch, in the keystone position, was set a small green-glaze plate,<sup>23</sup> and probably directly above it a plaster relief bust.<sup>24</sup>

Foreroom 12, floored with gypsum rubble, 0.10 m. thick, was bare save for its low benches. Its south wall was broken near the west end by a doorway to Chapel 13, 1.10 m. wide between the jambs. The floor of 13 was of rammed earth. The regular low bench skirted its north, south, and east walls, while against the west was built a higher seat. On the north bench three bricks of the 0.38 m.  $\times$  0.38 m.  $\times$  0.045 m. format and, originally, three 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.30 m.  $\times$  0.033 m. were laid to form a hearth. Of the smaller size only one brick remained *in situ*. The entire surface as well as the wall behind was fire-blackened. The hearth may have served merely to warm the room in winter, but probably also was used for cooking or warming viands. Directly above its east end, 1.43 m. from the bench, was a deep niche. In the southwest corner of the room, a commonware pot, 0.40 m. in diameter, was let into the floor, its neck surrounded by a plaster collar, 0.12 m. wide and 0.11–0.18 m. thick.

Chapel 14 appears to have been built into the space left between two previously erected chapels whose positions were determined by earlier house walls. Its rear wall simply closed the space between the two, and was entirely of mud brick without the normal socle of rubble. When constructed it opened on the court by an arch, 1.96 m. in span, with a rubble sill 0.10 m. above court level. Into the face above the crown was let a plaster relief bust identical with that of 12. It was floored with rammed red sand and fitted with benches and a seat. In the northwest corner a semicircular recess was cut out of the wall 0.16 m. above floor level and plastered smooth within. It apparently served as a seat. Late in the history of the temple the arch was converted to a somewhat narrower doorway of the normal type by the addition of plaster reveals and gypsum sill, jambs, and lintel. Its floor was raised

<sup>22</sup> No. 889, below, p. 215.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Rep. V*, p. 239; *Rep. VI*, pp. 265 f.

<sup>24</sup> Below, pp. 211 f. The relative situation of bust and plate seems certain from their positions amid the fallen fragments of the arch in the court. The fragment bearing the plate showed a segment of the intrados of the arch, almost certainly from the crown.



0.15 m. and two gypsum slabs were laid before it flush with the later court level. At this time a small rubble stove or heater was built in the northeast corner (fig. 47). It consisted of a rubble block about two sides of which ran a fire pit contained within an outer parapet. A higher, oblique screen wall shielded the fire from draughts from the doorway. The fire pit was found partially filled with wood ashes, and the adjacent surfaces were heavily smutted. It must have served the same purpose as the hearth of chapel 13.

The front wall of chapel 16 is of the normal rubble and mud brick construction and partially footed on the foundations of an earlier house wall. Its east wall seems to have been a readapted house wall, but its south and west walls are original and entirely of mud brick. The chapel was gained from the court by a doorway 1.10 m. wide between the jambs, its sill originally 0.27 m. above the court but eventually brought flush with it. Within, the floor was of gypsum mortar, 0.06 m. thick, skirted on three sides by low benches with a higher seat next the east side of the door. At the north end of the west bench was

a semicircular depression, 0.16 m. deep, floored with broken brick and much fire-blackened — a stove or heater like those of 13 and 14.

No explanation is apparent for the incongruous narrow space left between chapels 16 and 5. The east wall of 5 is an earlier wall of normal construction. Likewise of rubble and mud brick is its façade. Its south and west walls, however, are entirely of mud brick, the former footed on an earlier foundation. The doorway, 1.20 m. wide between the jambs, was originally built close to the court level. Eventually it was raised 0.22 m. by a new rubble bed. The floor within was throughout of rammed earth, the benches of mud, plaster rendered, the seat west of the doorway of rubble. At the north end of the east bench was a hearth of brick, similar to that of chapel 13. Ten bricks of varying sizes, cracked and fire-blackened, remain. A rubble screen, 0.42 m. high, projecting 0.51 m. from the north wall shielded the fire.

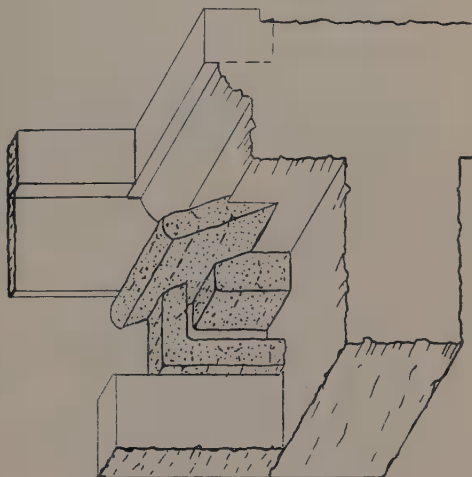


Fig. 47. Temple of Zeus Theos.  
Chapel 14, Stove.



The interior dispositions of the seven chapels correspond in a general way with those of the Temple of Adonis and the other sanctuaries of Dura and enforce the conclusions drawn in regard to them.<sup>25</sup> They contribute in addition one new feature. This is the presence in the four chapels of the south side of the court of stoves or heaters. Though they may merely have been intended to warm the rooms which contain them, they lend support to the inference that the dishes of sacred repasts were not only consumed but prepared in the chapels.

At the rear of the temple area lay three rooms, which, by their situation and appointments, are distinct from the chapels. Room 6, like room 9 of the Temple of Adonis, seems designated as a place of meeting for the priesthood. Save for its north wall it was taken bodily from an earlier house whose floor level lay 1.20 m. lower than that established for the temple. At the time of the erection of the sanctuary a doorway in the south wall was blocked, the north wall razed and rebuilt 0.85 m. south of its original line to leave passage space, and a plaster floor laid on a fill of earth. Rubble benches were built about the walls and a doorway cut on corridor 7. Later the sill of this doorway was raised 0.26 m. and another one cut in the east wall giving on area 8. The floor was raised 0.20 m. and repaved with gypsum mortar, and the benches on three sides made 0.12 m. higher. To replace the section of bench removed before the new doorway, a seat 0.32 m. high was built to the south.

The remaining rooms of the house of which 6 was originally a part were accessible from area 8 of the temple. They have not been completely excavated and cannot be discussed in detail. They were probably appropriated by the temple as living quarters for its priests, and are paralleled by the similar quarters, rooms 6, 7, 8, and 18, of the Temple of Atargatis.

Rooms 26 and 31 in the northwest corner of the complex were entered through two arched doorways from the western intercolumniation of porch 24. Sufficient fragments of both fallen arches were recovered to show that both were slightly parabolic. The rooms were earth-floored and bare of benches or other furniture. They communicated by a third arched doorway. Neither contained anything to give a clue as to the precise use to which it was put.

The dated inscriptions of the temple fix the approximate date of its erection.<sup>26</sup> They are of no assistance in determining the time of the various minor changes which occurred in the course of its history. The

<sup>25</sup> Above, pp. 156 f.











dedication of the lintel of the great gateway from the street bears the date August/September, 114 A. D. (no. 886, below, pp. 212 f.). Whether it refers to the gateway alone or to the gateway and the *temenos* wall or to the entire *temenos* and sanctuary unit, it may be taken to mark the completion of these "public" portions of the complex. Their construction must have spread over a period of years and have been accompanied by the building of a part at least of the "private" portions, the chapels. At any rate no. 887 (below, p. 213), also dated 113/4 A. D., is on an altar which presumably was dedicated in a chapel already completed by that date. On the other hand the dedication of chapels 24—30 (no. 888, below, pp. 214 f.) is evidence that the chapels were not all built until 120/21 A. D. or after. On the whole it may be assumed that the construction of the entire complex consumed somewhat more than a decade, roughly 110—123 A. D.<sup>27</sup> The temple was then complete in every essential particular. The only important later addition was that of room 3. Like the other additions of the one hundred forty odd years of the temple's existence it cannot be dated.

The temple forms one of a group of sanctuaries, of which the Temples of the Gaddé and of Adonis are the other two, built in the first half of the second century after Christ, and separated by more than half a century from the latest of the group erected in the early years of the first century (Azzanathkona, 12 A. D.; Atargatis, 31 A. D.; Zeus Kyrios, 28—32 A. D.; Palmyrene Gods, 40—50 A. D.; Aphlad, 40—50 A. D.). All three of the later group were built on land already occupied by private houses, and reflect a period when the area within the walls was already so thickly populated that suitable vacant temple sites were no longer available.

The god of the temple is twice named in the inscriptions, once merely as Zeus (no. 887), and once as Ζεὺς Θεός<sup>28</sup> (no. 888). This

<sup>26</sup> The site itself from the evidence of the pottery of the lowest levels above bedrock had been occupied by houses, apparently, from the early first century B. C.

<sup>27</sup> It is quite likely that building operations were temporarily suspended during the occupation of the city by Trajan's troops, 115—116 A. D. cf. *Rep. IV*, pp. 56—65; above, pp. 131 f.

<sup>28</sup> The epithet, Θεός or Θεά, appended to the name of a deity is a common feature of the Greek inscriptions of the Near East of Hellenistic and Roman date. In the majority of cases it may be explained either as appositive in sense denoting the god as of a particular place, or group, or person (cf. e. g., *Rep. V*, no. 610; Le Bas-Waddington, nos. 2209, 2392—2395; *OGIS*, 262, 634; *IGRR III*, 1075; *SEG V*, 366; *SEG VI*, 731, M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda* (1934), no. 198), or as affirming the divinity of an obscure or lesser god which might not be apparent to the uninitiate from the mere name (cf. e. g., *Rep. III*, nos. 158, 160; *Rep. V*, nos. 418, 453; Renan,

appellation, unfortunately, tells us nothing of the personality of the oriental divinity whom it conceals. Generally speaking, "Zeus", in Syria, is used to translate only the name of the ruling Ba'al of any given locality or people. Thus in Palmyra only Bel is so designated, and this usage is reflected in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods at Dura.<sup>29</sup>

## II. THE PAINTINGS OF THE *NAOS*

### *A. General Description.*

(Pls. XXI—XXV)

The north, south, and west walls of the *naos* were originally richly decorated with murals. For the most part they exist solely in the form of several thousand small fragments. The ruin of the walls upon which they were painted was singularly complete. The more lightly constructed upper portions<sup>1</sup> collapsed of their own weight crushing to bits the plaster with which they were rendered, and burying the pieces in their mass. At only two points did the standing walls retain segments of painting. The state of the mass of fragments permits us to form only a general idea of the scheme of decoration and to present important pieces illustrating the style and composition. These are now at Yale.

As will appear in the sequel, the walls of the *naos* were painted *en bloc* by the same artist or group of artists. It is, therefore, natural to expect a unified scheme of composition for all three walls, and that, indeed, is what the fragments and their closest parallel, the paintings of the *naos* of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, show. In the general lay-out the rear wall was taken up by a great composition centered

*Mission de Phénicie* (1864), pp. 241—243; *IGRR* III, 93, 450; *CIL* VI, 51; *SEG* VI, 751; *SEG* VII, 1069). As applied to certain widely known but purely oriental gods it may be regarded as mere formal concession to the Greek (cf. e. g., *Rep.* II, no. H3; *Rep.* III, no. 159; Le Bas-Waddington, no. 2598; *SEG* IV, 650; *SEG* VII, 15, 22, 24, 115, 1007, 1107). Many examples, not amenable to explanation on these grounds, remain, in which the familiar Greek name of the divinity is supplied with the epithet (cf. e. g., Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 50; *CIG* II, add. no. 2923b; Le Bas-Waddington, nos. 2410, 2413K; *IGRR* III, 1079; *SEG* II, 672; *SEG* VI, 602, 651, 731; *SEG* VII, 215, 893, 1178). They pose a problem not answerable here, but worthy of a detailed and special study.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, nos. 1, 17, 25; *Rep.* II, nos. H2, H4, H20, H28.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 184.

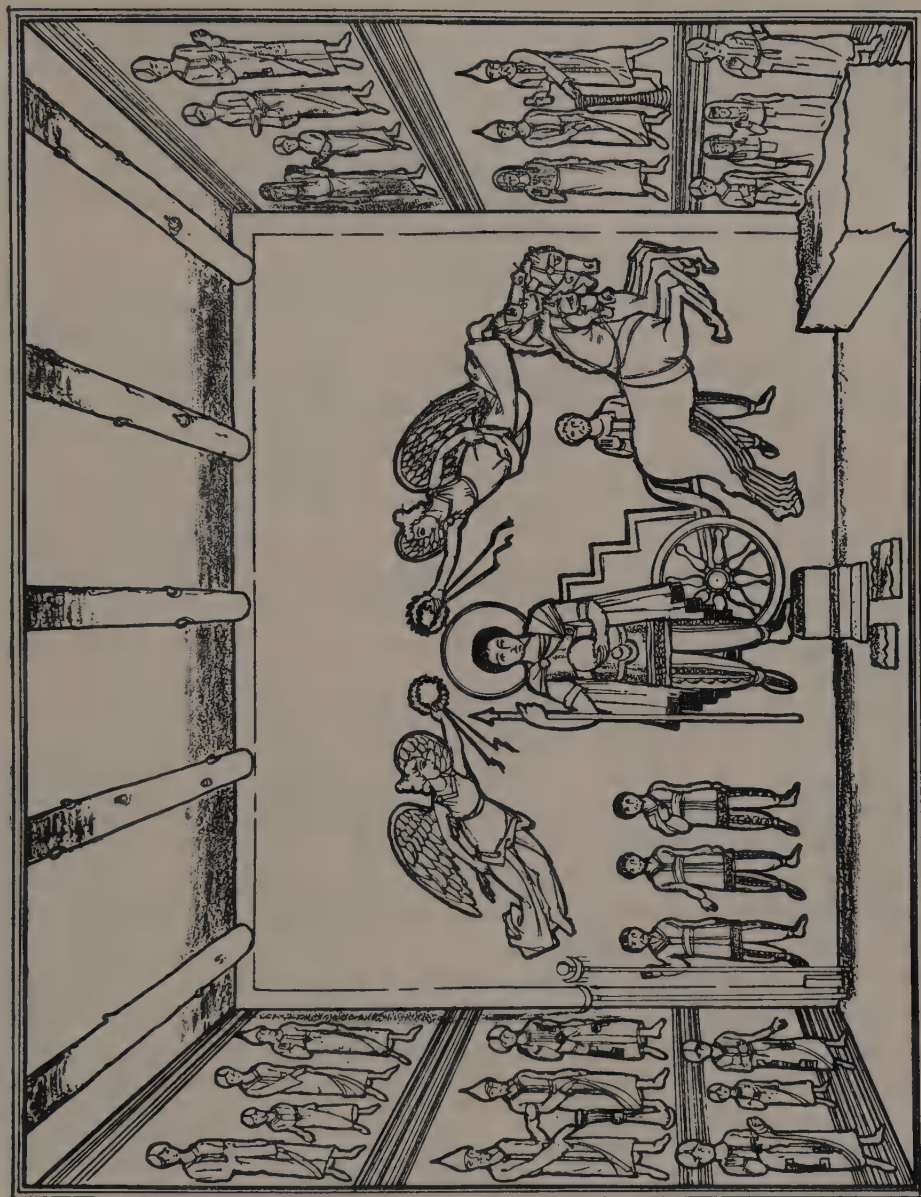


Fig. 50. Temple of Zeus Theos. Paintings of the *Naos*.

about the colossal figure of the divinity. On the side walls his devotees were depicted in an act of worship. The comparison with the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods is striking. There the lower register of one of the side walls was preserved almost in its entirety,<sup>2</sup> together with a lower corner of the great scene of the rear wall.<sup>3</sup> In this lower corner were to be seen the gigantic right foot and ankle of the god, over twice life size, the bodies from the waist down of two lesser figures, the hind feet of a horse, and to the right traces which Breasted<sup>4</sup> thought to be those of a chariot wheel.

One of the two fragments of the decoration of the *naos* of Zeus remaining *in situ* occurs above the base against the center of the rear wall.<sup>5</sup> Directly above the center of the base was the tip of an enormous left foot. It was shod with a red boot down the middle of which a ran yellow band with an imbricated pattern in red. Along either side of the band ran a row of white dots. To the right was the curve of the felloe of a wheel, apparently grey barred with black. The inner edge seems to have been decorated with a yellow band (gold) carrying a repeating spiral in red. The interior of the wheel is an indistinguishable grey, barred with black. The boot corresponds in every detail with that of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, and the similarity of the scenes is so evident that we need not hesitate to restore the huge figure of the god standing beside his chariot.

Other identifiable fragments from the rear wall complete the picture. The chariot was a *quadriga*, with two white and two red horses.

Fragment (a) (Pl. XXI, 1): Cheek portion and eye of white horse. The hide is white shaded with grey. At the upper left are traces of the black mane. The eye is outlined in black; cornea grey; iris brown with black pupil. The tear ducts are indicated with red. The straps of the headstall are red. The *phalera* which stud their crossing points are yellow (gold) with red high lights about the edge and in the center. The iron cheek buckle is black with grey to white highlights.

Fragment (b) (Pl. XXI, 2): Cheek portion and eye of red horse. The hide is red shaded with deeper values of the same color. A portion of the white mane sweeps down above the eye. The crest of the black

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. XXXI.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 74—76, pl. XLIII.

<sup>4</sup> *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (1924), p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Little of the original color remains, the traces consisting principally of discolorations of the plaster surface betraying the former presence of paint. Photographs of the fragment were so unsatisfactory that they could not be reproduced.



mane of the horse of fragment (a) — the right-hand horse of the team — is visible at the bottom center, indicating the relative position of the heads in the composition. The eye is outlined in black; cornea light grey; iris brown; pupil black. The straps of the headstall are white with red-brown rectangular dots down their centers to indicate ornamental lacing or metal studding. The edge of each strap is shaded with brown. The *phalera* are yellow (gold) with red highlights. The iron cheek-buckle is black with grey to white highlights.

Fragment (c) (Pl. XXI, 3): Portion of cheek and nose with the eye of a second white horse. The hide is white, shaded with grey. None of the mane is visible. The eye, though not so well preserved, is the same as in the other two examples. From the position of the cheek buckle and cheek *phaleron* of the headstall — drawn back and down — the horse's head appears to have been in a nearly vertical position. The details of the head stall are as in fragment (a).

No identifiable fragments of the fourth horse's head, presumably red, were recovered. Three or more additional pieces may be recognized as belonging to the body of the horse of fragment (a). One shows a portion of the outline of the belly and rear leg with a bit of the leg of the red horse next it, and indicates the probable position of the rear legs.

The headstall worn by all three horses was an elaborate one and is shown restored in fig. 51. The type, with doubled throatlash and front, is a Hellenistic one, seen, e. g., on the iron Alexander statuette of the Naples museum.<sup>6</sup> The form of the iron buckle of the bit cheek is singular.

The god was represented at the moment of being crowned by two flying Victories.

Fragments (a and b) (Pls. XXI, 4, 5; XXV). (The tips of these fragments actually join, but they are shown separately for better reproduction.) Portions of the right side of the face, neck, and bust of the left hand Victory, slightly over life-size. The face is shown in profile, left, against the plumage of the top of the left wing. Fragment (b) shows a portion of the left arm extended forward (proffering a garland). From the position of the bust, it is clear that the goddess was flying left in an almost horizontal position. The flesh tints of the face were carefully

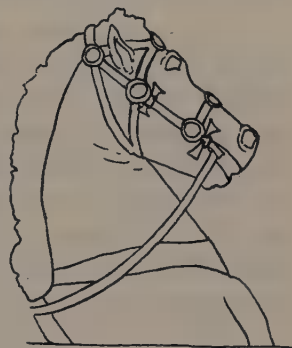


Fig. 51. Temple of Zeus Theos. Headstall.

<sup>6</sup> F. Koepp, *Wincklemannsprogramm*, LII (1892), p. 15.



rendered in pink and cream, the shadows in values of greyish-brown. The lips and the highlights of the nostrils, the nose bridge, "bar of Lysippus", and chin tip were picked out in light red. The eye was elaborately studied, though not shown in full profile. The eye-brow was black, the lid beneath it heavily shaded with its highlight picked out in light red. The lashes were black, the cornea shown rounded and light grey with reddish lights, the iris in values of red-brown, the pupil black. The shadows beneath the eye were graduated from the black of the lower lashes to buff. The body of the wing feathers was red with lights of yellow and cream, the shadow about the edges dull green.

The same feathers appear above the shoulder of fragment (b) at the join of the two fragments. Fragment (b) shows the goddess clad in a deep red *peplos* brooches on the left shoulder and bordered with an edging of yellow (gold). Highlights of the drapery were tan, the round golden *fibula* yellow with red highlights. The flesh was rendered in values of cream and buff. At the base of the throat hung a gold necklace adorned with fusiform pendants, yellow with highlights in red. The bit of grey field beneath the arm and bust apparently gives the general colour of the background.

The wings, red at the top, are shaded into blues and greens toward the extremities. The twenty or more odd fragments permit a fairly complete reconstruction. Their position in relation to the body is determined by five fragments showing edges of both. Though no positively identifiable fragments of the form and features of the right hand Victory were recovered, there were eight wing and drapery fragments which must have belonged to it.

The restoration of the rear wall subject is thus established in the aggregate. In the drawing, three subsidiary figures have been restored filling the space to the left of the god on the analogy of the composition in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. No recognizable evidence for these figures exists, but their presence or the presence of something occupying the same space is essential to the composition. It is possible that the figure of a charioteer should be added at the god's left. The treatment of the background, whether with indications of locality (as in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods) or closed in an architectural frame, could not be determined.

A number of small fragments of three different strips of decoration are most plausibly to be assigned to the garments of the principal figures (Pl. XXV). They formed part of (1) a band of red imbricated pattern on a yellow ground, indicated as raised by a deep red-brown

shadow along the side. The band was applied on a red ground with a row of large white dots succeeded by a row of small ones along either side. It may possibly have been the continuation up the god's trouser of the imbricated pattern on his boot. (2) A narrower yellow (gold) band on a red strip against a pale grey ground charged in red outline with a series of rectangles each with an oval in the center and crossed by diagonals. In the central ovals were described tiny rectangles alternately red and blue in outline. The design probably represents tabled gold bezels set with gems. It would have occupied a horizontal position since a succession of pendant gold beads is delineated as hanging beneath it. (3) A repeating flower pattern on a yellow ground. The flowers, seven or nine-petalled, are alternately red with deep blue centers or deep blue with yellow centers. Deep blue tendrils with leaf off-shoots, springing from either side of a formalized pistil, connect them. Leaves and berry clusters in tan flank the tendrils. The band is applied on a red ground and bordered by a row of white dots.<sup>7</sup>

The great central figure of the composition is the Zeus Theos of the inscription. Like his colleague, the Bel of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, he is strongly Iranized in conception. In both cases the god is assimilated to the Iranian Zeus-Ahura-Mazda, the Zeus of Herodotus and Strabo, who is "the whole circle of the sky," and answers to the Palmyrene conception of Bel.<sup>8</sup> Parthian influence, as Hopkins has shown, left abiding traces in the conventional depiction of this greatest of gods, though it is a paradoxical destiny which rolls Seleucid Zeus Olympius, Semitic Bel, and Parthian Ahura-Mazda into one. This Iranization rules the entire subject, for the chariot beside which the god stands can hardly be other than the ἄρμα Διὸς ἱερὸν of Persian ritual, the car of Ahura-Mazda which no man might mount.<sup>9</sup> The fusion of the Greek concept of Nike and the Iranian Hvareno is to be felt in the Victories, here as in the Sassanian reliefs of Taq-i-Bustan.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Similar bands of ornament are frequently found on the garments of the Palmyrene men and women of the reliefs. Cf. e. g., Chabot, *Choix*, pl. XXVII, 10, 12, 13; Ingholt, *Studier*, pls. III, 1, IV, 4, XV, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus, I, 131; Strabo, XV, 13. For Bel cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 242—246. For the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, cf. Hopkins, *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.*, LI (1931), pp. 127—130.

<sup>9</sup> Herodotus, VII, 40; cf. VII, 55, VIII, 115; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII, 3, 12; Quintus Curtius, *Historia Alexandri*, III, 3, 11. The alternate red and white color of the horses is no doubt symbolical. It appears that the sacred horses of Iranian legend were regularly white. Cumont, *Journ. Rom. Stud.*, XXVII (1937), p. 69, n. 33.

<sup>10</sup> Sarre, *Kunst*, pl. 91.

The key to the arrangement of the side walls is furnished by the traces of painting remaining in place at the west end of the south wall next the corner. Here, even more than in the west wall fragment, we have to deal with faint flecks of color and discoloration of the plaster surface. For what they are worth, however, these stains may be read unmistakably. At approximately 1.50 m. from the floor ran a broad painted moulding in *grisaille*, ca. 0.40 m. wide, crowning a grey dado or socle. Before it, as if standing on the floor, was a series of life-sized figures each with his name scratched and painted on the moulding or beside his head. Above the moulding came a second register of standing figures. Actually visible are bits of the moulding, the head of one of the lower figures against it with traces of letters adjacent, and the feet of two of the upper figures. The numerous detached fragments do not permit a detailed reconstruction of the precise relation and positions of the figures of the two registers, but they suffice to guarantee the following deductions. (1) The figures were those of private individuals and priests engaged in an act of worship. (2) All stood facing the spectator before them. (3) There was a second broader moulding in *grisaille* approximately 2.20 m. above the first with a band of red beneath it, on which the names of some of the persons in the second register were inscribed. (4) There was virtually no architectural background, framework, or division. The ground was uniformly a red daub stipple on deep yellow, except perhaps at the corners or wherever else a vertical pilaster might have been introduced. (5) This disposition of the south wall was repeated on the north wall, from which, indeed, most of the fragments come.

The general similarity to the murals of the south wall of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods is at once apparent. It is likely that here as there a third register similar to the second filled the upper wall spaces. Although no fragments can with certainty be assigned to it, there was ample place (2.50 m. or more). Significant individual fragments will illustrate more clearly the content of the scenes.

### *B. Lower Register.*

Fragment (a) (Pl. XXII, 1). The head of a youth against the *grisaille* base moulding. To the left, his name, Bargates, son of Zabinus; above, a segment of the yellow background of the second register with red daub stipple. The whole is badly weathered and flaked. The youth

wears a rose-violet bonnet apparently like that of Conon son of Nicostratus in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, and a white tunic with a broad violet *clavus* down the front. The immature oval of his face is rendered in values of deep pink and buff. The eyes are wide and staring and the black brows above them lift to the outer corners. Between black lashes the cornea is grey, the iris brown, the pupil black. The rim of each ear bears five small gold rings. About his neck passed a braided silver chain (no. 890, p. 215).

Fragment (b) (Pl. XXII, 2). The much effaced head of a young boy against the grey background of the lower register socle. To the right, his name — naus, son of Bargates. He wears no head-dress. His hair is black and cropped short. In either ear is a single round of gold. Flesh tones are rendered in deep pink and buff. The wide eyes with arching black brows have black lashes, light grey cornea, dark grey iris, and black pupils (no. 891, p. 216).

Fragment (c) (Pl. XXII, 3). The girdled waist of the garment of a slim youth. The garment is white, outlined and shaded in values of light red. Down its center runs a broad violet *clavus*. The girdle, of which the two ends descend against the *clavus*, is yellow with a grey central stripe and barred transversely with black. It is fastened over the abdomen with a great jewelled buckle, the details of which are not perfectly clear. Apparently it was circular. The black body of it has four or more yellow circles within it each with a black highlight (iron or silver studded with gold?). To the left appears the edge of the red garment of the person adjacent.

Fragment (d) (Pl. XXII, 4). A similar slim, girdled waist. To the right a segment of grey background, to the left a portion of the deep red drapery of an adjacent figure. The white stuff of the garment is outlined in light red and shaded with grey and pink. The girdle is white with a broad grey stripe down the center and barred transversely with black. It is fastened by a small silver buckle, done in *grisaille*. The ends which hang down are fringed.

Fragment (e) (Pl. XXII, 5). The breast with the left hand of a youth or boy. The hand is raised against the violet *clavus* of the tunic holding between thumb and index finger the black stem of a fruit or a cord attached to some invisible object. At the top is a tiny segment of light reddish-brown neck above a triangle of white tunic between the *clavi*. A string of beads round and cylindrical, yellow (gold), black, red, and light grey (silver), encircle the neck. The hand, outlined with black, is rendered in values of reddish-brown; the thumb nail by a



pinkish-white highlight. About the wrist is a silver bracelet, grey with a black outline and white highlights.

Fragment (f) (Pl. XXII, 6). A small left hand against a red, grey-shaded garment holding three fruits by their stems. The wrist is encircled by a silver bracelet like that of fragment (e). The hand is carefully painted in values of reddish-brown within a deep red-brown outline. The thumb and first finger nails are picked out in pinkish-white and the little creases at the knuckles given. On the little finger is a white (silver) ring with a deep red setting. The black stems of the three yellow fruits (lemons?) are gathered into the palm of the hand and held by the middle, ring, and fifth fingers. The stem of the right hand fruit bears a small black leaf.

The lower register thus appears, like that of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, to have displayed the younger members of the worshipping group. Here they bring offerings of fruit to lay before the god. The red garments of fragment (f) and of the figures adjacent to fragments (c) and (d) presumably indicate that their wearers were feminine, clad like the little girl of the Conon mural in great red mantles. As far as possible the artist, apparently, alternated maidens and youths.

### *C. Second Register.*

Fragment (a) (Pl. XXIII, 1). A portion of the head of a priest against the yellow background with red daub stipple. He wears the conical white *pileus* of the priests of the Conon mural, black-outlined along the outer edge, red-outlined across the brow, with grey and greyish-pink shadows. His beardless face is painted in values of deep beige with light red highlights, lips red, arching brows black. The large eyes are grey with black lashes, the iris tangent to the upper lid, deep beige, the pupil black. The tear duct is picked out with red. In his ear is a single ring of gold.

Fragment (b) (Pls. XXIII, 2; XXV). Lower part of a bearded head with the bust and right hand against the yellow background with red daub stipple. The figure was wrapped in a white mantle, beneath which shows a triangle of white tunic with two deep rose *clavi*. The outer contour is deep red, the inner ones rose. The drapery shadows are buff. The hand is raised to the breast clenched in a fist holding the end of a white fillet which falls back over the wrist to the left. The face is that of a man in his prime with a short black beard, mustache and



goatee. His hair was worn in a Parthian "zazzera" of which the bottom may be seen in the upper left. The flesh of face and hand is in values of red-brown. The lips and the highlights of cheeks and chin-tip are red. The hairs of beard and mustache are painstakingly indicated.

Fragment (c) (Pl. XXIII, 3). Badly scratched and pitted face of a beardless youth. To the left and right are traces of the same background as in fragments (a) and (b). He wears the rose-violet bonnet of fragment (a) of the lower register, and in either ear a round of gold. The flesh is in values of beige with the highlights on cheeks, chin-tip, and bridge of nose light red. The lips are red; the eyes between black lashes light grey with deep brown iris and black pupil. The arching brows are black, the lids heavily shaded in reddish-brown.

Fragment (d) (Frontispiece and Pl. XXIII). Head and bust of a young woman. In the field to the left is inscribed her name, Baribonnaea. The head appears outlined against a grey and buff background with vertical deep grey and red lines, apparently part of a supporting member, pillar or pilaster, for the painted cornice above. Baribonnaea is coiffed with a stiff pink cylindrical tiara or "tarboush" over which is cast a veil of deep violet descending to the shoulders. The tiara is finished at the bottom by a white band followed by a black one ornamented with a yellow (gold) running chevron with little pink and blue leaves in the angles. Above, it has a median black band barred with yellow (gold) and a black chevron at either side, the whole powdered with yellow (gold) dots. At the bottom, to either side, appear little corners of yellow stuff striped with green as though the veil were in part lined. To the front of the tiara is fixed by a red loop an elaborate silver chain and pendant ornament, which descends on either side of the face to the breast. It is composed of sections of silver braid chain<sup>11</sup> connected by series of disc and globular beads, and terminates in a complicated striated pendant. The violet undergarment is scarcely distinguishable beneath the mass of jewelry about her neck. No less than five necklaces may be made out. Starting at the top, the first, second, and fourth are strings of round and cylindrical beads, white, red, black, yellow, and deep gray. Of these the white, in the first necklace at least, perhaps represent pearls, and the yellow gold. The third necklace is a strand of silver braid chain carrying a square silver pendant. The latter has a raised striated border and

<sup>11</sup> For an example of this type of chain found during the campaign of 1930-31, cf. *Rep. IV*, p. 255, pl. XXV.

is divided horizontally across the center. In either field are two circles, bezels for stones or enamel, but without indications of a setting. The fifth necklace is a similar silver braid chain hung with small fusiform silver pendants. The delicate oval face framed by these trappings is carefully modelled in values of red-brown over a pink underpainting. The deepest shadows are black, the highlights light red. The black brows meet above the nose. Black also are the lines of the lashes and the pupil. The cornea is light grey, the iris, almost half hidden beneath the upper lid, deep brown, and the tear ducts are painted with red (no. 892, p. 216).

Fragment (e) (Pl. XXIV, 1). Head and bust of a woman considerably older than Baribonnaea though almost identically costumed. Her clenched right hand was raised to her breast probably holding some object no longer distinguishable. Of her tiara only a fragment of the two lower bands remains, the upper white, the lower black with a yellow (gold) running chevron and little yellow (gold) leaves in the angles. At either side of her face the dull violet traces of her veil may be discerned. Against the violet of her undergarment appears the same profusion of jewelry that decked Baribonnaea,<sup>12</sup> four strings of beads of the same types as before, and two silver braid chains. From the upper one is suspended a rectangular pendant with a plain raised border and horizontal division. About the edges are six circular bezels each set with a pearl or brilliant — indicated by white highlights, and two similar gems stud each of the two interior fields. The lower chain is hung with fusiform silver bangles. In the face, modelled in values of red-brown over a pink underpainting, age is skillfully marked by the heavy shadows about the eyes and the lines about the mouth. The lips, the highlights on nose, chin, and cheeks are values of red. The arching brows are black and the eyes grey between black lashes with deep brown irises and black pupils. Beside the left cheek appears a round of silver set, seemingly, with a gem of gold, presumably an earring, though possibly a part of an ornament pendant from the tiara. A heavy bracelet of silver encircles the right wrist.

The figures of both women are readily completed by comparison

<sup>12</sup> This richness of ornament is familiar from the sculptures of Palmyra. Chabot, *Choix*, pls. XXVIII, 16, XXIX, 1, 2, 12, 14, XXX, 1, 4, XXXII, 5, 11; Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, 2, 3.; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 64, n. 3. It is curious to note that the tiara or "tarboush", worn also by the women of the Conon scenes, and probably of felt heavily embroidered, does not occur on the funerary busts of Palmyra where it is replaced by a sort of turban. It does, however, figure in the costumes of the two ladies of the *Magharat al Djedidah*, Chabot, *Choix*, pp. 100 f., pl. XVI, 1, 2.

with the Bithnannaea of the Conon mural.<sup>13</sup> The type of head-dress, and, as far as may be seen, of the remaining costume is exactly the same.

Fragment (f) (Pls. XXIV, 2; XXV). Man's left hand and forearm with adjacent portions of the body. The forearm is brought horizontally across the body, and in the hand is held a silver *patera*. Beneath the arm appears the rim of a silver vessel filled with a red substance, certainly wine. The nature of the vessel, whether a great vase resting on the ground or on a stand or a *cyathus* proffered by an individual farther to the right is not apparent. In the bottom of the *patera* are a number of tiny red and yellow squares, whose purport is not evident. They can scarcely have been intended for drops of wine, and, since they are disposed in a checker-board pattern of a sort, may represent enamel or inlaid work. Again, they may be interpreted as cubes of incense. In any case it is clear that the individual depicted is in the act of performing a *supplicatio ture et vino*. He is clad in a sleeved white garment, evidently similar to that worn by Conon son of Nicostratus in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods.<sup>14</sup> About the sleeve above the cuff passes a broad violet galloon, and beneath, beside, and behind the wine vessel, is visible the top of a great violet H shaped device. The white drapery is shaded with grey. The hand, of which the perspective is not entirely happy, holds the *patera* in the conventional way with the thumb in the bowl. It is painted in values of reddish-brown with a black outline, the thumb nail white. On the fourth finger is a silver ring set with a red stone. The *patera*, grey with black outlines, has a dentil pattern about the rim.

Fragment (h) (Pl. XXIV, 3). Man's left hand against the bosom of his robe. The hand, which protrudes from a white sleeve, is folded in a ritual prophylactic gesture, fifth and index fingers extended, thumb, middle, and ring fingers doubled into the palm.<sup>15</sup> The fifth finger bears a silver ring with a red setting. The hand, painted in values of red-brown, appears partly against the grey-shaded folds of a white robe and partly against the rose violet of the *clavus*. The position is analogous to that of the left hands, holding branches, of the four spectators at the right of the Conon mural.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. XXXVI.

<sup>14</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. XXXII.

<sup>15</sup> For the significance and ubiquity of the *mano cornuta*, cf. F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (1895), pp. 260—276; S. Seligman, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* (1910), II, pp. 136 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. XXXI.

Two fragments (Pl. XXIV, 4, 5) showing portions of *thymiateria* scarcely require comment. They correspond to the two types pictured in the Conon mural and are represented as of silver in values of light grey with black outlines.

#### *D. Relation to the Other Murals at Dura.*

It is obvious that both in subject and composition the paintings of the side walls are closely allied to the south wall of the *naos* of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods. Priests in similar vestments conduct a ritual act in the presence of a group of worshippers, male and female probably the family of the donor.<sup>17</sup> In costume they reproduce the family of Conon. The precise observance involved seems not to be the same, at least that portion of it revealed by the fragments. For the Temple of Zeus an oblation of incense and wine appears to be indicated in conjunction with an offering of fruits. It is possible, however, that the vessel of wine in fragment (f) of the second register served for aspersion after the manner of the lustral water of the Conon scene. The exact number of figures in the entire composition is, unfortunately, no longer to be determined. Beside the fragments described above and the hundreds of unassignable fragments of drapery, at least nine other heads, three *paterae*, and six *thymiateria* could be identified.

The paintings were executed in *fresco secco* on the dry surface of a coat of very fine plaster, 0.002—0.005 m. thick, applied over the coarser rendering of the walls. The colors were laid on thickly and, apparently, in a semi-viscous state. Their relative richness of tone and their slight surface glaze betray the presence of a binding medium, which, however, has not yet been identified. The work is comparatively fine and painstaking, and many of the details of ornament were picked out with gesso and have a slight relief. The artist's pallet was extensive. Whites and blacks aside, he worked in values of red, yellow, blue, green, brown, violet, rose, grey, and buff. The weathering and scaling of many of the fragments, while disastrous to the surface, afforded considerable insight into his technical processes. The design was first sketched on the plaster ground in grey lines of dilute ink. All the flesh parts were then blocked in pink underpainting, upon which the features were finally modelled. Drapery portions were not underpainted. The result was distinctly two-dimensional, an effect which the absence of any considerable architectural background

<sup>17</sup> Below, pp. 215—217.



tended to enhance. The composition was simple and hieratic in the extreme. The isolated figures were virtually unrelated in a dramatic or narrative sense and decoratively constituted a rich repeating pattern of color along the walls. The artist spent his talent on the faces in an effort at realistic portraiture which recalls the contemporary Fayum portraits. The still faces, wide-eyed in the presence of deity, stare out with a gaze that excludes perception of each other or of the wordly scene about them.

The comparative study of the fragments points unmistakably to the conclusion that the entire composition of all three walls was designed and painted over a single period of time by a single artist or group of artists. There is complete uniformity of style and technique throughout. The execution of so large a commission would probably have taken a number of years, even granting that the master relegated the mechanical details to a corps of assistants. We have seen that the rear wall was decorated after the erection of the central plinth which was probably contemporary with the room itself. The painting was done on a coat of plaster spread for the purpose over the original rendering of the walls. There was no decoration beneath it, and the walls were never replastered. This evidence, therefore, combines to prove that the decoration of the room immediately succeeded its erection. This presumably was terminated in 114 A. D.,<sup>18</sup> and the paintings may be assigned to the next few years thereafter, say 114—116 A. D. These dates answer well to the condition of the close similarity in style and subject with the murals of the *naos* of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, painted during the last half of the first century after Christ.<sup>19</sup> Fragment (a) of the lower register of the side walls brings a confirmation. The youth there depicted wears in the rim of either ear five gold rings. This particular type of ear ornament is peculiar to Ingholt's first period of Palmyrene busts, executed in the late first and early second centuries after Christ.<sup>20</sup>

In the history of painting at Dura these murals of the Temple of Zeus Theos together with the Conon group are representative of a style quite distinct from that of all later work. This style shares with the later style or styles that fundamental "oriental" point of view which results in hieraticism of conception and the principle of isolation

<sup>18</sup> No. 886, below, pp. 212 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 140—142; cf. *Rep. II*, pp. 23, 92.

<sup>20</sup> Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff. (*P. S.* 30), 127 f., (*P. S.* 329—34), 128 f. (*P. S.* 336—45), 130 (*P. S.* 358), 132 (*P. S.* 377); *Acta Arch.*, I (1930), pp. 191—194.



and frontality in composition.<sup>21</sup> Its distinction is stylistic in the narrower sense, and consists, in color, of a depth and richness and variety of tone and hue, in drawing, of a painstaking naturalism of portraiture and a dwelling upon the details of ornament. There is a tendency to treat the body as a lay figure upon which to hang opulent drapery and jewelry. Technically it is expressed in finer brushwork and the use of thick, semi-fluid paint, occasionally combined with gesso. In general the modelling is comparatively delicate and detailed and reflects late Hellenistic models. It is notable that the only ambitious profile heads in Dura are those of the Victories of the rear wall.<sup>22</sup>

In contradistinction the later style or styles show a quite different sort of western influence, reflect, indeed, a new and later wave of it. They are characterized by a more limited pallet of flatter, matt colors, manipulated much less elaborately. The paint was much thinner, the drawing bold and stereotyped. Modelling was restricted to a few emphatic formulae often carelessly applied. Portraiture almost ceased to exist and with it the accentuation of ornament. These criteria cover a wide group of paintings with marked individual differences,<sup>23</sup> but they constitute the broad lines of distinction. They are criteria which apply to all the painting of Palmyra which has come to light,<sup>24</sup> and mark a style which may well have stemmed from the influence of western "illusionistic" painting. The style reached Dura in the second quarter of the second century A. D. — the *terminus post quem* is the paintings under discussion, the *terminus ante quem* those of the Temple of Adonis — and remained the dominant one until the fall of the city. Probably it was felt earlier in Palmyra where western influence was stronger.<sup>25</sup> The older style, a product of the multifarious late Hellenistic Orient, disappeared, only to assert itself again in the art of Byzantium.

<sup>21</sup> This has been emphasized by Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), pp. 236—242, 255—257.

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that the stereotyped Iranian composition of the "Sun Chariot" with the horses in profile to right and left of the chariot which is shown in front view is not employed here though its origin has been shown to go back at least to the Parthian epoch. Cf. Seyrig, *Syria*, XVIII (1937), pp. 43—53; cf. also the fragmentary wall-painting from the Parthian level at Babylon, *Wiss. Veröff. d. Deut. Orient.-Ges.*, XLVII (1926), p. 150, pl. 45.

<sup>23</sup> The group embraces the murals of the synagogue, the Christian Chapel, the Temple of Adonis, the Mithraeum, and the house in M7.

<sup>24</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Orient Oder Rom.*, pp. 12—32 B. V. Farmakowski, *Izvestiya of the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople*, VIII (1903), pp. 173 ff.; H. Ingholt, *Acta Arch.*, III (1932), pp. 1—20, pls. I—IV.; *Berytus*, II (1935), pp. 62 f., pl. XXV.

<sup>25</sup> It is this style which exerted its influence so profoundly a century later in the

## III. FINDS

*A. Sculpture.**(Pl. XXXII)*

The two plaster relief busts which crowned the entrance arches of chapels 12 and 14<sup>1</sup> may be conveniently discussed as one, since they were originally in every respect identical, having been cast in the same mould. Owing to their exposed position both were severely weathered. The entire surface was worn and pitted and covered by a calcareous deposit, while the projecting upper portions of the slabs, the tops of the heads, and the shoulders were eaten away. The slabs which formed the ground were originally 0.28 m. high, 0.195 m. wide, 0.05—0.075 m. thick at the top and 0.02—0.03 m. thick at the bottom. Together with the reliefs they were cast in coarse gypsum plaster with quantities of sand in its composition. The added thickness at the top was occasioned by the fact that both were set tilted forward in the wall to be better seen from below. The relief is high, almost half-round. The busts are at Yale.

The head and bust is that of a beardless and apparently hairless young man or woman. The face is round with a small, receding, rather pointed chin. The eyes are enormous and bulging, and slant slightly down to the outer corners. The mouth is pursed in a sort of "archaic" smile. The shoulders are narrow and rounded and small flat breasts are indicated. The features were originally picked out with black paint. That on the eye-brows, lashes, pupils, and mouth remains. A black line about the base of the neck denotes either a necklace or the collar line of a garment. A round earring is painted in either ear-lobe, while a trace of black just in front of either ear may be the only remains of a beard. The sex, in view of the well-formed breasts must remain dubious, though it was probably male.

In style the reliefs resemble most nearly certain of the relief busts upon cast plaster blocks, whose use is still disputed.<sup>2</sup> Their function

frescoes of Miran in Chinese Turkestan. Aurel Stein, *Serindia* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 492—529, pls. XL—XLV; *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, pp. 118—128, pls. 54—57.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Above, p. 192; cf. two similar busts from the Temple of the Gaddé, below, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep. IV*, pp. 53—55, pl. VIII, 1, 2, where they are erroneously said to be limestone; *Rep. V*, pp. 33 f., pl. VI; *Rep. VI*, p. 271.

as decoration is analogous to that of the sculptured voussoirs and the masks on the impost pilasters of the *liwans* of the palace at Hatra,<sup>3</sup> and their odd emasculate effect is very like that of certain of the masks.<sup>4</sup>

### *B. Jewelry from Room 4.*

Pentagonal silver *fibula* (at Yale), 0.045 m. long overall and 0.022 m. wide. About the edge is a raised border of pseudo-granulate work and it is divided horizontally into a square upper and triangular lower field by a band of the same. In the upper field is a broad five-petal rosette in low relief. The center and petals were treated as bezels into which were set small uncut red garnet crystals. The center gem is missing. The lower field contains a similar three-petal rosette set with garnets, of which the upper right one is wanting. The lower point of the *fibula* terminates in a broad circular bezel with a garnet crystal. Hinge, pin, and clasp were likewise of silver.

Silver *fibula* (at Yale). Tiny representation in *repoussé* of a kneeling ram with a nude child seated on its back (Phrixus?). It is roughly triangular in outline, 0.029 m. wide and 0.025 m. high. The ram's body is in profile, his head facing. His legs are doubled under him. The child sits facing, his right hand resting on the ram's quarters, his left, apparently, grasping the fleece of the neck. The contours are slurred and blunt, and the piece gives the effect of having been hammered into a mould. Hinge, pin, and clasp were of bronze.

Round silver button (at Yale). It is conical or broadly bell-shaped in section, 0.025 m. in diameter and 0.013 m. high. To the center of the bottom is soldered a silver bar for attachment. The edge is ornamented with nine square projections and a band of pseudo-granulation. At the top it terminated in a round bezel for a gem, now missing.

## IV. INSCRIPTIONS

(Nos. 886—900)

886. (Pl. LIV, 1). Lintel of the court gateway from Street K. Complete in seven fragments but for a section ca. 0.18 m. wide of the bottom portion. Bottom length, 2.435 m.; top length, 2.665 m.; height

<sup>3</sup> Andrae, *Hatra*, II (*Wiss.-Veröff. d. Deut. Orient-Ges.*, XXI, 1912), pp. 153—159, pls. XIII—XXI.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pls. XIX—XX.

0.32 m.; thickness at the bottom 0.32 m., at the top 0.41 m. It is moulded with a fascia at the top followed by two cavetti separated by fillets, a dentil band, and two fasciae at the bottom, 0.052 and 0.054 m. high. On the latter the inscription is cut in a modified round alphabet. Letters 0.03—0.035 m. high. The letter *omicron* has once the square form; *rho* is consistently square.

ἜΤΟΥΣ ΕΚΥ΄ ΓΟΡΠΙΑΪΟΥ, ἀνήγειρεν Σ[έλευκος Θ]εομν[ήστου] τοῦ  
 Ἀντιόχου  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ[ 39—40 letters κατ' ἐ]ὕχ[ήν]

August/September 114 A. D. The dedicant is the same as that of Chapel 24—30, no. 888, p. 214 below, where his identity is discussed. In l. 2 thirty nine or forty letters are missing. Evidently a long σωτηρίας cliché is to be restored, cf. *Rep. III*, Nos. 148 and 159, pp. 50, 61—63.

887. (Pl. LIV, 2). Upper portion of a gypsum “horned” altar built into the late counter wall north of the court gateway; cf. above, pp. 182 f. The date is cut on the fascia of the moulding beneath the “horns” and bowl, the remainder on the die beneath. The last two letters of l. 3 and the last letter of l. 4 are carried around the corner and written on the side. Modified round alphabet. Letters average 0.02 m. high in l. 1 and 0.025 m. high in the succeeding lines.

ἜΤΟΥΣ ΕΚΥ΄.  
 Μνησθῆ  
 Δημήτριο[ς]  
 Διοδώρο[υ].  
 Διός.

113/114 A. D. Both names are common at Dura. This Demetrius, son of Diodorus, is perhaps a descendant of the Demetrius, son of Diodorus, who dedicated a step in the Temple of Azzanathkona in 25 A. D. (*Rep. V*, no. 552, p. 199). The genitive Διός is dependent on a noun understood, presumably τὸν βωμόν. Cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1779: Τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων, κτλ., Ῥώμης; further examples of the genitive alone on altars, etc., occur *ibid.*, nos. 2471—2484.

888. (Pl. LIV, 3). Dedication of chapel 24—30. Gypsum slab, 0.54—0.58 m. high, 0.39—0.42 m. wide, and averaging 0.085 m. thick. The letters, in the square alphabet, are deep cut, almost entirely by the use of a round drill, 0.005 m. in diameter. They average 0.03—0.04 m. high. The last line, practically intact when the stone was found, crumbled off before it could be satisfactorily photographed. At Yale.

Ἔτους βλυ'.  
 Σέλευκος  
 Θεομνήστου  
 τοῦ Ἀντιόχου,  
 Εὐρωπαῖος καὶ  
 τῶν πρώτων,  
 ἀνήγειρεν Διὶ Θεῷ  
 τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ  
 θυρώματα καὶ  
 τὴν τῶν εἰκόνων  
 γ[ρ]αφὴν πᾶσαν.

120/121 A. D. This Seleucus is probably the brother of Ὀλυμπος Θεομνήστου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου of no. 538 (*Rep. V*, pp. 192 f.), a descendant of the Theomnestus-Antiochus family of Cumont nos. 64 and 65 (*Fouilles*, pp. 416 f.) and *Rep. V*, no. 544, p. 195. The donor of parchment II, A, 12 f. (Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 298; cf. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, pp. 38—40; Welles, *Savigny-Zeitschrift*, LVI, 1936, p. 112; it dates ca. A. D. 180, Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 120) is possibly his son.

The ethnic Εὐρωπαῖος denotes full civic rights. It was probably restricted to the aristocracy composed of the descendants of the original group of Greek settlers. In the inscriptions, parchments, and papyri it is found appended to the names of fifteen different individuals of whom three are women. The earliest occurrence is in *D. Pg.* 1 of ca. 190 B. C.; the latest are those of *D. Pg.* 2 and *D. Pg.* 23 of about 180 A. D. The expression τῶν πρώτων is ambiguous. It may be taken as an abbreviated form of τῶν πρώτων φίλων in the sense of a Parthian court title. Such titles of rank were rather freely distributed among the Greek cities by the Parthian kings. For Dura cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 134; *D. Pg.* 21 (*Rep. VI*, pp. 419 f.; Welles, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—135); *D. Pg.* 40 (below, pp. 427—432); and possibly no. 433 (*Rep. V*, p. 124). The difficulty is that τῶν πρώτων never occurs without φίλων and is indeed hard to understand without it. Unless one may assume an



accidental omission of the word, it is probably better to take the title in close relation with Εὐρωπαῖος. Such expressions as τῶν πρώτων are commonly met with in Greek sources to mean "the aristocracy", e. g. Dio, XXXVI, 51, 1; XXXVII, 29, 2; XXXVIII, 4, 2; XXXIX, 8, 2; etc. A third possibility may be considered though it has little probability. The words τῶν πρώτων may denote Seleucus position' as a member of a municipal council or committee of the Boulé (?), though they need not imply the existence of δεκάπρωτοι.<sup>1</sup>

For the deity, see above pp. 195 f. The ναός is chapel 30; the θυρώματα its doors (cf. above p. 191) The εἰκόνων γραφή is represented by the fragments of paintings found in the room (above, p. 191).

889. Gypsum column altar, 0.49 m. high, engaged to the east impost pier of the arch of foreroom 12. The die is semicylindrical with a plain square base and cap. The date was cut on the face of the cap, the dedicant's name on the die beneath an incised crescent. Round alphabet. Letters 0.02—0.025 m. high.

Ἔτους βο[υ'  
Βιδδαῖος  
Λυσίου

Υ is required for the final numeral, giving the date 160/161 A. D. Φ would give 260/261 A. D., after the fall of the city, while Τ, giving 60/61 A. D., is too early.

The name Βιδδαῖος only here and below, no. 894, p. 216. It is hardly to be equated with Βιταῖος, *Princeton Expedition to Syria*, III, A, no. 765<sup>7</sup> (cf. below, p. 447).

Inscriptions from the murals of the side walls of the *naos* (nos. 890—899.)

#### Lower Register.

890. (Pl. XXII, 1). Black dipinto over graffito to the left of the head of the youth on fragment (a) (above, pp. 202 f.). Letters 0.03—0.04 m. high.

<sup>1</sup> For a recent summary of the question of the Decaprotty, cf. Boecklin-Hyatt, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 517—519; E. G. Turner, *Journ. Egypt. Arch.*, XXII (1936), pp. 12—19.

Βαργάτης  
Ζαβίν[ου]

891. (Pl. XXII, 2). Black dipinto over graffito to the right of the head of the boy on fragment (b) (above, p. 203). Letters 0.015—0.035 m. high.

]ναος  
Βαργάτους

### Upper Registers.

892. (Pl. XXIII) Black dipinto over graffito to the left of the head of the maiden on fragment (d) (above, pp. 205 f.). Letters 0.03—0.04 m. high.

dipinto	graffito
Βαρι-	Βαρι-
βο-	βον-
νν-	ναί[α]
[αία]	

893. Red dipinto on painted cornice. Letters 0.013—0.028 m. high.

᾽Ολυμπος Λυσίου [τοῦ]  
[᾽Ολύμ]που τοῦ [— —]

894. White dipinto over graffito on red band below painted cornice. Letters 0.02—0.035 m. high.

Βαρ]λάας	Βιδδαῖος
— — ]ος	ἕτερος

895. Black dipinto over graffito on red band beneath painted cornice. Letters 0.015—0.03 m. high.

Σω]σειπέτρας  
Βαργάτο[υς

Probably for Σωσίπατρος rather than fem. gen. Σωσιπάτρας, as the other dipinti use the nominative case.

896. Black dipinto over graffito on red band below painted cornice. Letters 0.03—0.04 m. high.

Μηκανν[αία

897. Black dipinto over graffito on red band below painted cornice. Letters 0.02 m. high.

Βαργ]άτου[ς

898. Black dipinto over graffito on red band below painted cornice. Letters 0.04 m. high.

]Βαρά[

899. Black dipinto over graffito on painted cornice. Letters 0.025—0.035 m. high.

]αίος

All the names which are complete or readily restored are familiar at Dura. They appear to belong to the members of two great families. The first is the "Lysias" family here represented by Ὀλυμπος of no. 893, who is probably the son of Lysias, son of Olympus, of Cumont, nos. 70, 71, 73, 74, and 75 (cf. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, Table II). Μηκανναία of no. 896 is probably his sister, cf. Cumont no. 75. Perhaps Βιδδαῖος of no. 889, if he be the same as or a descendant of the Βιδδαῖος of no. 894, also belongs with this group.<sup>2</sup> The second, the "Bargates", family is better represented but otherwise quite unknown at Dura, though many individuals of the name occur.

900. Graffito. North wall of chapel 13 beside the doorway. Letters 0.013—0.02 m. high.

Λόγος·  
'Αδῆος

Probably the beginning of an account left unfinished after the first name was entered. 'Αδῆος (= 'Αδαῖος, 'Αδδαῖος) is common at Dura.

<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that the "Lysias" family was united with the "Theomnestus" family through the marriage of Olympus, son of Theomnestus, with Philopatra, daughter of Lysias (*Rep. V*, no. 538).

## V.

### SECTION H, BLOCK 1. TEMPLE OF THE GADDE

#### I. ARCHITECTURE

(Pls. VI—IX, 1; Figs. 56/57, pp. 231, 233)

Block 1 of Section H lies on the eastern edge of the central nucleus of the city. It is bounded on the north and south by Main and 3 Streets, and on the east and west by H and G Streets. It thus adjoins the intersection of Main and H Streets, Dura's most important street corner. To the north of Main Street, H Street was the chief means of access to the *souks*, the center of commercial life. To both north and south it was the principal cross street by which to gain the heads of the thoroughfares down the ravines leading to the river gate, the only avenues of descent from the upper to the lower town for wheeled or pack-animal traffic.

In 1924 the northeast corner of the block was partially explored by soldiers then stationed at Dura. Portions of two shops along Main Street and of the rooms later numbered 15, 14, and 11 were cleared.<sup>1</sup> In no instance was the ancient level reached. In February and March, 1934, and January, 1936, the central portion of the east half of the block was completely excavated. This area, roughly 42.00 m. × 22.00 m. overall, is that comprised by the temple complex which occupied the site in its final period (Pl. VII, 1, 2).<sup>2</sup>

At the start of excavations the surface of the ground lay some 3.00—3.50 m. above bedrock. The difference between the earliest and latest ancient levels averages only about 0.80 m. Of this the greatest portion, with certain exceptions, is taken up by a fill dumped in to raise the general level during the building operations of the final period. The floor levels of earlier periods, particularly in the south half of the area, are rarely traceable, since they were disturbed in each successive demolition and rebuilding. They are roughly indicated in many cases by the levels of surviving door-sills and by the termination at floor level of the plaster rendering of wall socles. Under these conditions it is useless to seek for regular stratification below the level of the fill of the final period.

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 477; cf. *Rep. IV*, pp. 160—162.

<sup>2</sup> These excavations have been briefly reported in *Comptes rendus*, 1935, pp. 6—20; and *Illustrated London News*, vol. 187, 1935, pp. 350—353.

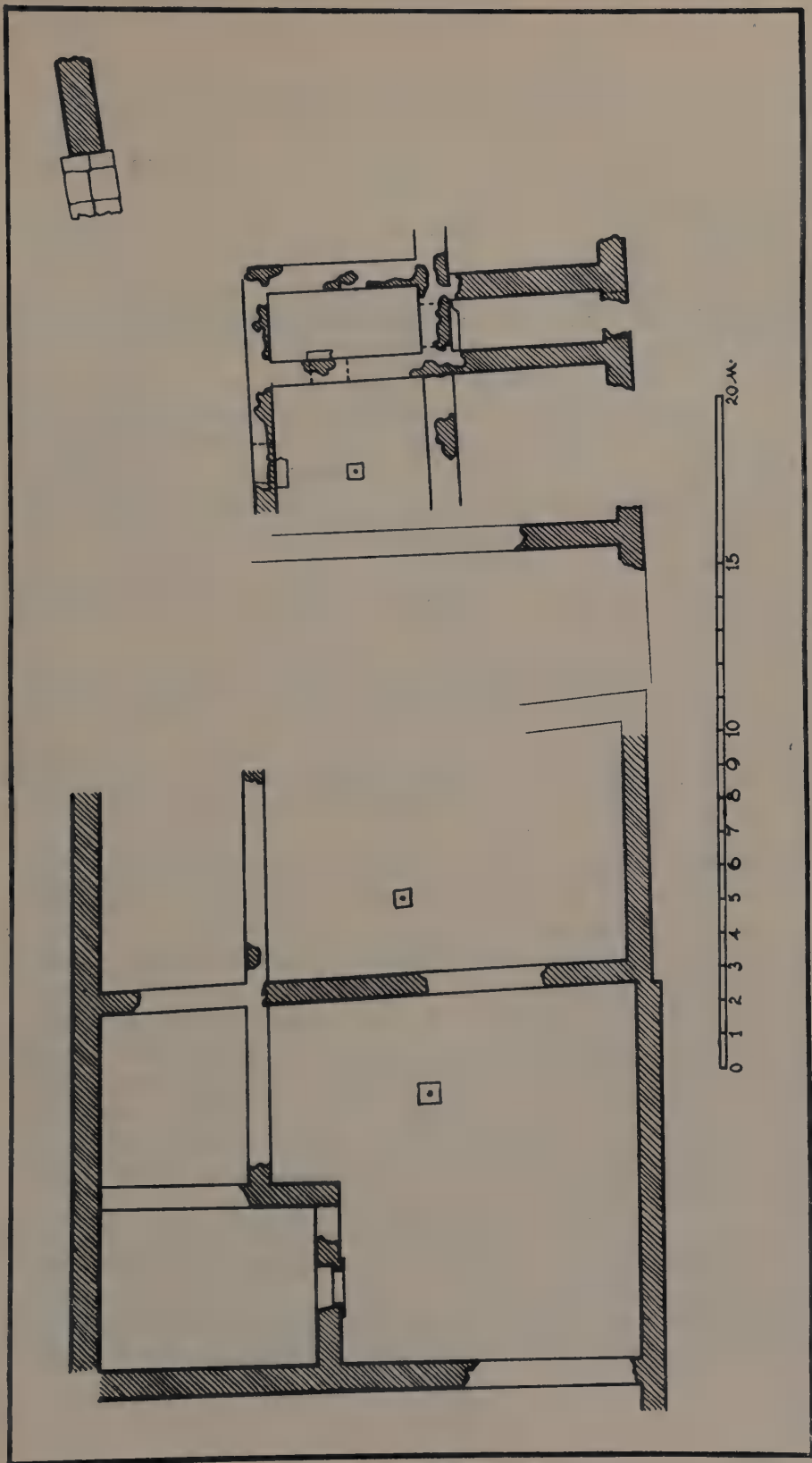


Fig. 52. Temple of the Gaddé. Period I, Plan.



*A. Period I.**(Fig. 52)*

Within the limits of the area the desert surface was practically level. The first builders found the bedrock, covered probably with thin patches of humus, sloping almost imperceptibly from south to north with a total rise of 0.43 m in 42.00 m.

Period I includes a number of walls diverse in construction, date, and degree of preservation, which together represent the earliest complete occupation of the area. They comprise: the foundations of the west wall of rooms 5a, 2a, 2b, and 6a; the foundations of the south wall of room 5a; the south wall of room 4a; a fragment of the south wall of room 4b at its departure from the foundations of the east wall of rooms 4b, 1a, and 1b; wall 4a—5a; a segment of the original north wall of 5a with its junction with the original east wall of rooms 2a, 2b, and 6a of which three fragments remain; wall 2a—2b—1c—1d—1a—1b; portions of the foundations of the east wall of rooms 7b, 10a, 10b, and 10c adjoining walls 7b—10a, 10a—10b, and 10b—10c; fragments of two east-west and two north-south walls in Ct.a with remains of three doorsteps; an isolated segment of wall and doorsill in room 13a. With these must be reckoned three shallow cesspools in 1c, 1d, and Ct.a respectively.

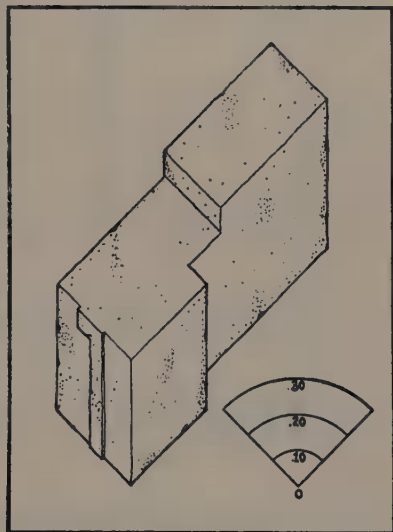
The segment of wall in area 13a is distinguished from the others enumerated above by its massive construction, its somewhat different orientation, and its lack of relation to the rest (Pl. VI, 1). It is 1.04 m. thick, and built of heavy mud rubble with large roughly-trimmed gypsum blocks on the faces and small chunks of gypsum in the interior. The doorsill, of which probably slightly more than half remains, is of carefully fitted gypsum slabs, and projects 0.22 m. before the west face and 0.26 m. before the east face of the wall. Its type without raised sill or projecting jambs is that of the early Hellenistic period at Dura. Wall and doorsill constitute the oldest remains on the site and probably formed part of an important structure of the Hellenistic period, early destroyed in whole or in part.

The interrelation of the remaining foundations assigned to Period I indicates that they belong to three separate buildings. The presumptive evidence of the plans that these were private houses is confirmed by the presence of the cesspools, invariable features of house courts at Dura. Walls 7b—10a, 10a—10b, 10b—10c with the adjacent fragments

of west wall and the walls in Ct.a are all that remain of the northern dwelling. They are of poor quality mud rubble originally probably rendered with a coat of mud. In its re-use in the ensuing period 10a—10b was pointed with plaster above floor level, while 7b—10a and 10b—10c were both pointed and heavily rendered. Walls 10a—10b and 10b—10c probably enclosed an entry passage from the street leading to a vestibule which gave on the court containing the cesspool. Part of the step before the doorway leading to a room west of the court is still in place. The *diwan* is probably to be restored in the location normal at Dura, south of the court. The room south of the entry passage may have been a large shop opening directly on the street. The related floor level as shown by the door steps lay only some 0.17 m. above bedrock.

The foundations of a room of Period II in area 1d were found to be constructed largely of blocks of reused stone door trim. Since these walls were presumably built immediately upon the demolition of the first period rooms beneath Ct.a, it is highly probable that their materials were obtained from the demolished rooms. Chief among the reused stones was the top block of a segmental door jamb (cut) cut with the seating for the lintel and moulded with a simple listel returned outward at the top. The type, known from other scattered examples at Dura, is typical of the late Hellenistic period. It is a modified form of a treatment familiar from Delos and Priene.

The east exterior foundations of the other two houses are, like the walls of the northern house, of mud rubble. They are somewhat more carefully made of large chunks of gypsum and red limestone snecked with smaller stones. The interior wall socles of both houses alike are of plaster rubble with good tight faces carefully pointed and rendered above floor level but with the interior packed with loose stones in mud and a minimum of plaster. This difference in construction probably bespeaks a difference in date, but of earlier interior walls of mud rubble no trace remains.



The center house suffered most severely in the second period rebuilding. Those of its foundations which were not reused were almost totally destroyed. Thus, though its south, east, and west bounding walls are clear, only one inner partition can be traced. The general location of the court is indicated by the cesspool.

The south portion of the southern house, since it persisted in an altered form through Periods II and III, is somewhat better preserved. The original location of the court is indicated by the cesspool. Room 4a, which later became a court, was probably in origin the *diwan*. The outlines of two west rooms in the area of the later 5a and 2a are clear.

It is evident from the junction of the east exterior foundations of the two houses that this wall of the center house was built first. Presumably, therefore, the original center house, which has left no other traces, was erected somewhat earlier than its neighbour to the south. The remaining other walls of both houses, however, show evidence of having been built simultaneously. Thus the west bounding wall of rooms 5a, 2a, 2b, and 6a which served both houses is all of a piece. The fragments of the east foundation of rooms 2a, 2b, and 6a with their perfect alignment and identity of construction point to the same conclusion. Apparently this portion at least of the block was first gradually built up with houses from north to south. Later the center and southern houses were together rebuilt except for their east exterior walls.

The cesspool of the southern house was filled in and abandoned at the end of Period I. The sherds found among its contents formed a series typical of the late second and early first centuries B. C.

### *B. Period II.*

*(Pl. VII, 1, 2; Figs. 53/54)*

The second period opens with the erection in the north half of the area of a new house considerably larger than those which preceded it. At the same time, or immediately afterward, the south half of the area was completely rebuilt.

The new house occupied the site of the northern house of Period I with the adjacent portions of the center house and of a building to the west. All the earlier walls within this area were razed with the exception of walls 7b—10a, 10a—10b, and 10b—10c. It has been remarked that a number of stones from the demolished walls appear

to have been reused in foundations constructed in area 1d. The rest probably found place as *caementa* in the new walls or were burned for plaster. For this purpose a kiln of mud brick was built amid the

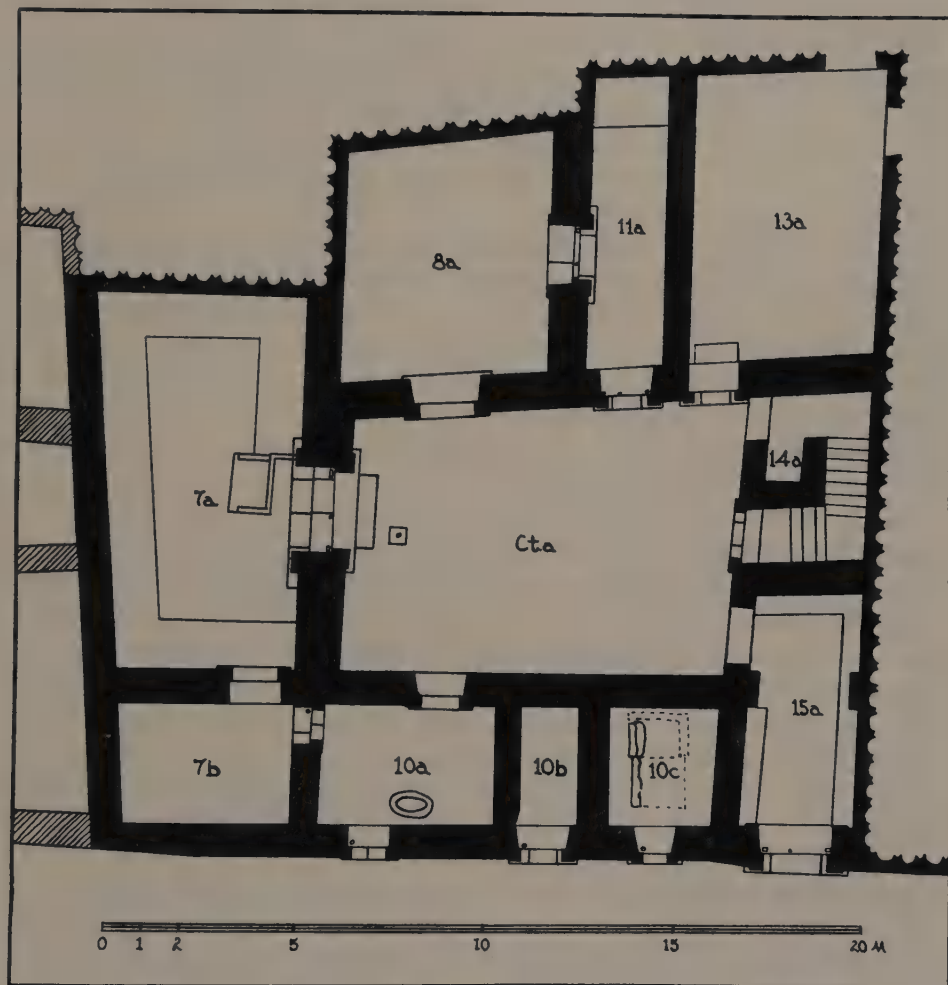


Fig. 53. Temple of the Gaddé. Period II, North House.

ruined first period foundations in the area laid out for the court of the new building. Its outside dimensions were 3.25 m.  $\times$  2.10 m. The fire box within measured 2.23 m.  $\times$  0.92 m., and had a narrow opening at either end for firing and draught. After its use during the building operations the kiln was destroyed and its walls were razed



to below the new floor level. Originally the fire box must have been roughly vaulted to support an oven chamber above.

The new walls were built with socles of plaster rubble footed on bedrock and laid in courses 0.66—0.68 m. high. The faces of each course were carefully laid up and pointed. The interior was filled with *caementa* set in mud with a modicum of plaster, and the top was plastered over. Four or five courses made up the socle which was heavily rendered with plaster down to floor level. The walls above were of mud brick mortared with mud and plaster-rendered. For structural reasons the rubble socle was carried up on either side of doorways and arches to the height of the opening or to the springing of the arch. Similarly, arches themselves were carried out in rubble, as was the newell-wall of the stair well. Only the trim of the doorways was in stone. The general level of the area was raised to an average of ca. 0.50 m. above bed rock by a fill of earth and debris of construction which contained few sherds. No pavements were laid down. The orifice of the first period cesspool of the north house was built up with rubble to the new court level.

The house was a typical well-to-do Dura dwelling whose plan finds its closest parallel in a much later building, the Christian house in Block M8.<sup>3</sup> Its center was the court (Ct.a) containing the cesspool and entered from the street by a right-angle turn through vestibule 15a. The latter, skirted by a narrow bench 0.52 m. high, was spanned by an arch and opened on the court by an archway 1.52 m. wide. From the street doorway, 1.68 m. wide between the jambs, a step of 0.22 m. led down to the floor within.

The south wall of the court was broken by the great doorway of the *diwan*. It was 2.04 m. wide between the jambs and preceded by a rubble step 0.16 m. high. Its reveals, revetted and floored with gypsum slabs, projected 0.14 m. on the interior. About all four walls of the *diwan* itself ran a low plaster bench, which terminated at the west side of the doorway against a plaster brazier. This consisted of a fire-marked hearth shielded on three sides by a parapet 0.32 m. high to the west and 0.26 m. higher on the south and east as a projection against draughts from the doorway. A doorway in the east wall gave on chamber 7b, which in turn communicated with shop 10a.

Off the west side of the court opened rooms 8a, 11a, and 13a which presumably constituted the domestic quarters. Rooms 8a and 11a communicated by a large doorway whose reveals were paved and

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 239—245, pl. XXXIX.



revetted with gypsum slabs. Across the end of 11a ran a low plaster bench. Into the northwest corner of 13a opened two doorways, one in the north wall probably from a shop on Main Street, the other in the west wall probably from the adjacent house. The presence of this neighbouring building defined the western limits of the new house and determined the orientation of the east and west walls of rooms 8a, 11a, and 13a. This alignment of the neighbouring house was itself apparently fixed by that of the earlier building represented by the fragment of foundation in 13a.

From the north side of the court opened the two doorways of the stair unit, 14a. The westernmost was an archway which gave entrance to a closet beneath the third flight and landing of the stair. The stair proper rose about an L shaped newell-wall. Two flights are preserved in place. The outlines of the steps of the third flight and of three steps of the fourth remain in the plaster rendering of the newell-wall. The risers average 0.16 m., the treads 0.29 m. There were four steps in the first flight and eight in the second, three in the third and probably seven in the fourth. The whole is most probably to be restored with a total rise of 5.65 m. in seven flights to the roof.

Along the east side of the house south of the vestibule was a row of three shops, 10a, 10b, and 10c. The partitions between these shops and portions of the street wall adjoining were retained from Period I. They were repaired, pointed with plaster and in two cases rendered. The street wall was completely rebuilt in conformity with the rest of the house. Shop-room 10a appears to have been the place of business of the house owner, since it communicates by doorways both with Ct.a and room 7b. Shops 10b and 10c, which were without direct connection with the house, were presumably let to other merchants. Beneath the floor of 10a in the southeast corner was a square box made of four mud bricks set on edge on a rude foundation of rocks. When found it was empty, but it may have served the proprietor as a hoarding place for money or valuables. Set in the floor itself just to the north of the entrance was the plaster bedding for an oval basin. The second period floor of shop 10c seems to have been largely taken up by a shallow double basin of plaster. Only the southern edge remains, but it suffices to show a flat upper basin rimmed on three sides with a lower rimless portion before it.

The remainder of the area occupied in Period I by the center house and the north portion of the southern house area were taken up by structures whose nature will be discussed in the sequel. The demolition

of the earlier walls was only less complete than in the north half of the area. Only the old east and west bounding walls and the south wall of the center house were retained. Of these the east exterior walls were repaired and pointed with gypsum plaster and at the junction with the wall of the north house completely rebuilt.

Somewhat more than two-thirds of the area thus obtained was taken up by a complex consisting of court 1c and rooms 1a, 2a, 2b, and 6a (fig. 54). The remaining area 1b—1d was made over into a long court with small rooms opening off it to the north. These changes were virtually contemporary with the building operations in the north area. Not only was the old center house shared between them, but the south wall of room 7b was built not as part of the house construction but as part of the rebuilding of the northeast corner of area 1b.

The new socles for the south wall of room 2a, the east wall of 2a and 2b, and partition 2b—6a, were of good stout plaster rubble footed on bedrock. They were solidly built throughout in courses of 0.62—0.64 m.; pointed and rendered even below floor level. The socle for the walls of room 1a was of the more usual type with tight faces and loose interior, rendered only above the ground line. Court and rooms remained unpaved and their levels appear to have changed little if at all from those of Period I.

Entrance to court 1c was through a narrow entry passage from a street doorway some 1.10 m. wide between the jambs. At the opposite end of the court opened the doorway, 1.14 m. between the jambs, of room 2a (pl. VI, 2). The latter was surrounded on three sides by a low plaster bench. On the north side, it terminates on a line 1.62 m. from the east wall, and gives the position of the missing doorway into 2b. Against the east wall was a rubble seat 0.47 m. high. In the southeast corner of the room the bench had a short curved arm along its outer edge. Room 2b was accessible only through 2a. Along its south wall ran a broad low bench. Only the eastern end, some 1.25 m., is preserved, and it is possible that the bench is to be restored along the west wall as well. The north wall was a thin partition closing off an inaccessible free space, 6a, between 2b and the adjoining house. Centered before it on the floor was a square fire-blackened hearth of plaster with a low rim along the east edge. The foundations of room 1a at the east side of the court were so ruinous that the precise dimensions of its doorway could not be determined. Its position in the west wall was, however, clear.

The plan of this complex lacks the characteristic elements of the

private house and shows certain distinctive features which place it in a quite different category. In it the domestic court-cesspool has been suppressed. Room 2a, obviously, as its appointments indicate, a reception or meeting room, is closely similar to the typical "chapel" of Dura temples. The false north wall of room 2b finds parallels only in the *naoi* of the Temple of Adonis and the Necropolis Temple. In these cases, as shown above (pp. 138 f., 183), the free space behind was designed to isolate the rear wall of the sanctuary, on or against which the image of the deity was placed, from contact with the exterior. The presumptive evidence furnished by these facts taken together, that the complex was a sort of informal sanctuary, is borne out by its subsequent history. It demands the assumption that room 2b was the *naos* with the likeness of a god or gods painted on or set before its north wall. The hearth before it must have served for burnt offerings. Room 2a seems to have been rather a religious meeting place than a true *pronaos*. Court 1c which stands in no direct relation to the *naos* has, like room 1a, no apparent religious character.

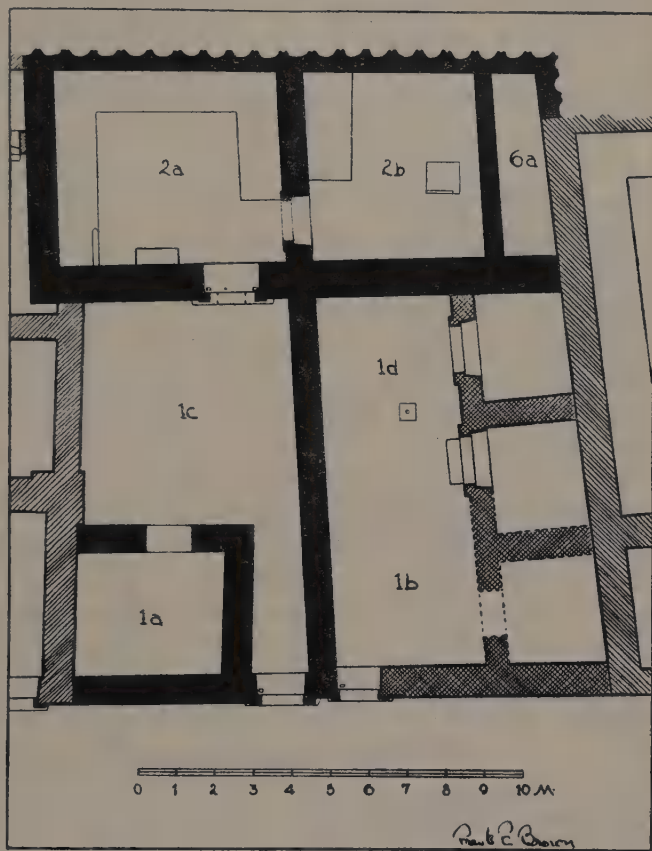


Fig. 54. Temple of the Gaddé. Period II, Central Complex.

Area 1b—1d was an entirely separate unit. Its court, entered directly from the street, contained the cesspool of the center house of Period I

which continued in use. Of the rooms along the north side of the court, most of the foundations of the westernmost and its doorsill remain<sup>4</sup> with the plaster bedding of the doorway of the room adjacent to the east. It is most plausible to restore three rooms of about equal size. The continued use of the cesspool might suggest that the little unit was a house, but the plan is quite exceptional. It was more probably a group of select shops facing an interior court, an arrangement not infrequently met with in the orient today.

The southern house of Period I had in consequence of the building operations of Period II been reduced to less than half of its former size. It was rebuilt at this scale in the form of a small court and living rooms behind a large shop giving on Street H. This rebuilding was accomplished in two stages during the course of the work on the neighbouring sanctuary. The first step was the erection of the west and north walls of 4b to form a shop. This was effected after the demolition of the area had been accomplished but before the rebuilding had begun. Thus the northwest corner of 4b is treated as a free exterior corner with a buttress, while the north wall of 4a and the west wall of 1a were subsequently made to abut against it without bonding. The owner, apparently, was resolved that there should be no interruption of business though he himself was obliged to lodge off the premises. The next step accompanied or immediately followed the construction of rooms 2a and 2b. Area 4a, which in Period I had probably been the *diwan*, was remodelled as the court of the new dwelling. At its northwest corner a stump of first period wall was left projecting from the face of wall 2a—1c. This was united to the northwest corner of 4b by wall 4a—1c which closed the new court on the north. The new court was not provided with a cesspool but against its west and south walls a stairway leading to the roof was erected. The four lowest steps showing treads of 0.28 m. and risers of 0.24 m. and a bit of the landing remain. Against the south wall stands the base of the pier from which were sprung the arches that supported the second flight. The western end of room 5a was walled off to form a narrow chamber probably used as a sleeping room. It was entered by a jambless opening probably not hung with doors. The socles of the new walls were of solid plaster rubble pointed with plaster down to bedrock. Five courses of grey mud-brick remain on the socle in room 5a.

<sup>4</sup> For their construction, see above, p. 221.



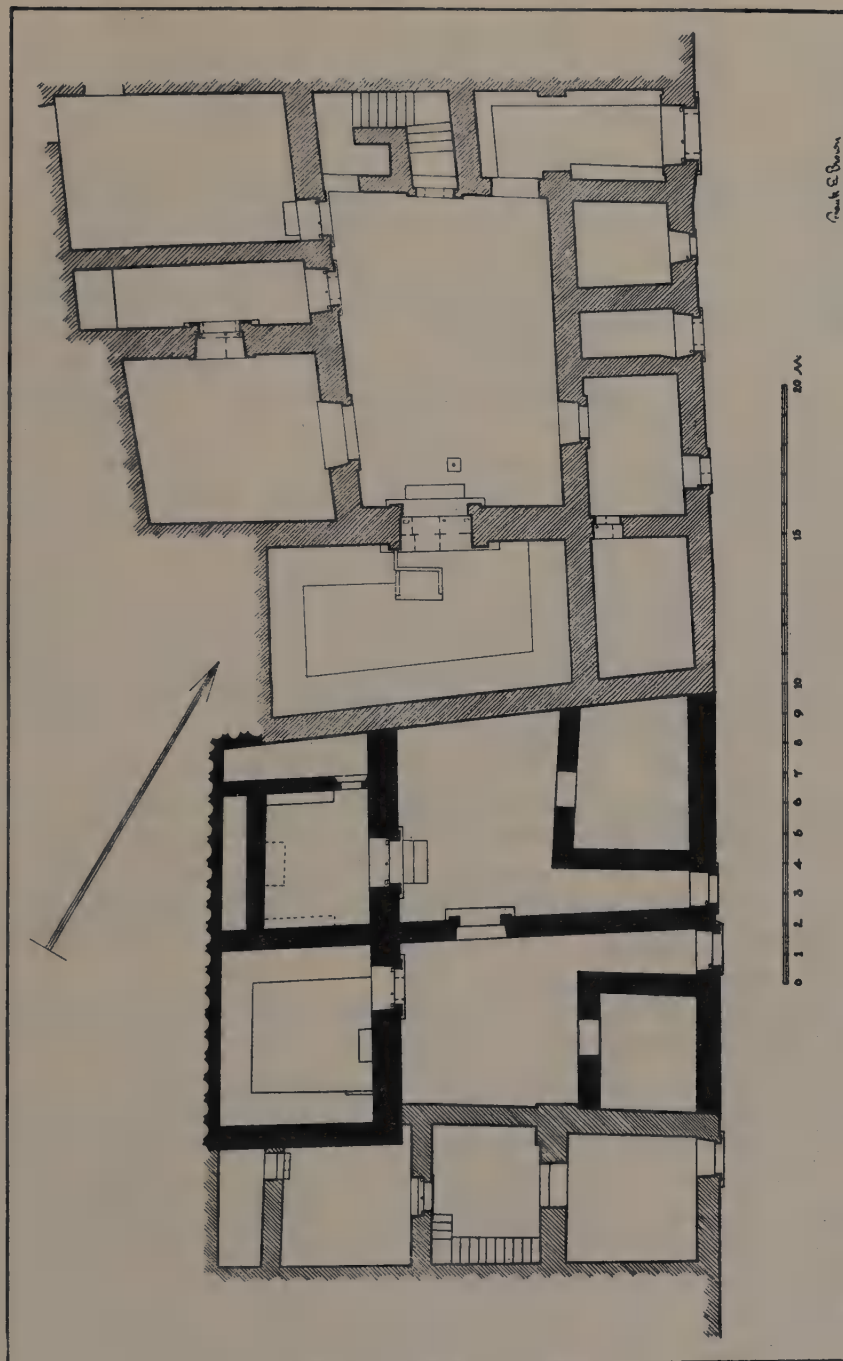


Fig. 55. Temple of the Gaddé. Perid III, Schematic Plan.



*C. Period III.**(Pl. VII, 1, 2; Fig. 55.)*

The changes which inaugurated a new period in the history of the area were restricted to the central sanctuary complex. Only unimportant alterations are traceable in other parts of the area.

The disposition of the units of the central complex was modified in consequence of the absorption of area 1b—1d. Here the pre-existing walls were totally removed or razed to below ground level. A new room, 1b, corresponding in position to room 1a of court 1c was erected with a rubble socle of similar construction. Its doorway is likewise to be placed in the west wall. A doorway, a fragment of the bedding of whose sill remains, was cut to unite the two courts 1c and 1d. The general level of both was raised some 0.20—0.40 m., and in court 1d a pronounced slope up to the west is noticeable. The old cesspool which had persisted through Period II was filled in and covered over.

In the east wall of room 2b a doorway, some 1.40 m. between the jambs, was cut opening directly from court 1d. Before it two rubble steps led down to court level. In consequence the axis of 2b was shifted from north-south to east-west. A doorway was cut in the east end of partition 2b—6a, making the latter a narrow side chamber. The west end of 2b was walled off with a new partition on a rubble socle to leave a free space answering to the new orientation. Doorway 2a—2b was walled up. The floor level was raised some 0.80 m. by a fill of earth and debris. A narrow bench, 0.36 m. high, built at this level along the north wall, was preserved by its reuse in the next period. A corresponding bench is probably to be restored in the symmetrical position against the south wall.

The floor level of room 2a remained unchanged. The bench along its north wall was continued to the corner across the blocked doorway to room 2b.

These changes bespeak a development toward a more formal differentiation of the parts of the complex in accord with their functions. Room 2b becomes a typical temple *naos* with its sacristy. It is oriented and has a doorway on axis opening from its own forecourt. Room 2a loses its superficial character of *pronaos* and remains a simple meeting room. It is severed from direct connection with the sanctuary and has its own forecourt united with the sanctuary court by a doorway but with a separate street entrance. Implicit in this formal division of the

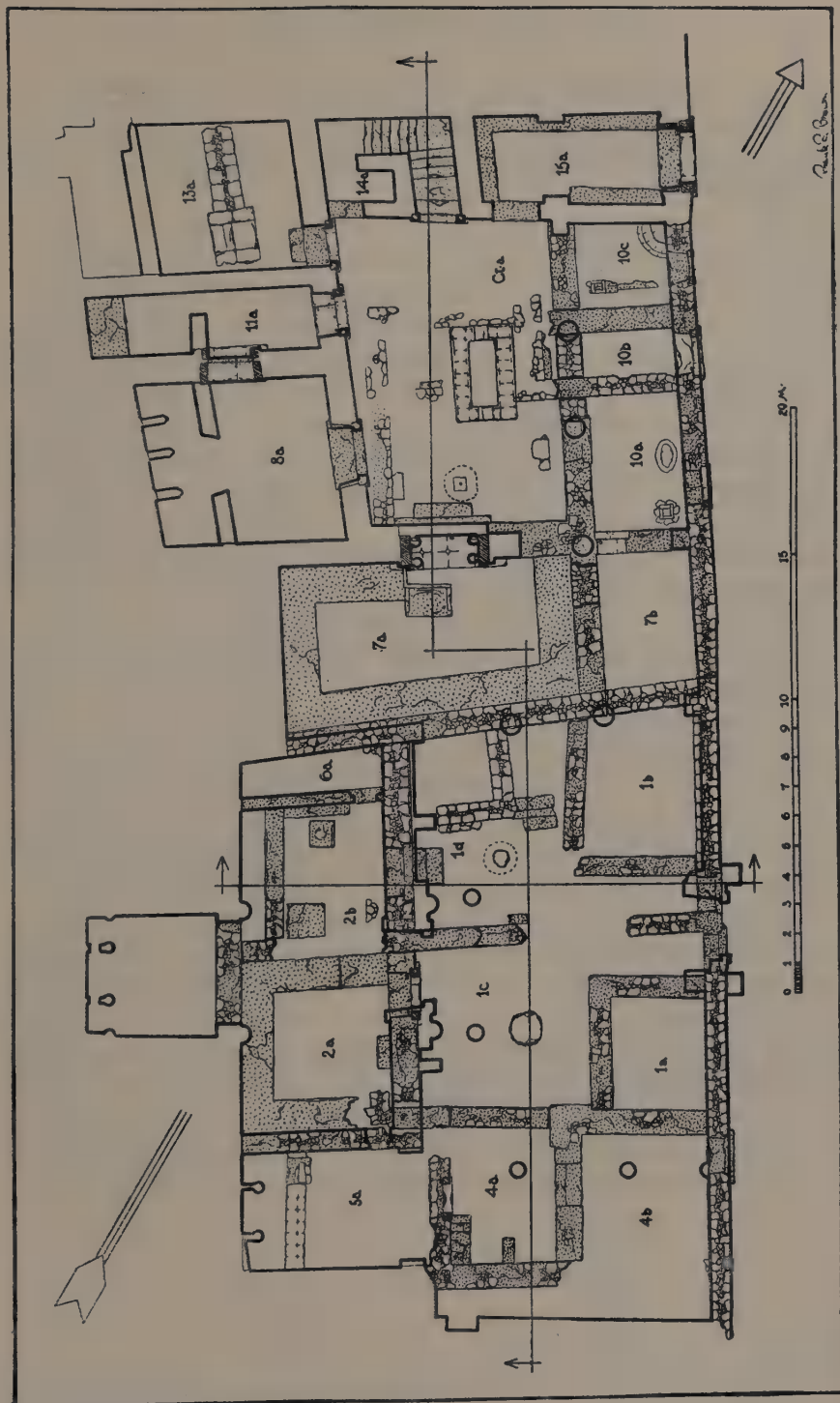


Fig. 56. Block H1, Working Plan.

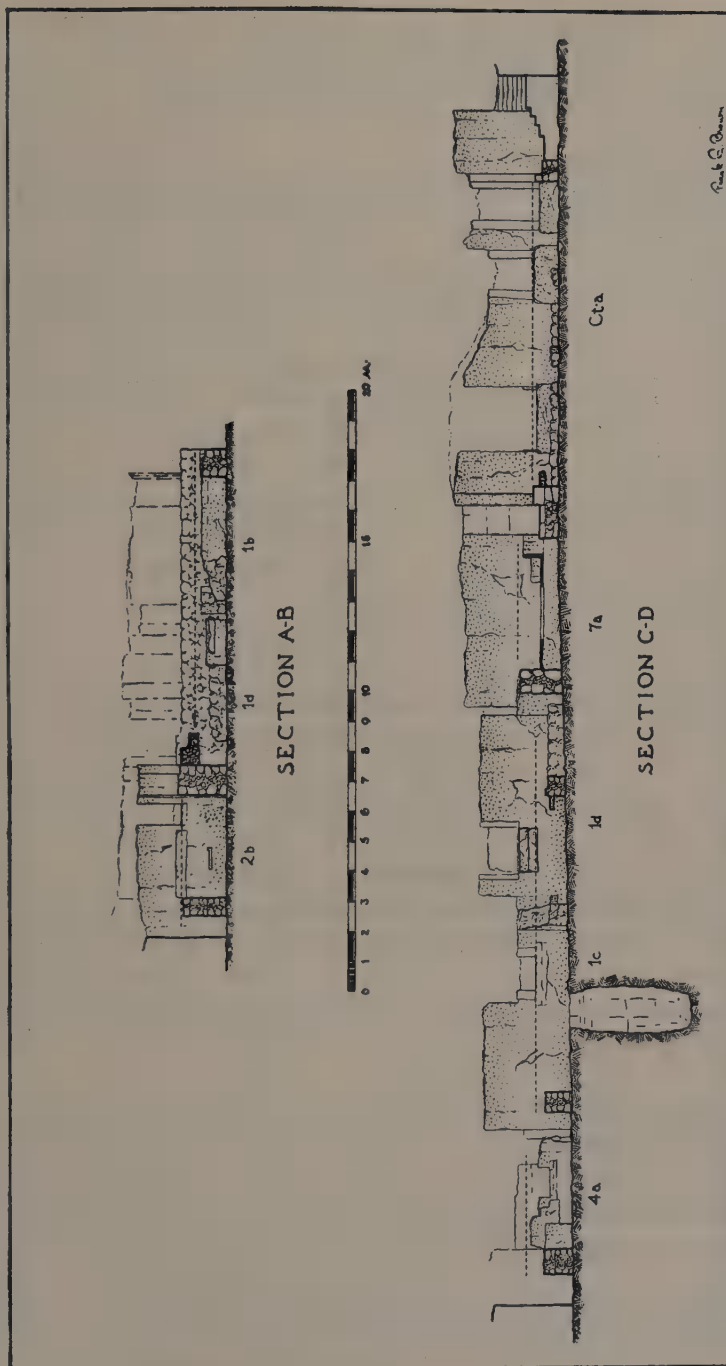
complex into a purely religious and a quasi-secular portion is the suggestion that it was meant to serve a group organized along these lines, a group essentially religious in character whose program included certain features of a temporal nature.

In the next period rooms 2a and 2b were thrown together, doorway 2b—1d was walled up, and a new room was added to the west. In effecting these changes it was necessary to raise the floor of 2a to the same level as that of 2b. This was accomplished by a fill of earth and debris in which were found some four hundred fragments of painted plaster. Others came to light beneath the floor of the new west room and in the rubble used to block doorway 2b—1d. The fragments were part of the mural decoration of a room in the Period III complex and it is natural to infer that the room was *naos* 2b. They are insufficient to permit an accurate reconstruction of the subject represented. It is only clear that it was a scene in which gods in military dress figured, a scene presumably of sacrifice with worshippers whose names were written above their heads in Greek and Palmyrene.<sup>5</sup> Servitors on a smaller scale figured in the background, and there was probably more than one register. Important in the general scheme was an arched *aedicula*. The room itself was crowned by a moulded projecting cornice, and its ceiling was decorated with applied gilt plaster rosettes.

The contents of the cesspool in court 1d, which was abandoned at the beginning of Period III, provided a roughly stratified ceramic series running from the second century B. C. well into the first century after Christ. The sherds found in the Period III fill beneath the floor of 2b were typical of the first half of the first century of our era.

At some time during this period shop 10c in the north area underwent alterations. Its plaster basins were partially destroyed and the floor level was raised some 0.47 m. In the northeast corner a stepped quadrantal base of mud-brick, 0.62 m. high overall, was built. Near the southwest corner on top of the remains of the old plaster basin a square box of mud brick like that of shop 10c was sunk in the floor. These changes may be taken to indicate a change of proprietors and probably of the commodity sold in the shop.

<sup>5</sup> Below, pp. 268—271; no. 913, pp. 282 f.

Fig. 57. Block H<sub>1</sub>, Sections.

*D. Period IV.**(Figs. 67—71, Facing p. 254)*

The new period brings the culmination of the progressive development of the sanctuary complex. It now engrosses the entire area under discussion by taking over the house areas which flanked it on either side. The dualism of plan notable in Period III was emphasized by the retention of the greater part of the north house as a sort of chapter house and by the conversion of the rest of the area to a full-blown temple.

The adaptation of the north house was achieved with a minimum of destruction. Only the *diwan*, 7a, and the four east rooms were radically affected. The entire south wall of the house, the east end of wall 7a-Ct.a, the east and west walls of rooms 7b, 10a, 10b, and 10c, as well as partitions 7b—10a, 10a—10b, and 10b—10c were razed to the new floor level. The exterior doorway openings of shops 10a, 10b, and 10c were walled up, and the whole east exterior wall socle was rebuilt in plaster rubble on the old foundations.

The new plan of the temple in the south half of the area required the demolition of all the earlier structures, and these were accordingly, with the exception of the south wall of room 2a and the east wall of 2a, 2b, and 6a, razed to beneath the new floor level. Here again the east exterior wall socle was rebuilt in plaster rubble on the old foundations, as were the west socle of rooms 5a, 2a, 2b, and 6a, the south socle of 5a and the north socle of 6a. The reused socles of 2a, 2b, and 6a were repaired and given a heavy rendering of plaster, in some places 0.16 m. thick. New foundations were necessary only for the walls of room 3 added to the west and for the south wall of room 4, which was moved 0.90—1.40 m. south of the old south wall of rooms 4a and 4b. These operations were attended by a process of grading and levelling which raised the level in the areas of demolition variously from 0.22 m. to 1.04 m.

The essential elements of the plan of the southern temple proper are: a large open court (1), a broad *pronaos* and smaller *naos* (2 and 3), two large flanking chambers (4 and 7) open to the court through colonnades, and a secondary sanctuary (5).

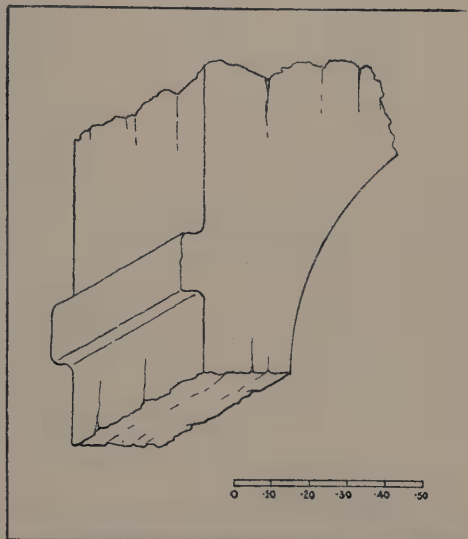
The temple court was entered from H Street by a monumental doorway, 1.73 m. wide between the jambs, approximately on the main axis of *naos* and *pronaos*. The doorway was flanked by heavy buttresses 0.80 m. wide with a projection of 0.50 m. Like the similar buttresses



at the entrance to the Temple of Adonis,<sup>6</sup> they are survivals of the tower feature of Babylonian temple gateways. Later in the period a porch of two columns 3.97 m. wide and 2.65 m. deep was added before the doorway. The slender rubble columns set opposite the buttresses and 0.64 m. in diameter at the base, undoubtedly supported a simple rubble cornice though no fragments of it were found. They were joined to the buttresses by rubble arches probably sprung from the shafts at the height of the doorway lintel (cf. section CC, fig. 70).

An extant fragment of this arching (cut) shows the manner in which it was fixed to the face of the buttress. A tenon 0.16 m. wide was left projecting 0.07 m. from the abutting face of the arch to fit into a mortise worked in the face of the buttress. The porch was paved with gypsum mortar, 0.13 m. thick.

The jamb caps and lintel of the gypsum door trim were moulded with the typical system of alternate cavetti and fillets. The reveals were deepened to contain the open doors by heavy pilasters of ca.



0.90 m. projection framing the opening of the interior. The northwest angle of the north pilaster was treated as an engaged quarter column. The area between the reveals was paved with gypsum slabs, 0.08 m. thick on the average, and from it two steps, 0.16 m. and 0.17 m. high, led down to the court. To the west face of the north pilaster a small rubble altar, 0.64 m. high, was engaged. Into the angle north of this pilaster was built a stepped rubble altar (fig. 58 A). It comprised a small step 0.50 m. high in the corner before the quarter column, and the main altar ca. 0.70 m. high, with a portion against the wall ca. 0.24 m. higher. In the angle behind the south pilaster stood the main altar of the sanctuary. It was found in excellent preservation, all but intact (fig. 58 B). The altar itself consists of a cube of rubble 1.10 m. high, its surface area, 0.81 m.  $\times$  0.62 m., faced with slabs of gypsum, preceded by another rubble cube of the same surface area 0.19 m. lower. It

<sup>6</sup> Above, p. 142.

was approached from the south by three rubble steps. Against the west face of the altar and steps were two small and one large rubble altars whose upper surface showed shallow cups with abundant traces of fire.

The level court, 14.10 m.  $\times$  9.70 m. in greatest dimensions, is completely paved with burnt bricks, averaging 0.32 m. square and 0.045 m. thick, laid on a thick bed of ash and cinders. On the west it was completely closed by the rich façade of the sanctuary unit (section 'AA', fig. 68).

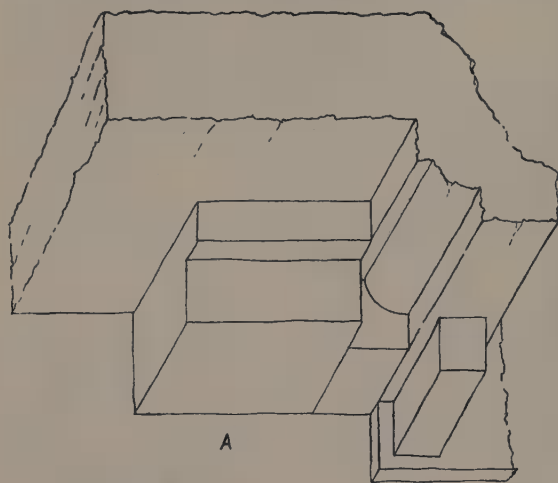


Fig. 58 A. Temple of the Gaddé,  
Period IV. Altars.

At 2.60 m. and 3.15 m. respectively from the south and north corners rose heavy rubble buttresses, 0.45—0.50 m. wide and 0.70 m. deep, reminiscent again of the towers of Babylonian temple façades. The south buttress rests on a rubble plinth 0.55 m. high and a bevelled gypsum base block 0.12 m. thick. The north buttress has merely a plain unprofiled gypsum base 0.15 m. high. The entire central section of the façade, 5.70 m. wide, containing the doorway, was

given unity and emphasis by having a projection of 0.46 m. in additional wall thickness beyond the walls on either side. The monumental doorway, whose sill is 0.86 m. above the level of the court, was preceded by a porch of two columns, accessible from the court by two stone steps, 0.18 m. and 0.19 m. high respectively. The slender rubble columns of the porch were 0.58 m. in diameter at the base and 0.52 m. in diameter at the top. The shafts measured 4.86 m. high, and rested on square gypsum bases, 0.13 m. high, which crowned square rubble plinths, 0.59 m. high, set into the corners of the porch. Of the capitals, which were doubtless Doric and of rubble, no trace remains.

The columns were made up of rubble drums 0.60 m. to 0.80 m. high and were found fallen complete save for the caps in the court before the porch.

To these columns corresponded engaged half-columns on either side the doorway. Together they carried a simple rubble cornice crowned

with a flat fascia, which served to mask the ceiling beams and supported a low parapet.

The recovered fragments of cornice and parapet permit an accurate restoration (elevation, fig. 68; section 'CC', fig. 70). The cornice was reinforced with rounds of wood embedded in the rubble mass. Along either side of the porch ran a low raised curb, 0.14 m. high.

The principal, if not the only, source of light for the *pronaos* would

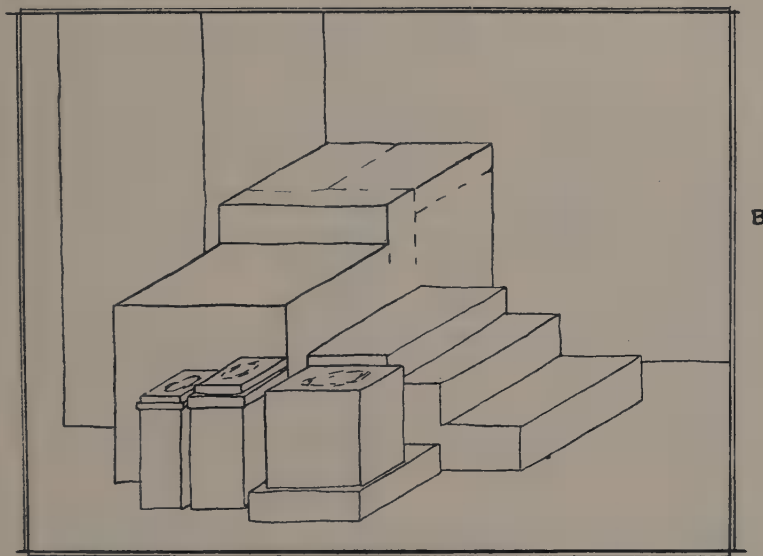


Fig. 58 B. Temple of the Gaddé. Period IV. Altars.

have been the doorway, which, however, was, except in the early morning, kept in shadow by the porch. A great opening was therefore left in the wall above the porch roof and closed on the façade by a rubble screen 0.18 m. thick pierced with four arched windows. The two central windows were higher and wider than those at the sides. At the ends and between the openings were slender engaged half-colonnettes.

Numerous fragments of this feature were found lying on the steps before the porch. Those essential to the restoration are shown in fig. 59. Fragment 1 shows the springing of a large and a small arch. From the traces at the top of the colonnette it is probable that it had originally a simple cap of stone or rubble. From the spans of the arches as indicated by this fragment it is clear that the space above the porch did

not contain more than four with their piers. Fragment 2 is from a free pier. It shows the springing of an arch at the left and is preserved high enough on the right to show that the arch on that side sprang from the same level. It therefore belongs to the central pier from which the two large arches of equal size sprang. The only other position into which it might be fitted is already occupied by Fragment 1. Fragment 3 makes it clear that there were half-colonnettes at either end as well as between the windows. It shows a segment on the side of an opening, a colonnette, and a portion of the wall surface adjacent.

The entire façade was crowned by a broad, flat moulding marking the roof and surmounted by a parapet pierced at the base with semi-circular openings for rain water pipes. With the aid of the many fragments found in the court and within the *pronaos* itself their dimensions may be restored as follows: height of moulding, 0.24 m.; projection, 0.07 m.; height of parapet, 0.52 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

North of the projection of the doorway-section of the façade as far as the north buttress ran a low rubble bench incorporating the top doorstep of Period III doorway 1d—2b. Close beside the north side of the porch on an L projection of the bench stood a small round rubble altar found lacking its top. On the south the projection of the doorway section is separated from the buttress by only 0.33 m. To a height of 0.93 m. this space was filled solid with rubble and above was treated as a niched *aedicula*. The frame of the niche took the form of a tiny temple façade (fig. 60). Unfluted gypsum colonnettes rise from bases composed of a square plinth and crude torus which rest on a bevelled base-slab. The colonnettes are crowned by squat, spreading foliate caps and support a miniature entablature and tympanum. In the tympanum are figured a six-petalled rosette, doubtless solar, with a palm branch at either side. The base slab bore the two-line Palmyrene dedication by one Malku, son of Yarhai, son of Nasor.<sup>7</sup> Beneath the niche on a ledge of rubble 0.44 m. high stood a small *thymiaterion*, while in the court before it was a rectangular rubble altar.

The *pronaos* doorway, 2.12 m. wide between the jambs, had jamb caps and lintel moulded with the conventional cavetti and fillets. The reveals were slightly deepened by shallow pilasters which framed the opening towards the interior. Between them a step of 0.16 m. revetted with slabs of gypsum leads down to the *pronaos* floor.

The *pronaos*, 11.05 m. wide and 5.10 m. deep, had a height from floor to ceiling of about 8.00 m. The wall opposite the doorway was

<sup>7</sup> No. 911, below, pp. 281 f.

broken by the great arched opening of the *naos* (3), itself hardly more than an alcove off the *pronaos*. The north and south walls were pierced at their west ends by narrow doorways. The entire central and north portions of the room were originally floored with baked brick of four sizes: 0.25—0.27 m. square, 0.32—0.33 m. square, 0.38—0.40 m. square, 0.58—0.60 m. square. The southern portion was plaster floored. Later the northeast corner received a light plaster flooring over the brick. Against all the available walls were narrow rubble benches 0.42—0.45 m. high. The east half of the north bench was merely the bench of Period III with an added 0.19 m. of rubble. Just south of the entrance a niche 0.43 m. deep and 0.62 m. high was let into the wall.

All the walls were decorated with paintings of which hundreds of tiny fragments were found in the room.<sup>8</sup> The base of the walls was left blank as dado. At 0.90 m. from the floor

ran a heavy red bottom border, traces of which remain on all three walls of the south portion of the room. The subjects were disposed in panels of irregular width separated by similar heavy red borders, the departure of several of which is just visible above the bottom border. The paucity of the fragments in relation to the total wall-space renders it impossible to determine the arrangement of the panels in registers or to reconstruct the subjects in detail. The scenes appear to have been narrative in character. Among the fragments the heads of two gods, perhaps Ba'al Shamin and a radiate sun god, recur in various contexts.

The arched opening of the *pronaos* was framed by rubble half-columns rising from square plinths, 0.62 m. high, capped by flat gypsum

<sup>8</sup> Below, pp. 272—274.

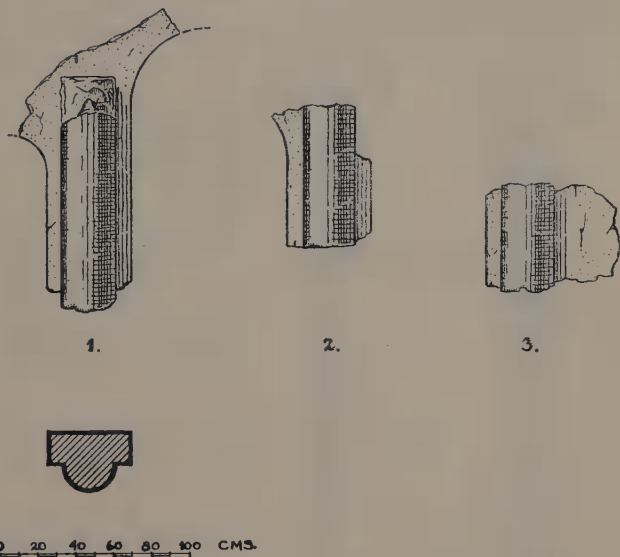


Fig. 59. Temple of the Gaddé. Window Details.



bases 0.07 m. high (fig. 69). The half-columns, though no fragments of their capitals were identified, were presumably Doric. They carried a rubble cornice which has been plausibly restored from the many

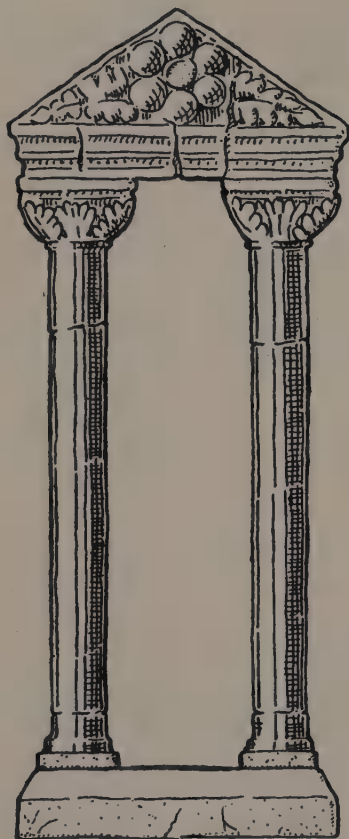


Fig. 60. Temple of the Gaddé. *Aedicula*.

small fragments as ca. 0.54 m. high overall and moulded with three flat fasciae. The fragments of the intrados of the arch itself indicate that it was painted solid red. The low rubble sill was laid on the razed west wall foundations in two long strips, each 0.43 m. wide. The surface of the first strip was slotted for the reception of a grill or screen, probably of wood, since no traces of metallic oxidation were evident. It consisted of two stationary side wings and a swinging central portion.

At either side of the sill 0.09 m. from its edge run slots 0.80 m. long, 0.06 m. wide, and 0.07 m. deep, for the stationary bottom rails, terminating at either end in rectangular sinkings, 0.14 m. long, 0.13 m. wide, and 0.08 m. deep, for the stationary stiles. The end sinkings are let into the faces of the impost pilasters which are grooved above for the outer stiles. The existence of a central swinging portion is indicated by the slot, 0.47 m. long, 0.18 m. wide, 0.06 m. deep, in the center of the sill just behind the line of the side slots. It was clearly intended to receive a wooden block slotted to take the vertical bolts which held the swinging portion shut.

At a distance of 0.50 m. in front of the sill beneath a bipedal of the *pronaos* flooring the temple foundation deposit was uncovered (fig. 61). In a roughly circular bed of loose rubble, 0.56—0.60 m. in diameter and 0.26 m. thick the bottom of a commonware pot, 0.29 m. in greatest diameter and 0.205 m. deep, was imbedded to a depth of 0.15 m. The projecting rim was protected by a circular gypsum collar 0.06 m. thick, its upper surface flush with the bottom of the brick paving. The depth of the pot was reduced to 0.18 m. by a round false bottom of plaster,

the purpose of which is not apparent. In the pot mixed with sifted earth were twenty one rude amulets and a small hemispherical bronze bowl.

The amulets comprise six large unshaped pebbles with water or windworn holes, four similar pebbles with small pierced holes, eight mussel-shells with holes worn or pierced, two hemispherical clay beads, one square green glass bead. Such naturally perforated stones or mussel-shells and imitations of them form the simplest effective amulets known to primitive man. Precisely such amulets are used

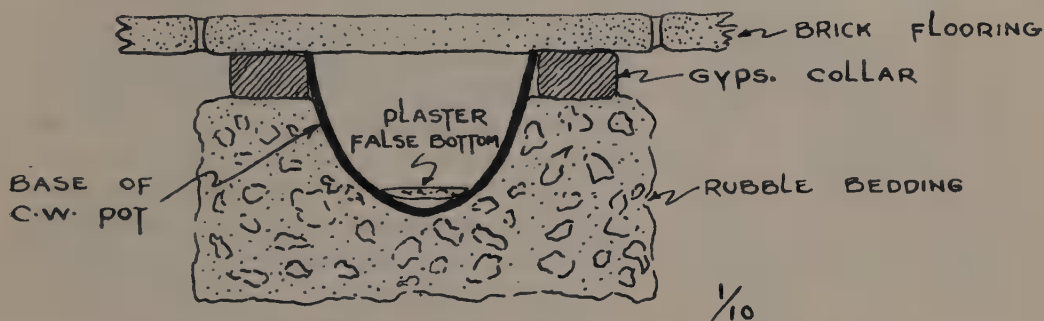


Fig. 61. Temple of the Gaddé. Foundation Deposit.

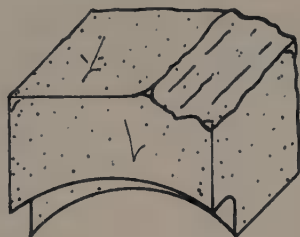
today by the Arab witch (*Ftihat Fal*) in divining. Deposited as here before the threshold of the sanctuary they constituted a potent protection against the working of evil spirits.

The *naos* measured 4.48 m. by 4.12 m. (Pl. IX, 1). Its western end was occupied by three arched niches on a socle 0.84 m. high approached by two steps 0.25 m. and 0.34 m. high. The surface of the socle was divided into three parts by two plinths and two half-plinths 0.45 m. and 0.23 m. wide and 0.24 m. high, running its full depth. Into the forward ends of the plinths were let the square gypsum bases of two colonnettes and two engaged half colonnettes. The round feet of the colonnettes 0.37 m. in diameter were worked from the same base blocks. The colonnettes themselves were of rubble and carried simple square gypsum caps 0.45 m. on a side. The arches, which sprang from the outer edges of the caps, were probably unadorned save for an angular cavetto run along the outer edge of the intrados.

The arches were built of cast rubble sections fitted together like stone blocks with mortar. Each arch appears to have been constructed

of three such sections. The cut shows the central concrete section of one of the side arches. The sections are not cast as voussoirs with radiating beds so that the arches are not true self-supporting elements.<sup>9</sup>

To the backs of the two center colonnettes were engaged slender pilasters 0.21 m. wide with a projection of 0.14 m. to which corresponded similar pilasters with a projection of 0.06 m. on the rear wall. They carried arches which supported the diminutive vaults of the niches.



A preserved fragment of this vaulting (fig. 62) shows that it was covered with painted red decoration on the white plaster ground. Along the edge ran a band 0.06 m. wide. Within it was a deep running chevron in the openings of which were crude four-petal rosettes.

At the back of the center niche was a low moulded plinth 0.26 m. high, projecting at the top 0.32 m. from the wall. It consisted of a doorway lintel of the normal type, moulded with two broad fasciae, two cavetti separated by fillets, and a crowning fascia, set upside down. Its length of 1.28 m. is scant for a doorway of the type to have carried so heavy a lintel, but there is no evidence of its having been cut down for reuse. The character of its mouldings is typical of the mid second century after Christ, and it is best to assume that the

plinth was made for the position it occupies by a local stone-cutter whose repertory of mouldings was confined to those current for lintels.

Through the edge of the upper step before the niches on the axes of the two central colonnettes were driven circular holes, 0.08 m. in diameter, which descend plaster-lined 0.60 m. into the earth fill beneath the *naos* floor level. In the course of time they were worn and enlarged by use and broke through the front face of the step. They were then replaced by rectangular blocks of gypsum 0.24 m. × 0.13 m. × 0.08 m. thick let into the next lower step and pierced with holes 0.07 m. in diameter descending vertically but communicating below floor level with the old channels. It is conceivable that both sets were

<sup>9</sup> For a parallel in stone, cf. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, pp. 19, 25 f.

intended for the reception of cult standards. However, in view of the depth to which they descend into the fill, and of the fact that they are not closed at the bottom, and that in the later scheme they no longer descended in a single vertical line, they were more probably drains.<sup>10</sup> Their orifices were probably masked by portable altars of libation.<sup>10</sup>

The room is floored with stout gypsum plaster. Along its side walls run narrow benches at the height of the lower step before the niches. Their top surfaces are broken by four circular sinkings, three in the south bench, one in the north, which vary from 0.04 m. to 0.08 m. in diameter and from 0.06 m. to 0.11 m. deep. There is a similar socket in the floor against the lower step near the north-west corner. No clue remains to the objects they were intended to hold, whether standards, ex-votos, or, perhaps, candelabra.

In scattered fragments throughout the room were found four bas-reliefs and fragments of another. They lay beneath and amid the debris of the upper walls and ceiling and columns and vaults of the niches. They show no traces of intentional mutilation or wanton damage and must have been reduced to their fragmentary state solely by the circumstances of the destruction of the room in which they stood. The two smaller reliefs, IV and V,<sup>11</sup> representing Iarhibol and Apollo-Nebo and cut in gypsum, were found in few fragments practically complete. The two larger reliefs, I and II,<sup>12</sup> which form a pair, were cut in brittle Palmyra limestone, and are somewhat less complete in thirty two and thirty seven fragments respectively. They

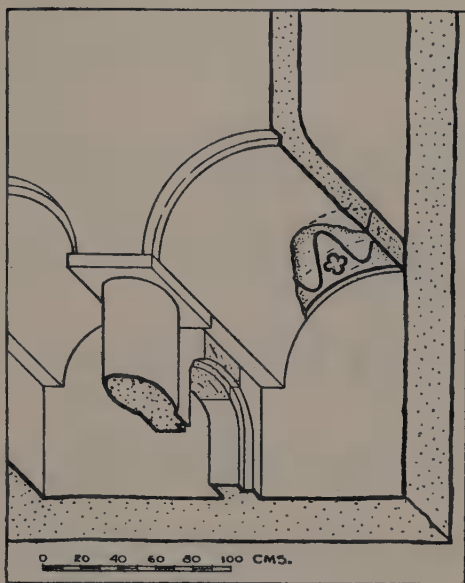


Fig. 62. Temple of the Gaddé.  
Vaulting.

<sup>10</sup> For parallels, cf. above, p. 187; H. Frankfort, "Tell Asmar, Khafaje, and Khorsabad" (*Second Preliminary Report of the Iraq Expedition*, Oriental Institute Communications, no. XVI, 1933) pp. 22 f.

<sup>11</sup> Below, pp. 264—266.

<sup>12</sup> Below, pp. 258—262.



represent respectively the Gaddé of Dura and Palmyra and bear identical Palmyre inscriptions recording their dedication in 159 A. D., by one Hairan, son of Malku, descendant of Nasor. Of relief III, likewise of Palmyra limestone, and apparently from the same hand as I and II, only nine minor fragments remain.<sup>13</sup> They suffice, however, as will appear, to show that it was much larger than any of the others, and probably represented Malakhbel or Iarhibol. The recovered fragments are all from those portions which projected furthest from the background and it must be assumed that the great slab lay amid the debris relatively undamaged and was removed by pillagers<sup>14</sup> in search of building material or antiquities. Reliefs I, II, and III, which formed a unified group, were, in all probability, the cult images and occupied the three niches. I and II measure 0.59 m. and 0.62 m. in breadth and answer well enough to the breadth of the side niches, i. e. 0.86 m.

Room 6, entered from the *pronaos* by the doorway retained from Period III and only 0.70 m. wide between the jambs, is 4.90 m. in greatest length and 1.45 m. in greatest breadth. Its walls were undecorated. It apparently continued to serve as a sacristy but differs from the rooms so designated in other Dura temples in communicating with the *pronaos* rather than the *naos*.

The temple court is flanked on the south by a portico of two columns behind which lies room 4. The columns rest on a stylobate of rubble, 0.43 m. high above the court and 0.74 m. wide, which terminates with the westernmost column. They have square gypsum bases, 0.68 m. on a side and 0.22 m. high, with a round collar of the diameter of the foot of the shaft worked on the upper surface. The shafts, 0.60 m. in diameter at the base and 0.54 m. in diameter at the top, are each made up of five cast rubble drums 0.80—0.83 m. high and measure 4.08 m. in height. The abacus of the crude Doric cap is 0.70 m. on a side and 0.09 m. thick. The echinus is 0.10 m. thick and has a pronounced convex swelling. Both columns complete with their caps were found fallen across room 4.

The columns carried a cornice of rubble reinforced with rounds of

<sup>13</sup> Below, pp. 262—264.

<sup>14</sup> There is abundant evidence that, after its sack and abandonment, the city was casually ransacked for materials of use or value presumably by natives of the nearby villages and, perhaps, by scattered remaining inhabitants. This is the explanation for the almost total absence of large objects of metal, utensils, vessels, statues, and for the disappearance of much easily removable stone work. Traces of this unsystematic spoliation have been occasionally noted in preceding reports (*Rep. V*, pp. 55 f., 81 f.; *Rep. VI*, pp. 34 f.).



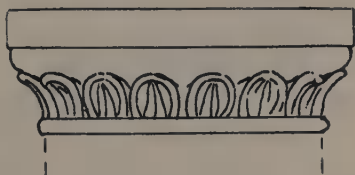
wood. It was 0.70 m. high overall, moulded with three flat fasciae 0.25 m., 0.32 m., and 0.13 m. high from top to bottom, and crowned by a parapet 0.48 m. high. Large fragments of both cornice and parapet were found in room 4. The portico was terminated at its eastern end by an engaged half-column. At the western end the cornice ended against the spandrel of the arch of room 5, and no vertical supporting member was possible. Probably a small bracket projected from the spandrel. From the *pronaos* façade to the easternmost column a low bench was built before the stylobate. In the middle of the central intercolumniation a small rubble step was introduced on top of the bench.


Room 4 was paved with burnt brick, in the west half of the room averaging 0.32 m. square, in the east half averaging 0.21 m. square. It is surrounded by a low bench, 0.12 m. high, interrupted only in the central intercolumniation. Somewhat west of the axis of the intercolumniation the bench opposite is heightened 0.16 m. for a width of 1.96 m. to form a low podium. Before it is a small square step. In the angle of its east side and the wall is the base of a small rectangular rubble altar with a narrow step before it. In the west end of the room's south wall at bench level is a broad niche 1.12 m. wide and 0.46 m. deep, of indeterminable height since its top is missing. The west end of the room is open to room 5 by an archway 3.56 m. in span, the sill of which lies 0.17 m. above the bench before it.

In room 5 the principle features of *naos* 3 were duplicated. The west end of the room was occupied by three arched niches on a socle 0.70 m. high. The two rubble columns rest upon square gypsum bases 0.40 m. on a side and 0.19 m. high, with round collars of the diameter of the base of the shafts worked on the upper surfaces. The shafts, 0.37 m. in diameter at the base, are engaged to the ends of thin partitions which separate the niches. No pilasters or half columns correspond to the columns at either side. Since this corner of the building lay very near the surface of the ground, only insignificant fragments of the superstructure were found in the excavations. Several fragments of intrados, however, sufficed to show that the columns supported arches. These must have sprung at either side from the wall surface with possibly a small bracket at the springing. As in room 3 the center niche contained a moulded plinth in the form of an inverted lintel 0.201 m. high. The plinth of room 5 is somewhat lower than the other but the series of mouldings is the same.

The center niche is preceded by a narrow ledge 0.22 m. below the

socle. In its upper surface is a row of ten small sockets, averaging 0.04 m. in diameter and 0.07 m. deep, which probably contained the uprights of a grill or a series of candle holders. Before the ledge is a broad low step. The south niche is approached by a single narrow step. The socle of the north niche advances 0.27 m. before the normal socle face and is without a step.



The room is paved with burnt brick of the type 0.32 m. square. At the east end a  shaped step 0.16 m. high leads down from the arch sill. Down either side of the room run benches 0.21 m. high. At the east end of the north wall is the plain opening 0.63 m. wide of the small doorway cut to communicate with *pronaos* 2. The walls were decorated with panels of imitation marble veneering in the incrustation style. Traces of the red bottom border 0.75 m. above the floor were visible at either side of the west end of the room. Among the numerous small fragments lying about the room it was possible to distinguish panels done in green with oblique black veining, in red stipled with yellow, and in red veined obliquely with white.

Room 5 clearly constitutes a secondary *naos*. Its three niches were designed to hold the cult images of a triad of

deities. Room 4, in some respects a *pronaos*, is marked by its low benches as a chapel for group reunion and ritual dining. Its podium with altar beside it must once have been surmounted by the painted or sculptured image of a *σύνναος θεός*.

The north façade of the temple court is formed by two columns *in antis*. They rest on a stylobate 0.89 m. wide and 0.64 m. above the level of the court, footed partially on the razed south wall of the north house and approached from the court by two steps, 0.19 m. and 0.21 m. high. The columns have square rubble plinths, 0.30 m. high, capped by square gypsum bases, 0.11 m. high with round collars, 0.09 m. high, of the diameter of the base of the shaft. The rubble

shafts were 0.81 m. in diameter at the base and 0.72 m. at the top. They have been restored in the drawings at a height of five diameters. The caps (cut) are of a type unparalleled at Dura. They are 0.315 m. high overall and consist of a clumsy Doric echinus and abacus above a ring of sixteen simple leaves. The swelling echinus is not round, but a square with the corners rounded off. The thick, coarsely profiled leaves spring from an astragal. The type is related in general to the various wide-spread Hellenistic enrichments of the Doric capital and in particular to certain leaf-capitals of Asia Minor.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the closest parallel is afforded by some of the caps of the peristyle of the temple of Ba'al-Shamin at Sî.<sup>16</sup>

The antae, which have a projection of 0.45 m. to 0.50 m., rise from rubble plinths 0.35 m. high capped by gypsum bases 0.25 m. high with a bevel of 0.13 m. at the top. Their caps (fig. 63, 1) show a system of simple unadorned mouldings, from bottom to top: two fasciae, an ovolo, a fascia, a fillet, a fascia.

The rubble entablature, to judge from the scant fragments which could be identified as belonging to it, was closely similar to that of the south portico opposite. It has been so restored in the drawings.

The east half of room 7 forms a colonnaded passage between the south and north complexes of the building. Into the opening of 5.65 m. in the north side of the room is interpolated the end column of the east colonnade of the north court. To it corresponds an anta with a projection of 0.55 m. at the east side of the opening. The column rests on the razed foundation of 7b—10a and of 7a—Ct.a

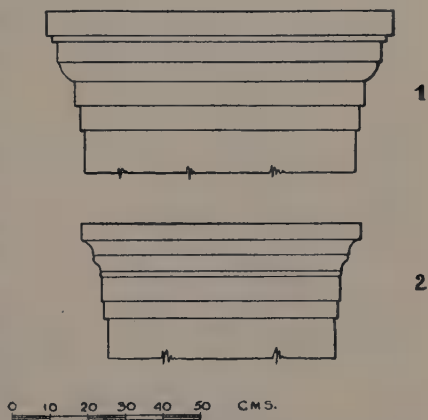


Fig. 63. Temple of the Gaddé.  
Anta Capitals.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the caps of the upper story inner colonnade of the "Bazaar" of Assos, F. H. Bacon, *Investigations at Assos* (1902—1921), p. 95, cf. pp. 83, 85, 101, fig. 2; those of the upper story of the Market Building of Aegae, R. Bohn, *Altertümer von Aegae* (*Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft* II, 1889), pp. 21, 31 f.; those of the Traianum of Pergamum, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, V<sup>2</sup> (1895), p. 42, pl. XXIII.

<sup>16</sup> H. C. Butler, *Princeton Expeditions to Syria*, II, A, ill. 328, fr. 10; cf. M. De Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale* (1865—1877), pl. IV.

reused to form the broad sill stylobate of the opening 0.22 m. high above the floor of room 7. The rubble shaft, 0.69 m. in diameter at the base and 0.60 m. at the top, rises from a square gypsum base, 0.17 m. thick and 0.90 m. on a side, which tops a low rubble plinth, 0.14 m. high. It developed in all probability the same height as the south colonnade of room 7. The gypsum cap was of the normal crude Doric type with swelling echinus. The anta had a similar base and plinth. Its cap (fig. 63, 2) was richer and more classical in form than is usual. Its mouldings from bottom to top comprise: two fasciae, an astragal, a Lesbian cyma, a cavetto, and a crowning fascia.

Between the antae at the east end of the room runs a low bench. In the center of the passage 2.00 m. before it a square gypsum slab 0.50 m. on a side and 0.11 m. thick is let into the plaster floor. In its center is a round socket, 0.80 m. in diameter, which served to affix some object of undeterminable character.

The north half of room 7 was, like room 4, a chapel containing the altar and image of a  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\nu\alpha\omicron\varsigma$   $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ . It was floored with plaster at 0.77 m. above the floor of *diwan* 7b and about its walls ran a broad low bench. In the north wall on the axis of the west intercolumniation of the colonnade was a deep niche-*aedicula* (fig. 64). The *aedicula* was built into the opening, 2.35 m. wide, of the great *diwan* doorway of the preexisting house, closed on the opposite side by a screen of mud-brick (Pl. VIII, 1). The doorway's projecting inner stone trim served as a frame and about the opening was run a simple plaster moulding, 0.19 m. wide, consisting of a fillet, a Lesbian cyma, an astragal, and a fillet. The *aedicula* itself consisted of four Corinthian colonnettes carrying a simple lintel and resting on a moulded plinth. The plinth rises from a plain rubble socle, 0.67 m. high, whose surface originally formed the bottom of the niche. The plinth itself, 0.46 m. high, is made up of gypsum slabs facing a core of rubble and is continuous about three sides of the niche. It is moulded at top and bottom with simple bevelled projections. The column bases consist of a square plinth member, 0.074 m. high, and a round portion, 0.056 m. high, treated as a quarter round. The unfluted gypsum shafts, of which many fragments remain, have been restored in the drawing at a height of eight and one half diameters. Enough remains of each of the four capitals to give a complete and accurate restoration (fig. 65).

The quadrant of each which was next the wall and therefore not visible was left unfinished. The rest of the cap shows the "normal"

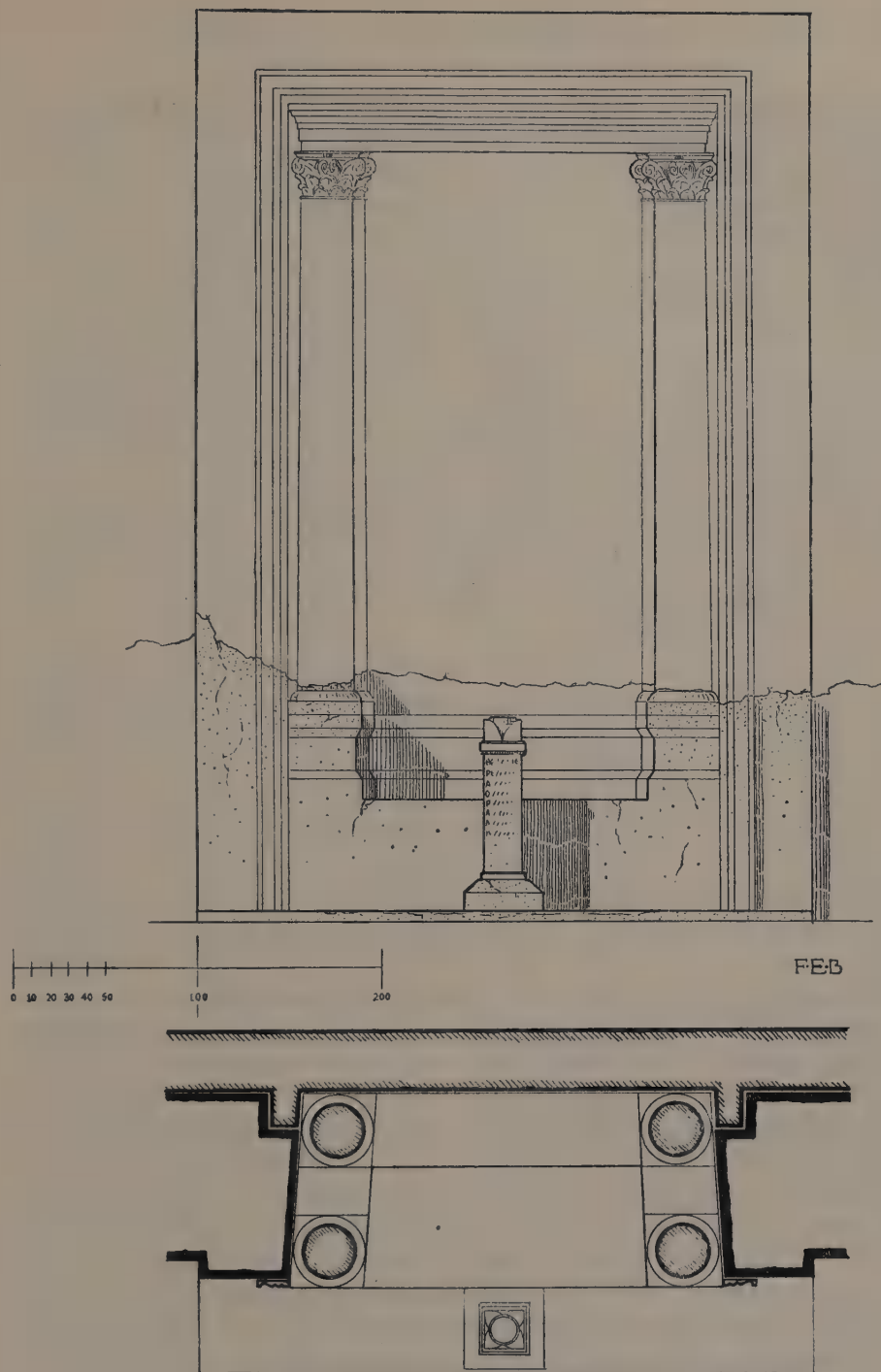


Fig. 64. Temple of the Gaddé. *Aedicula*.



type in the simplest and most compact form. The effect is square and blockish since the leaves and corner volutes show little projection. This is due mainly to the material, gypsum. The thick leaves are left in simplest outline. Those of the bottom row all but touch at the sides. The *cauliculi* are small shapeless stems without leaves. The corner volutes rise above the bottom border of the abacus, while the center spirals are tangent to it. The abacus is exceptionally square, the corners blunt. In the center of each side are three small buds or seed pods. Such capitals offer but little of the detail useful for comparison and dating. Their forms are strictly conditioned by the inferior stone from which they are cut. They show a close general similarity with the capitals of the North Gate of Gerasa which dates in 115 A. D. The leafless and degenerate *cauliculi* of the Dura caps, however, would indicate a considerably later date, probably in the second half of the second century. The cornice shows the typical forms of the doorway lintel, two fasciae crowned by a fillet, two cavetti separated by a fillet and crowned by a fascia.

Across the face of the *aedicula* ran a low rubble step. Upon it, centered against the socle, stood a gypsum altar the die of which bore an effaced Greek dipinto, a dedication to Iarhibol.<sup>17</sup> The altar itself stands 1.04 m. high overall. It is of the "horned" type with simple base and neck mouldings and round bowl rising slightly above the horns. Its base fitted into a simple bevelled gypsum socket 0.172 m. high. In the surface of the bench beside the *aedicula* step and a little to the west of the altar was a round orifice, 0.37 m. in diameter, closed with a lid of commonware that sat flush with the bench surface. The orifice opened into a line of clay pipe extending beneath the *aedicula* and emptying into the cesspool of the earlier house, which at this period was no longer in use as such and was paved over. This arrangement was doubtless contrived to dispose of the refuse of libations and offerings made at the shrine.

The north complex (figs. 67—69, 71) as has been noticed, retained in Period IV the characteristic plan of a dwelling house. It consisted essentially of a large open central court flanked on the east by a colonnade and on the west and north by rooms of various sorts. The court was paved at some 0.33 m. above its Period III level with burnt brick of a size averaging 0.26 m. square bedded on a layer of cinders on an earth fill. The order of the east colonnade has already been described. Its stylobate is the razed east wall of Ct.a whose remade surface

<sup>17</sup> No. 901, below, p. 275.

stands 0.28 m. high above the court paving. Before it ran a rubble step 0.17 m. high. Over this step before the second column from the south was built a square rubble altar preceded by a low step. It rose from a simple projecting base 0.34 m. high. No traces of a crowning moulding were found. Area 10 behind the colonnade had a broad low bench against its east and north walls. Approximately in the centre of the east wall upon the bench stood a large stone-faced rubble plinth. Its projecting base was 0.305 m. high. The west face of the die was faced with three gypsum slabs, 0.50–0.52 m. wide and 0.07 m. thick. They are irregularly broken off at 0.30–0.49 m. above the base and the surface of the two southernmost slabs has almost completely scaled off. They bore originally a monumental dedication by the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort, no doubt of the statue or group of statues which the plinth supported.<sup>18</sup>

The west half of vestibule 15 received a paving of gypsum slabs; the remainder was floored with plaster. Stair 14 remained unchanged, though, owing to the new court paving, it now took off 0.31 m. below court level. In the southwest corner of the court a narrow rubble bench, 0.32 m. high, was built for 2.40 m. along the west wall and 6.72 m. along the south wall.

<sup>18</sup> No. 906 below, p. 277, and figs. 67 and 71.

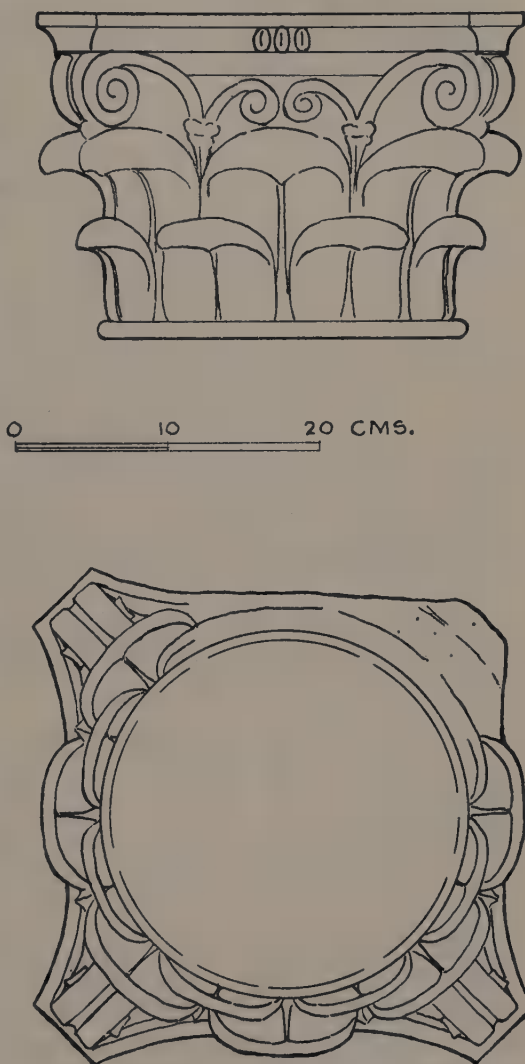


Fig. 65. Temple of the Gaddé. Capitals.

At its north end stands a small square rubble altar with a raised circular bowl.

Room 13a of the old house was reduced some 2.50 m. in length by a partition of mud brick which left the west end of the room with its north doorway part of the adjoining house. Doorway 8a—11a was walled up with mud brick, and the space between its jambs was left as a shallow niche in room 11. A mud brick partition added against the west jamb of the blocked doorway divided 11a into rooms 11 and 12. The simple opening at the north end of the partition was spanned by rounds of wood and not provided with jambs or doors. Room 8a was similarly divided by a rubble partition to form rooms 8 and 9, and was elaborately remodelled within.

Its new doorway, 0.51 m. above the old and 1.55 m. wide between the jambs, opened above the court bench, which here functioned as a step. Its stone trim was exceptionally massive. The heavy jamb caps and lintel were moulded with the familiar sequence of fasciae and cavetti. The room itself, 5.55 m. wide and 3.80 m. deep, was arranged as a *salle aux gradins*. On either side rose three tiers of rubble benches, 0.31 m., 0.42 m., and 0.46 m. high from bottom to top. The space between was flagged with large slabs of gypsum. On the north side the two upper benches did not reach the west wall, and the lower step was carried back as a broad platform. Upon it stood a square rubble altar with a raised circular bowl. On the top step against the south wall were the rubble bases of two smaller altars or stelae. In the west wall on either side of the doorway at a height of 1.23 m. above the floor were two niches. Of all four only the bottom portion, 0.36—0.44 m. wide and 0.25—0.34 m. deep, remained. In the upper walls of the room, probably above either doorway, had been set the two identical plaster relief busts<sup>19</sup> which were found in the room.

The doorway to room 9 was a simple unframed splayed opening 1.80 m.—2.08 m. wide (Pl. VIII, 2). It was not hung with doors and presumably may have been screened by a curtain. Room 9 was a sort of dependent closet or vestry. Opposite the door were two vaulted niches, cupboards, with applied half-colonnettes. The north pier was preserved above the cap of the colonnette and showed the springing of the vault. Many fragments of the vaulting lay in the room. The vaults sprang at 2.36 m. from the floor. As in the arched windows of the *pronaos* façade, the colonnettes were applied without relation to the springing. They had small square unmoulded rubble caps. The center

<sup>19</sup> Below, p. 268.

colonnade was not carried down to the floor, but stopped with a rounded bevel 0.60 m. above it. The façade of the niches was decorated in the incrustation style. The colonnettes were green with oblique black veining. The socle of the niches above a low, plain dado, 0.17 m. high, was divided into three panels of oblique red veining on white.

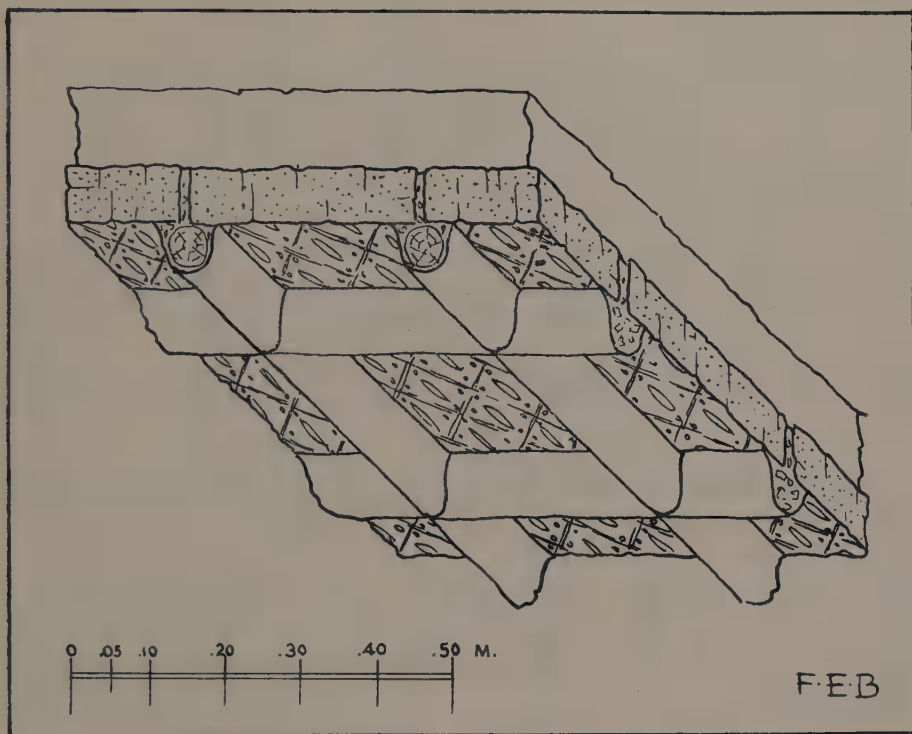


Fig. 66. Temple of the Gaddé. Ceiling Coffering.

The panels had broad red borders with heavy black outlines. The interior of the socle of the north niche was hollow and formed a deep bin open above. That of the south niche was solid, but 0.24 m. above it the sides of the niche were cut back 0.075 m. to take a wooden shelf.

The entire north end of the room was occupied by a complicated arrangement of cupboards. Between the niches and the end of the room along the west wall ran a broad shelf of rubble reinforced with rounds of wood 1.22 m. from the floor. The space beneath it was closed off to form a cupboard with a low door at the south end. The shelf



continues across the north end of the room, and beneath it in the east wall was a niche 0.39 m. deep. The corresponding position at the south end of the room was occupied by a similar niche. The floor was of plaster, laid in three sections with a visible seam between each section.

The ceiling was constructed in imitation coffering (fig. 66). As in the Synagogue and the *diwan* of the House of the Scribes<sup>20</sup> decorated square panels were carried on the visible pole rafters of the room. In this case panels of gypsum 0.30 m. square and 0.075 m. thick took the place of tiles or plaster slabs. Here the illusion of coffering was made complete by the fact that the rafters were boxed in plaster and connected by false cross beams of plaster to form a complete system of recessed squares. The gypsum coffer panels were decorated with a system of lozenges made by the crossing of five red diagonals in either sense. Each lozenge contained a crude rosette composed of a central red circle and a large red dot in each angle of the lozenge.

Of the eighty eight odd panel slabs which once covered the ceiling, forty seven were found whole or in fragments in the room along with some thirty fragments of the plaster boxing and false beams.

A striking parallel to the disposition of rooms 8 and 9 is found in the *salle aux gradins* and adjacent room of the Temple of Azzanathkona (rooms 9w and 10w).<sup>21</sup> Graffiti<sup>22</sup> on the painted socle of the niches in room 9 list two groups of four men each with the contribution of a cake or barley which he had brought or was to bring, doubtless as an offering or for a sacred repast. The cupboards may be thought of as for the storage of such desiderata, for priestly vestments, and ritual paraphernalia.

The two complexes of the building, despite their dissimilarity in plan, were, as we have seen, conceived in this rebuilding as equally essential parts of a whole. It follows that the new function of the north complex did not require radical modification of its former plan. It is equally clear that in the final scheme this function was in some degree a religious one, witness the two altars in the court and the altar or altars of room 8. The north house no longer served as a dwelling.

<sup>20</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 274, 326.

<sup>21</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 170 f. where the room (9w) off the *salle aux gradins* is called a *naos*. This, however, is probably a misnomer, since the cult relief of Azzanathkona was set up in the *salle aux gradins* itself. Room 9w is in every respect similar to our room 8 and showed holes for the timbers of similar shelves. In addition it contained numerous storage jars which affirm its character of vestry or cult storeroom.

<sup>22</sup> Nos. 904, 905 below, pp. 276 f.

















Its cesspool ceased to be used and was paved over.<sup>23</sup> The close similarity of rooms 8 and 9 to the purely religious *salle aux gradins* unit of the Temple of Azzanathkona has been noted. On the other hand it must be remembered that the function of the complex, if religious, was so only to a degree. It admitted of rooms as obviously non-religious in character as 11, 12, and 13, and was sharply set off from the typical temple to the south. Rooms 8 and 9 themselves do not form a typical *salle aux gradins* unit. The benches bear no inscriptions. The names in the graffiti of room 9 are those of men. In brief, the north complex, while an essential part of the whole was intended both in plan and in virtue of an important separate entrance to be an entity in itself of quasi-religious character.

The complex to the south is something of an anomaly among Dura temples. It departs from the traditional scheme in elements of decoration,<sup>24</sup> in the absence of side chapels of the normal type, in the presence of flanking colonnades, but most markedly in the plan of its *naos* and *pronaos*. The combination of a wide *pronaos* and a smaller *naos* without side chambers, open to the *pronaos* by an arch and little more than an alcove off it is at Dura paralleled only in the Necropolis Temple.<sup>25</sup> It is a type of oriental sanctuary plan which recurs in the "Temple C" Heroon of Gerasa,<sup>26</sup> and again in Aetolia in the Heroon of Calydon.<sup>27</sup> In any case the plan appears in the temple under discussion expressed in the familiar local architectural forms.

<sup>23</sup> A close parallel is provided in the conversion of the Christian Building, *Rep. V*, pl. XXXIX, pp. 243—248.

<sup>24</sup> Below, p. 256.

<sup>25</sup> Below, pp. 310—316, fig. 81.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the forthcoming volume *Gerasa*, a report of the excavations of Yale University and the American and British Schools of Archaeology at Jerusalem in the years 1928—1934 edited by C. H. Kraeling.

<sup>27</sup> Dyggve-Poulsen-Rhomaïos, *Das Heroon von Kalydon* (*D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter, Historisk og Filosofisk Afd., 7. Raekke, IV, 4*, 1934). In both Gerasa and Calydon the sanctuary is preceded by a great colonnaded court. At Calydon there are chambers about the court at least one of which is a place for ritual banquetting. In either case the entire temple is oriental in plan and owes its presence to the evident association, whatever its cause, of the plan with the cult of the dead. Cf. also the probable Heroon of Pergamum, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, IX (1937), pp. 84—94.

*E. Dates of the Four Periods.*

Two of the cult reliefs of the *naos* are dated by their inscriptions in 159 A. D. and give a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the Period IV temple. They were dedicated by one Hairan, son of Malku, descendant of Naṣor. The little *aedicula* of the *pronaos* façade was dedicated by Malku, son of Yarhai, son of Naṣor, undoubtedly the father of Hairan. It is therefore not impossible that the temple was built a score or more of years before its chief cult images were set in place. There are, however, various reasons for preferring as late a date as possible. The traces of western influence are more marked than in any other temple of Dura. Note especially the framing of the *naos* arch with half columns and a cornice after the style of the triumphal arch; the use of columnar porches; the occurrence for the first time at Dura of normal Corinthian caps; the use of the incrustation style, which appears late at Dura and under western influence. The vaulted niches sprung from columns of the *naoi* 3 and 5 are also a late feature. Such *arcosolia* occur at Dura only after the middle of the second century, e. g. in the Christian building, the Synagogue, the Temple of Adonis, and in late additions to the Temples of Atargatis and of the Palmyrene Gods. The inverted lintels of these niches afford another term of comparison. This peculiar feature recurs only in the late rebuilding of the Aphrodite porch of the Temple of Artemis in the Roman period. The Period IV building is therefore to be assigned to the mid second century after Christ. Its construction was roughly contemporary with that of the Temple of Adonis.

Few important later additions were made. The numerous small altars, it is to be supposed, were added from time to time. At an unknown date the porch was added before the main entrance. Early in the third century the plinth bearing the dedication of the Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort was erected. The fall of the city found the building substantially as the excavations have revealed it.

For the dating of the earlier periods we are forced to rely chiefly on the evidence from the construction itself and on the pottery found in various sealed contexts here and there in the area. Dates assigned on such grounds can only be rough approximations. Thus Period III, which is known to have ended ca. 150 A. D., appears to have begun about a century earlier.<sup>28</sup> Period II must have

<sup>28</sup> Above, p. 232.

covered most of the preceding century,<sup>29</sup> while the various structures assigned to Period I were probably built during the preceding two hundred years.<sup>30</sup>

### *F. Summary.*

The analysis of the architectural remains has enabled us to follow through three distinct periods extending over some three centuries the evolution of a specialized type of sanctuary from its unpretentious beginnings to full formal development. Its combined function of sanctuary and meeting place, suggested in the arrangements of Period II, becomes clear in Period III, and determines the final rebuilding of Period IV. This evolution is unbroken and reflects the needs of a group whose character remained unchanged and whose growth was ever expressed in more ambitious schemes of building.

The inscriptions and sculptures throw considerable light on the nature of the group which occupied the Period IV complex. The dedications, with two exceptions, are all made in Palmyrene by Palmyrenes. Of these exceptions, one is a dedication by a unit of Palmyrene auxiliaries in the Roman army, the other a dedication to a Palmyrene God. The dedicants of the cult images of *naos* 3 and of the niche of the *pronaos* façade were members of a wealthy Palmyrene family, presumably largely instrumental in the erection of the complex.<sup>31</sup> In short, the complex appears to have been built to fill the religious needs of a body of Palmyrenes established in a foreign city, preserving the worship of their native gods, while reverencing the god of their new home. The division of the structure which they erected into two distinct units, the one wholly sacred, the other only partly so, suggests that they were in some sense organized as a religious society with meeting and social rooms. Of the organization of this society and its character, if any, other than religious, the inscriptions tell us nothing. In view of the close commercial relations of Dura with Palmyra it is natural to infer that the members of the group were merchants. That their temple is located near the center of business activity may perhaps

<sup>29</sup> Above, p. 222.

<sup>30</sup> Above, pp. 220 f.

<sup>31</sup> The name Naṣor occurs but once in the many hundred inscriptions of Palmyra (*CIS* II, 3, 1, 4202 = *IGRR* IV, 1034). This Naṣor was the great-great-grandfather or great-great-great-grandfather of Odeinath, the husband of Zenobia. It is not impossible that the recurrence of the name Naṣor in these two families shows that they were in some way connected.

lend support to this assumption. To compare our group of Palmyrenes and their temple with the powerful associations of oriental merchants in the Mediterranean world<sup>32</sup> or with the great Palmyrene *stationes* in lower Mesopotamia<sup>33</sup> would carry us beyond the rather narrow limits of our evidence.

The group served by the complex of Period IV probably did not differ materially except in numbers from the group whose needs were met by the complexes of Periods II and III. The presence in Dura of an organized and growing colony of Palmyrenes from the late first century B. C. is parallel to the growth of Palmyra itself, and indicates that that growth was accompanied by a constant development of relations with the city on the Euphrates.

## II. SCULPTURE

### *A. Reliefs I-V from Naos 3.*

I. (Pl. XXXIII). Relief cut from a rectangular slab of Palmyra limestone, 0.62 m.  $\times$  0.47 m., now at Yale. Along the sides and top runs a raised border, 0.045—0.051 m. wide with a projection of 0.03—0.04 m. from the background, consisting of a fillet, a cyma recta, and a fine astragal. On the cyma is carved a continuous row of formalized acanthus leaves with the tips of a second row appearing in the interstices at the top. At the bottom of the slab a deep border, 0.07 m. high, projecting 0.05—0.07 m. from the background at the sides and 0.11—0.13 m. in the center, serves as a base for the three figures of the relief and as a field for the inscription.

The relief is very high, the figures being almost detached from the background. In the center a figure of more than human proportions is seated between two eagles. With his left hand he grasped a sceptre which slants across the body and rests against the left shoulder. The left hand and wrist are missing as is also the right hand with the greater part of the attribute which it held. Only the tip remains showing four tapering segments which may probably be taken to represent a sheaf of wheat ears. The figure is clad in a long-sleeved tunic with a jewelled or embroidered collar and a *himation* cast back over the left arm and shoulder and brought about the waist to cover the lower

<sup>32</sup> C. Picard, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XLIV (1920), pp. 264—276; *Rev. Arch.*, VIII (1936), pp. 188—198.

<sup>33</sup> *Comptes rendus*, 1935, pp. 302 f.



limbs and hang to the ground at the left. The left knee is missing. Upon the feet are simple sandals secured in front above the ankle by an ornamental knot or buckle. The same sandals are worn by the other personages of the relief. The head is encircled by a simple diadem. The abundant mass of hair beneath it is rendered in "snail" curls. The hair above is drawn back in parallel locks. The nose and the left side of the face are badly broken. The full cheeks and chin are covered by a short beard also rendered in "snail" curls. A heavy mustache, the hair indicated by a few short parallel incisions, covers the upper lip. The eyes are without indication of iris and pupil. The eye-brows are given emphasis by a sharp incision beneath. The eagles which sit at either side are more summarily blocked in. The plumage of breast, wings, and legs is, however, carefully differentiated. The first is given by a series of double incised chevrons, the second by long parallel incisions, the third by close curved incisions.

At the central figure's left stands a youth in military costume. His left hand is raised to grasp a lance close beneath the head. With his right he crowns the central figure with a laurel garland. He wears a sleeved tunic reaching to the knees over which is a corselet with tasset-kilt and short sleeves of fringed flaps. The corselet with its scalloped bottom border and creases gives the appearance of leather. The individual flaps of sleeves and kilt are ornamented with incised cross-diagonals and a row of round gems or studs. A simple baldric passing over the right shoulder suspends a sword in its scabbard at the left side. The scabbard is treated with incised cross diagonals and bands, one of which shows an incised circle. The pommel of the plain hilt is enriched by a conical knob at the top and ring of jewels or studs about the base. Over the corselet is worn a military cloak thrown back over the shoulders and secured on the right by a round brooch. The hair bound, like that of the central figure, with a diadem, is rendered with the same conventions. It leaves visible the ear lobes with great round earrings. The forehead is broken away, but the treatment of the eyes without indication of iris or pupil is clear. The eye-brows seem to have been rendered simply by the change of plane and the sharp incision beneath.

To the central figure's right is a fragmentary personage in priestly vestments. Only the head, the right arm and leg, and the left foot remain. The right arm was brought across the body probably in the act of dropping incense on the altar which stands between him and the central figure. The left hand held a palm branch, a portion of

which remains against the background. The head is covered by the Palmyrene priestly *modius* encircled by a garland with a five-petal rosette, probably a jewelled ornament in the center of the front. He wears a short-sleeved tunic and an ample *himation* brought in heavy folds about the waist and covering the lower limbs.<sup>1</sup> The face is clean shaven. The pupils of the eyes are indicated by round gouges, the eye-brows by a slight ridge with a sharp incision beneath.

The altar upon which incense is offered has identical simple base and cap mouldings. With a curious lack of objective realism the sculptor has poised the right hand of the central figure directly over the altar flame.

The inscriptions beneath identify the central figure as the Gad of Dura, the youth to his left as Seleucus Nicator, and the priest to his right as the dedicant, Hairan. The Gad of Dura is here represented as Zeus Olympius with the sceptre enthroned between two eagles. He is the divine patron of the Seleucid dynasty and is here crowned by the deified figure of the first Seleucid at whose instigation the city was founded, and after whose natal place it was named.<sup>2</sup> In view of the abiding formal importance at Dura of the cult of Seleucus Nicator and of the great gods of his dynasty,<sup>3</sup> it is not strange that the leading god of the city's official cult should have been chosen as the type of its male Semitic Gad. But this identification was largely formal. To the Semitic mind the Gad of Dura was not the shadowy Zeus Olympius of official prescripts, but, as his semi-oriental dress and oriental attribute of the wheat ears shows, he was, like the Zeus Olympius of Epiphanes' Temple of Jerusalem, a great Semitic Ba'al, Ba'al Shamin.<sup>4</sup>

II. (Pl. XXXIV.) Relief cut from a rectangular slab of Palmyra limestone, 0.57 m × 0.47 m., at Yale. About the top and sides runs the same raised border as on relief I. The bottom border is similar but only 0.055 m. high. Its right one-third is missing. In the center a female figure represented as greater than human is seated upon a stylized

<sup>1</sup> For this Palmyrene priestly costume typical of the mid second century see Ingholt, *Studier, P. S.* 12, pp. 35 f., pl. IV, 2; *id.*, *Berytus*, II (1935), p. 69 and n. 55. This is its first appearance at Dura.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Comptes rendus* (1935), pp. 299—301. For the cult of Seleucus Nicator at Dura, cf. *id.*, *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, LV (1935), pp. 56—66; *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum)* X (1938), pp. 99—106.

<sup>3</sup> As testified by *D. Perg.* 23; *Münchener Beiträge*, XIX (1934), pp. 381—388; *Rep.* VI, pp. 429—431.

<sup>4</sup> For the wheat ears as attribute of Ba'al Shamin, cf. below, pp. 296 ff. The inscription is no. 907, below, pp. 277 f.

cliff or mountain. Her right hand rests upturned on her knee and originally held stalks of grain of which the stems remain in the palm. Her left hand rests upon the neck of a lion which stands beside her. Her left leg is folded beneath her right whose foot rests on the shoulder of a nude female figure. She is portrayed as Tyche with the mural crown. The faces of its three towers are enriched with incised pentagons, doubtless representing jewels in their settings. The body is draped in a voluminous *himation* which is drawn over the back of the head beneath the crown. It leaves visible only the fringed hem and embroidered or gemmed collar of the *peplos* beneath. About the throat is a necklace of large round beads, about the wrists simple bracelets. The visible foot is shod with a sandal of a different sort from those of Relief I, with straps between the great and first toes. The hair beneath the crown is parted in the middle and drawn back from the sides of the face in parallel locks. The face is full, the eyes large and prominent, with pupils indicated by round gouges. Sharp incisions suffice for the brows.

Only the head, shoulders, arms, and breasts of the figure beneath emerge from the base. It represents an aquatic deity, the left arm extended in a gesture of swimming, the right hand supporting and proffering the right breast. The hair descends limply in parallel locks onto the shoulders as though wet. The lion is crowned with the crescent. Its features are oddly human. The mane is carefully worked in short tufts of parallel locks.

To the right stands a wingless Nike. With raised and extended right arm she crowns the central figure with a laurel garland. Her left hand at her side holds a palm branch. She is clad in the conventional wind-blown Doric *peplos* girdled high beneath the breasts and secured by a round brooch on either shoulder. Her feet are bare. On her wrists are bracelets, about her throat a necklace of round beads. Her hair is parted in the middle and caught loosely back in parallel locks. It is gathered at the crown in a *chignon* secured by a fillet. The eyes show no indication of iris or pupil. The brows are rendered by a sharp incision and the change of plane.

To the left stands a male figure in priestly vestments. Feet and ankles are missing. In the left hand he holds by the neck between second and third fingers a little cruze of oil and above it between thumb and first fingers a round incense box ornamented with a ring of gems or studs. With his right hand he plucks the grains of incense from the box to place upon the altar which originally stood between

him and the central figure. His costume and features were the same as those of the priest of Relief I save that here the *himation* is wrapped about the whole body and thrown over the left shoulder.

The inscription beneath identifies the central figure as the Gad of Palmyra. The Nike at the right required no identification. The inscription beneath the figure to the left is missing, but is supplemented by a Greek dipinto on the border above. The dedicant is the same Hairan as in Relief I (no. 908, pp. 278 f.).

The Gad of Palmyra is represented exactly as in the frescoe of the Tribune<sup>5</sup> fifty odd years later, a Hellenistic Tyche of the type of Eutychides' Antioch. At her feet is the *Ephka*, the famous spring of the great oasis. Despite her outward western appearance she is conceived as a great Semitic Ba'alat, Atargatis, with her characteristic crescent-crowned lion beside her.

Both reliefs are typical of Palmyrene work of the period and observe its characteristic conventions. The style is crisp, formal, and wooden and shows greater finish and care for detail than is usual in small reliefs of this class. A distinctive feature is the leaf border which appears on almost all small Palmyrene reliefs of the period. Even if it were not for the stone, which is that of Palmyra, it would be obvious that both reliefs were cut in Palmyra presumably by the same sculptor.

III. (Pl. XXXV, I.) Nine fragments from the projecting portions of a relief cut from Palmyra limestone, now at Yale. They comprise:

(a—c) Three fragments of two Corinthian capitals showing in each case portions of the corner volutes and of the corner of the abacus above.

(d—e) Heads of two eagle-griffons. Both are finished only on one side, the left, and were thus visible from this side only.

(f) Fragment of the *modius* of a Palmyrene priest with garland and edge of the center rosette.

(g) Left eye, cheek, and a portion of the hair of a youthful male figure. The hair is bound with a garland below which it is worked in "snail" curls.

(h) Fragment showing a section of smooth ground with a straight staff or bar at the right. Beside the bar is the Palmyrene letter *Beth*.

(i) Small fragment of unidentifiable worked surface, perhaps drapery.

The original dimensions of the relief may be roughly estimated from the size of the fragments of capital (a, b, and c). Comparison with the normal Corinthian standard shows that they formed part

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. L.



of capitals about 0.195 m. high with abaci measuring about 0.25 m. on a side. Such capitals would call for a shaft, including base and necking, 1.49 m. high with a lower diameter of 0.167 m. and an upper of 0.139 m., giving a total column height of 1.685 m. The proportion of column height to total width of a Dura relief with similar columns, that of Azzanathkona,<sup>6</sup> is approximately 10:7. This would suggest a width of 1.18 m. to 1.20 m. for the relief in question. With a normal Corinthian entablature and gable of 15° above the columns a total height of about 2.44 m. is reached. Possibly, however, the entablature was simplified and somewhat lower.

The relief, then, is to be conceived of as framed by a Corinthian *aedicula*. Its field was probably about twice as high as wide. It contained at least two figures, priest and youth, of approximately the same size as the similar figures of Reliefs I and II. A third figure, to which the griffons are to be related, was on a larger scale, as shown by the proportions of the griffon fragments. From the fact that the griffons were cut to be viewed from only one side, it is clear that they cannot be restored facing front flanking or supporting the divine third figure. Since both heads were visible, in profile, and facing in the same direction, they may plausibly be thought of as preceding the god, perhaps drawing his chariot.

In material, style, and technique the fragments are identical with Reliefs I and II. The priest of Relief III was presumably the Hairan of the other two. Reliefs I and II, as we have seen (above, pp. 243 f.), probably occupied the side niches of *naos* 3. The larger relief III may be assumed to have been set in the center niche, 1.28 m. wide, to which its estimated width of 1.18—1.20 m. answers well. The god which it portrayed would have been the chief divinity of the sanctuary. The griffons furnish the only clue to his identification. In themselves they indicate merely that he was a solar deity,<sup>7</sup> but it is reasonable to infer that he was a member of the pantheon of Palmyra. The congregation of the temple had an exclusively Palmyrene cast, an isolated group in a foreign city, united by bonds of nationality and religion. The principal object of their worship would naturally be a great god of their place of origin. The relief itself was undoubtedly carved in Palmyra. The god was flanked on the one side by the

<sup>6</sup> *Rep. V*, p. 172, pl. XIV.

<sup>7</sup> For the griffon as attribute of the sun, cf. Cumont, *Études Syriennes* (1917), pp. 94 f.; *Syria IX* (1928), pp. 101 f.; Seyrig, *Syria*, X (1929), p. 335; Hopkins, *Rep. V*, pp. 119 f.



tutelary divinity of the town which his worshippers had made their place of residence and on the other by the similar divinity of his home. There is but one deity of Palmyra with whom the griffon is known to be associated. This is the sun god, Malakbel. On the famous altar of the Capitoline museum his chariot is drawn by griffons. He is accompanied by the same animals on a *tessera* and relief of Palmyra soon to be published by Seyrig.<sup>8</sup> Our evidence thus points to Malakbel as the great god of Relief III and of the temple, and πατρῷος θεός of the Palmyrenes who dedicated it.

IV. (Pl. XXXV, 2.) Relief cut from a rectangular slab of gypsum 0.545 m. high, 0.25 m. wide at the bottom and 0.22 m. wide at the top, now at Yale. At the bottom a deep border 0.10 m. high projects to serve as base for the figure and carries the raised field of the inscription. The relief was found in nine fragments lacking the upper left-hand corner, the lower part of the face, the top of the right shoulder, and the left ankle of the figure. Most of the left side of the face has been weathered away.

In relatively low relief a god is represented in military dress standing full front firmly planted on both feet. His right hand was raised to grasp his lance or sceptre close beneath the head. His left hand grips the hilt of a sword of which only the round pommel is visible. He wears a short-sleeved tunic reaching to the knees over which is a corselet with a kilt of fringed flaps. An ample *paludamentum* is thrown back over the shoulders and bellies out behind. It is fastened on the right shoulder with a round brooch originally set with a gem. The top of the corselet appears just above the folds of the *paludamentum*. It was evidently intended to represent metal moulded to the forms of the body and covers the abdomen Roman-fashion. Along the bottom is a belt of rounded pentagonal medallions. The feet are shod with heavy *caligae* which reach almost halfway to the knee. A heavy bracelet encircles the left wrist.

<sup>8</sup> The Capitoline altar has been last discussed by Cumont in *Syria*, IX, pp. 101—109. For the griffon as attribute of Malakbel cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, II, 2, pp. 2300 f. s. v. It has been suggested (by Rostovtzeff, *Comptes rendus*, 1935, p. 299) that the god of Relief III was Aphlad, god of Anath, who is figured standing on a base decorated with the protomes of griffons (*Rep.* V, pp. 106—112, pl. XIII). The village of Anath stood in close commercial relationship with both Dura and Palmyra (cf. *CIS*, III, 3973; *Syria*, XIV, 1933, pp. 178—180). Its traders at Dura had erected a sanctuary to their local sun god, Aphlad. This is not, however, sufficient reason for believing that this sun god of a distant village was the chief deity of a Palmyrene sanctuary in Dura. The tutelary divinity of Anath, moreover, was surely not Aphlad but Anath herself.

The god's enormous *zazzera* of hair is painstakingly rendered by a different scheme on either side of the head as consisting of rows of curls. It is bound with a diadem and is radiate. Of the original twelve or thirteen rays only seven remain with portions of the eighth and ninth. Of the face only a huge protuberant left eye is intact. Neither iris nor pupil is indicated. Above either shoulder appear the horns of the crescent moon.

The carving is rather pretentious for this type of relief and remarkably maladroit. The actual forms of the body are regarded with indifference. The visible head, arms, and legs are, as it were, merely appended to a central clump of garments. The forms of the lower legs are grotesquely conventionalized. The features in the lowest plane of the relief, rays, moon crescent, outline and folds of the *paludamentum*, are merely incised on the background. Originally, no doubt, these details were helped out with color. The treatment of the drapery with its stiff parallel folds triangular in section and the use of an actual gem for the brooch ally the relief with a group of local works in gypsum which includes the reliefs of the Mithraeum and of Ašaru and Ša'dai.<sup>9</sup> The former are dated in the third quarter of the second century. The relief under discussion is perhaps, by reason of its relative refinement and attention to detail, somewhat earlier.

The undated inscription identifies the god as Iarhibol. The dedicants proclaim themselves members of the tribe Bnai Mitha.<sup>10</sup> All the references to this fairly prominent Palmyrene tribe are prior to 100 A. D., probably merely because it was no longer customary after the middle of the second century in Palmyra to suffix a man's tribe to his name or indeed to mention it at all in inscriptions.<sup>11</sup> This rule must be taken to apply to the Palmyrenes who dedicated the relief, and it may be assumed that it was set up soon after the completion of the Period IV sanctuary about 150 A. D.

The cult of Iarhibol appears to have been localized in room 7 of the temple. The god of the relief, though called Iarhibol in the inscription, is portrayed with the moon-crescent, attribute of Aglibol. This confusion is quite possibly due to an error in the cutting either of the relief or of the inscription, but may be of greater significance. The alternative is presented below, pp. 365—367.

<sup>9</sup> Above, pp. 91—101; *Rep. VI*, pl. XXX.

<sup>10</sup> No. 909, below, pp. 279—281.

<sup>11</sup> For the Bnai Mitha, cf. J. Cantineau, *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 186 f., and cf. below. p. 281.

V. (Pl. XXXVI, 1.) Statuette of gypsum 0.33 m. high overall, now at Yale. The statuette is free-standing but only the front half is finished. The back half was left blocked out in rough outline. On a base 0.047 m. high, the face of which bears a Palmyrene inscription, stands a figure clad in long tunic and mantel beside an altar. The face is completely missing. The left arm is not represented. Resting on the edge of the altar and against the left shoulder is the base of a flat object near the top of which the beginning of vertical ridges may be seen. Between the thumb and first fingers of the right hand the figure holds a long, slightly fusiform object which it holds against the flat object. The tunic falls to the ground about the bare feet and has a deep overfold. The mantle is brooched in the center and falls in straight folds covering the shoulders and upper right arm. There remains the trace of a leaf-garland binding the hair, which below the garland is worked in parallel rows of curls, and descended on either side of the face in deep waves. There was, apparently, a stiff, clubbed beard.

The statuette is a crude imitation of a familiar Apollo Citharoedus type. The flat object of which the bottom portion remains resting on the altar is the lyre which the god is in the act of striking with the *plectrum* held in the right hand.<sup>12</sup> The altar occurs in this position in other examples of the type, or its place may be taken by a tree-stump, a rock, or a stele. The god is named in the Palmyrene inscription beneath, Nebu. This ancient Babylonian divinity was identified with Apollo at Hierapolis<sup>13</sup> and had a statue there which Lucian describes as bearded and fully draped. Doubtless this identification was not peculiar to Hierapolis, and it is not unlikely that our statuette recalls that famous original (no. 910, p. 281).

In style the statuette is of the basest and is one of a large class of local works in gypsum in which familiar Hellenistic types were ineptly imitated for local consumption.<sup>14</sup> The same uncouth stone-cutting is seen to much better advantage in subjects of oriental inspiration.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Not, as stated in *Comptes rendus*, 1935, pp. 13 f. and *Revue des Études Sémitiques*, C (1936), pp. 37 f., a tablet at which, as god of writing, he points with his finger.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. above, p. 154, n. 6.

<sup>14</sup> For examples, see *Rep. IV*, pl. IX, 1, 3, 4, 5 and pp. 240—246.

<sup>15</sup> E. g., *Rep. V*, pl. XVIII, 2; *Rep. VI*, pl. XXX, 1, 2; below, Pl. XXXI, 2.

*B. Other Sculpture.*

I. a and b. (Pl. XXXVI, 2.) Found in fragments in the northwestern portion of the temple court, now at Yale.

a. Complete in six fragments. Plaster statuette of lion or lioness *assis*, 0.52 m. high overall. The animal crouches on a base, 0.125 m. high, in the form of a gigantic paw with four claws. Its body is in profile, its head full front. The body is smoothly moulded without indication of the pelt. Only the fore and hind feet and lower legs are modelled, the feet with four claws each. No tail is represented. The mouth is partly opened showing the teeth and the tongue within. The mane is indicated about the neck by a formal series of scallops.

When in place the statuette stood out of doors without covering, for its prominent and exposed surfaces, head, paws, and the edge of the base, are worn and pitted by the rain and the whole is covered with a hard calcareous deposit. It was once brilliant with paint. Much remains on the base which was originally a uniform bright red. The tongue also retains its red coloring. Doubtless the details of head, mane, pelt, and perhaps the tail were rendered in color.

b. Three fragments of an identical statuette made to face in the opposite direction. The two statuettes would have stood back to back in heraldic juxtaposition, perhaps flanking the image of some divinity. This composition was common in the ancient orient, especially for winged animal-demons, and is illustrated in the Hellenistic period by the reverses of certain coins attributed to kings of Armenia.<sup>16</sup>

II. (Pl. XXXVI, 3.) Found in the northeastern portion of the temple court, now at Yale. Head and neck of a statuette in plaster, 0.132 m. high overall. The section of the break at the neck shows a hole, 0.013 m. in diameter, left by a wooden armature. The face is oval, the eyes large and protruding with round gouges to indicate the pupils. The tip of the nose is broken away. The hair encircles the face to below the ears in a mass of "snail" curls, and is gathered at the crown into a high cylindrical *chignon*. The details of the coiffure are not rendered on the back which gives evidence of having been fixed against a flat surface. Traces of red color remain on the lips and eyelids. The statuette was made in a mould and its surface is pitted with air bubbles from the faulty casting. Doubtless these were originally concealed by a coat of color.

<sup>16</sup> E. Babelon, *Catalogue des Monnaies Grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, "Les Rois de Syrie", pp. cxcī, cxcviii, fig. 40.



The head is almost a duplicate of the heads of two plaster reliefs of Victories found by Cumont in the Temple of Artemis,<sup>17</sup> which retained much of their original polychromy.

III. a and b (cf. Pl. XXXVI, 3). Found in room 8, cf. above, p. 252; now at Yale. Two cast plaster relief busts; (a) is complete, of (b) only the upper half survives. The busts were identical with those found in the Temple of Zeus Theos<sup>18</sup> and were cast in the same mould. The castings differ only in that the mould seems to have been more worn and blunted when those under discussion were made and that the field was cast a



uniform thickness, ca. 0.07 m. They show no calcareous deposit nor other sign of out-of-doors weathering. One (a) has lost all of its original color. The traces on (b) supplement those on the busts from the Temple of Zeus Theos. The eyes were outlined in black and the iris was indicated as half concealed by the upper lid by a solid black semicircle. Eye-brows and moustaches were rendered in black, and traces on chin, cheeks, and head indicate that a full beard and head of hair was also represented. The ears were outlined in black.

The effect of this brutal coloration can best be appreciated in a restored sketch (cut). It is clear that the busts are not intended to represent a divinity, but are conventionalized portraits of mortals, probably of the dedicants of the rooms to which they pertain. Like the Palmyrene funerary portraits they do not reproduce the features of any individual being, but merely testify to his presence in a given context.

### III. PAINTINGS

#### *A. Period III Murals from Naos 2b.*

(Pls. XXVI—XXVII; cf. above, p. 232).

The fragments are generally small, in bad condition, and represent but a fraction of the original decorated surface. A selection is here presented of the most important, those which provide evidence for the

<sup>17</sup> Fouilles, Pl. LXXXIV, pp. 220—222.

<sup>18</sup> Above, pp. 192, 211 f.



suggested restoration of the general subject; these are now at Yale. They will serve to illustrate the style and technique.

1. (Pl. XXVI, 1.) Right side of the torso of a figure clad in a corselet. The right arm is raised and extended to the right. It is probably to be completed with the forearm raised at right angles, the hand grasping a lance or sceptre. The corselet is deep yellow (gold) with red-brown to black border shading. It ends at the waist on the line of a broad girdle whose original color has disappeared leaving only the blue underpainting. Over the shoulder is thrown a rose mantle which hangs down behind. It has a deep-yellow (gold) border stripe with a decoration indicated by black crescent strokes with light-grey highlights. It is fastened on the shoulder with a great round brooch, deep-yellow (gold) with red-brown to black border shading and a central highlight. The flaps of the short sleeve are outlined in black on the white plaster ground. The background is grey.

2. (Pl. XXVI, 2.) Oval buckler with adjacent portions of the left side of a torso clad in a corselet. Of the red-brown (bronze?) of the umbo of the buckler only faint traces are left on the blue under coat. The rest is painted deep yellow (gold) with a broad rim and an overall imbricated pattern outlined in black. Above is a corner of deep yellow (gold) corselet with its red-brown to black border shadow and a segment of

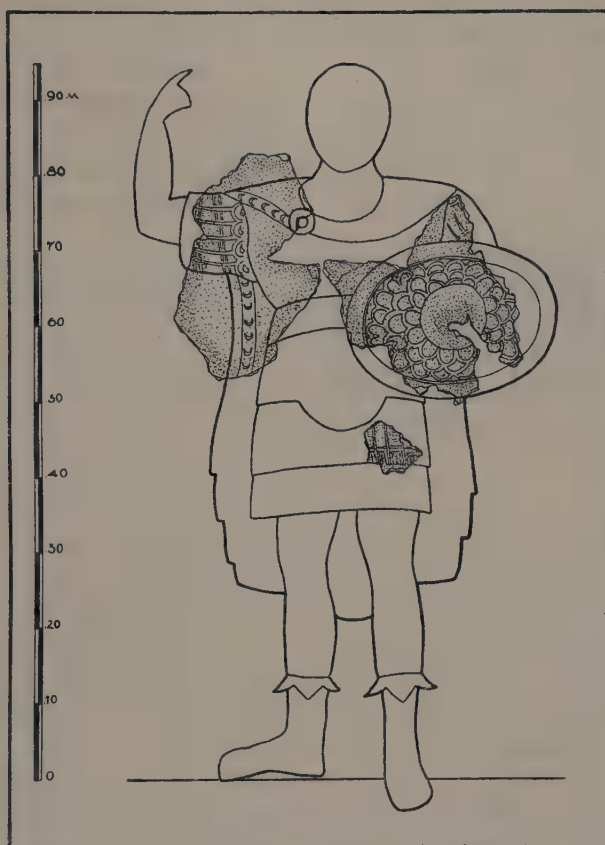


Fig. 72. Mural from *Naos* 2b. Restored Figure.

a left sleeve of flaps, black outline on white plaster ground. To the left the adjacent surface shows traces of blue underpainting and is crossed by a bit of black border line.

3. Segment of the bottom of a kilt of fringed flaps. Parts of four flaps are shown with their fringed ends, black outline on the white plaster ground. Beneath is a bit of the bottom of a tunic, rose with a black fold outline.

These three fragments can probably be assigned to a single figure in the positions indicated in fig. 72. The figure is that of a god in military dress who appears to be the same as the right-hand deity of the murals of Otes and of the Tribune.<sup>1</sup> It is some 0.94 m. high, i. e. about half human size.



4. (Pl. XXVI, 3.) Right shoulder of another corseleted figure. The right arm is extended slightly downward to the right. The original color of the corselet, presumably gold, has perished leaving only the blue underpaint and the black top bounding line. Above is a bit of the rose mantle with its undulated

deep yellow (gold) border stripe decorated as in fragment 1. The sleeve of flaps is indicated in black outline on the plaster ground.

5. (Pl. XXVI, 4.) Fragment showing a left wrist and hand apparently grasping some object or an edge of drapery. Of the hand only the thumb and the tip of one finger doubled back into the palm remain. The flesh is buff with rose shading and a deep rose to back outline shadow. About the wrist is a deep yellow (gold) bracelet with a design representing *repoussé* or inset stones in black outline (cut). The corner of sleeve above shows traces of red on the blue underpainting. The field to the right also has patches of red paint clinging to the undercoat. It is crossed by a black outline which ends in a deep yellow (gold) band decorated with black outlined lozenges each with a dot in the center. Beneath and to the right of the thumb is a corner of an object in deep yellow (gold) with a large black dot.

The hand and wrist are presumably those of a worshipper, probably, from the elaborate bracelet, a woman.

6. (Pl. XXVI, 5.) Brow and eyes of a face. Above is a bit of the black mass of hair. The eye-brows are black and arching. The top of the upper lid has a deep red-brown shadow. The pupil is black

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pls. L, LV; for his identity, see *Syria*, XIII (1932), pp. 190—195; below, pp. 365—367.

in a deep grey iris. Beneath the eye-brow is a rose highlight. The flesh is buff modelled in values of red-brown.

Other identifiable smaller fragments show bits of gold corselet, mantle borders, kilt and sleeve flaps, and sections of black imbrication on a deep rose ground, all probably belonging to divine figures. Many pieces of miscellaneous drapery and another braceleted wrist were probably from the portraits of worshippers.

Beside these fragments assigned to the principal figures others at a somewhat smaller scale are identified as probably belonging to attendants and servants. They are about two-thirds the scale of nos. 1—6.

7. (Pl. XXVII, 2.) Left forearm and hand supporting a staff or bar which probably rested on the shoulder. About the wrist is a plain deep yellow (gold) bracelet with deep red-brown border shading. The buff flesh tone has almost disappeared, leaving only the red-brown outlines. The bar is deep grey.

8. (Pl. XXVII, 1.) Similar braceleted wrist with a badly rubbed segment of grey drapery above. The bracelet in this case consists of a band with a circular boss or bezel, both deep yellow (gold) with red-brown shading. A red-brown spot in the center may be a highlight or may represent a setting.

9. (Pl. XXVII, 3.) Portion of a nude leg, probably the left, at the knee. The flesh is buff modelled with values of red-brown and outlined in black. The background shows traces of blue underpainting.

Other fragments illustrate the decorative setting provided for the figures.

Fragments 10 and 11 (Pl. XXVII, 4, 5) are portions of the soffit and spandrel of an arched *aedicula*. Both were decorated with round four-petal rosettes in shades of rose on a green background. The intrados was profiled with narrow black, white, and red stripes.

Fragments 12 and 13 (Pl. XXVII, 6, 7) are bits of the cornice which crowned the walls. Fragment 12 shows that it had a projection of 0.045 m. and a slight drip-mold. At this point in the room the scene beneath was carried over on to the soffit of the cornice which has a small round outline in deep yellow (gold) and crossed by a deep yellow (gold) vertical. Just below at the top of the wall is a wavy band of rose, black outlined, the whole perhaps a *signum* or sceptre head. In fragment 13, however, the wall is crowned by a deep band of red followed by a white and a black line, while the soffit is painted yellow.

Fragment 14 (Pl. XXVII, 8) shows a bilingual dipinto on the grey background,<sup>2</sup> presumably above the head of one of the figures,

<sup>2</sup> No. 913, below, pp. 282 f.

succeeded by a border of eight or more fine stripes, black, grey, red, and yellow. It may have come from the top of the wall but more probably is a section of the top border of a lower register.

The artist had at his disposal a palette of eight colors, blue, red-brown, black, buff, rose, yellow, green, and crimson. He used the red-brown, rose, and black in three or more values. His use of blue underpainting throughout, save for flesh parts and those left the color of the plaster ground, is unique. The colors appear to have been laid on rather thickly and in many places a slight surface glaze remains to indicate the presence of the binding medium. The outlines are boldly and surely drawn, but the details of dress and ornament are carefully picked out. Flesh parts are painstakingly modelled with nuances of rose and red-brown. These characteristics place the fragments in the first broad class of Dura paintings.<sup>3</sup> They find their nearest stylistic parallel in the right-hand portion of the Conon murals,<sup>4</sup> and may be assigned without hesitation to the late first century after Christ.

#### *B. Period IV Murals from Pronaos 2.*

(Pl. XXVIII; cf. above, p. 239.)

Of the scanty and ill-preserved fragments of the painted wall surfaces of *pronaos* 2, few were identifiable. Five larger fragments are here described and illustrated; these are at Yale. They will serve to illustrate the style, technique, and general characteristics of the decoration.

1. (Pl. XXVIII, 1.) Head and right shoulder of a deity facing full front. There are a short beard and mustache and a narrow aureole of hair crowned with a small fluted *polos*. The eyes are wide and staring. The head is surrounded by a simple round nimbus in the color of the plaster ground. The segment of shoulder shows deep folds of drapery. A portion of an area of deep red-ochre appears at the right. The whole is strikingly similar to "pantokrator" heads of the fifth and sixth centuries.

2. (Pl. XXVIII, 2.) Two heads with adjacent left shoulders. The head at the right is youthful, beardless, and surrounded by a narrow aureole of hair. It faces almost full front, though the eyes are turned toward the head at the left and the body would appear to have been

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 209 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 54 f.



almost in three-quarters view. The head is surrounded by a radiate nimbus showing traces of an original rose color. The rays are red-ochre. An edge of drapery appears on the preserved bit of shoulder. The head at the left shows the same short beard, moustache, hair, and nimbus as fragment 1. The base of the *polos* is just visible. The head is turned slightly to the right. The eyes regard the figure at the right whose right hand appears above the shoulder drapery gesturing with outspread fingers.

3. Right side of a head similar to that of the right figure in fragment II. Preserved are one eye and a portion of the hair and radiate nimbus. The latter shows traces of original rose color and has alternate white and red-ochre rays.

4. (Pl. XXVIII, 3.) Left side of a head with the right arm of an adjacent figure. The head has a heavy beard and mustache and an aureole of curly hair. The absence of the nimbus probably indicates that the personage represented is a mortal. The missing hand of the arm brandished some object of which the end is visible beside the head.

5. At the right is a booted foot with a bit of leg above it. To the left are two diminutive elliptical eight-spoked wheels in black. Above the left wheel are curving red-ochre outlines of what must have been the body of a chariot or cart. The upper left portion of the right wheel appears against a red-ochre background. The two wheels appear quite isolated. There is no trace of an axle connecting them. The outlines above the left wheel are insufficient to establish whether the chariot or cart was shown in front or profile view. In either case, whether the wheels are to be conceived as pivotted at right angles to their position in nature or merely advanced one before the other, the treatment is a typical example of a motif probably of Iranian origin which recurs in the paintings of the Synagogue.<sup>5</sup>

The heads just described are slightly larger than one-third life size. The complete figures stood originally 0.70—0.80 m. high. They were painted on a fine coat of whitewash laid on a second coat of plaster over an original unpainted coat. The broad areas of the composition were first sketched on the plaster ground with fine black lines. Certain areas were then covered with uniform flat washes, e. g., grey for the background, a light value of red-ochre for flesh. Drapery areas were left in the color of the plaster ground. Flesh outlines and shadows were painted boldly on the wash in deeper values of red-ochre. Hair,

<sup>5</sup> *Rep.* VI, pl. XLVIII; cf. *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1936, fig. 4 facing p. 196. The motif has been recently restudied by Seyrig, *Syria*, XVIII (1937), pp. 43—53.



mustaches, and beards were painted flat in deep red-ochre and rendered with black. A black spot indicates the iris of the eye. The preserved segments of drapery show simple red-ochre outlines and folds with rose or pale blue between. The execution is very free. It has a cursory quality enhanced by the relative thinness of the pigments and the long sweeping brush strokes.

This technique and the poverty of the artist's palette stand in marked contrast to the earlier fragments from 2b. From the evidence cited above it is clear that the *pronaos* walls stood for a considerable time undecorated and were finally covered with painting only after they had been once replastered. The paintings themselves in style belong to the second broad period of Dura painting and appear to fall fairly late in that period. In both style and technique they are closest to the paintings of 193 A. D. in a private house of Block M 7<sup>6</sup> and are probably to be dated in the early third century.

The fragments give very little clue as to the subject matter. It appears to have been mythological or narrative. The god of fragment 1 and of the left of fragment 2 is probably Ba'al Shamin. The radiate god of the right half of fragment 2 and of fragment 3 is, therefore, presumably Malakbel. It appears that these two divinities figured together or separately in various scenes. The heads of fragment 2 do not exhibit that statuesque isolation familiar from representations of deities presiding over acts of worship. They are in dramatic relation. They regard each other and Malakbel gestures with his hand. Fragment 4 shows a bit of violent action in which mortals are concerned. The chariot or car of fragment 5 is probably associated with some particular event in the career of Malakbel.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Rep.* VI, pp. 146—155, pl. XLII.

<sup>7</sup> For the casual glimpses which surviving monuments have permitted of the mythology of the great Palmyrene Triads of Bel and Ba'al Shamin, cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 74—76, 84—89; *Syria*, IX (1928), pp. 101—109; Seyrig, *Syria* XV (1934), pp. 165—178.

## IV. INSCRIPTIONS

## A. Greek and Latin.

(Nos. 901—906)

901. Red dipinto on the die of the gypsum altar before the *aedicula* of room 7. Letters of the first line average 0.055 m. high, of the following lines 0.04 m. high. Dedication to the god Iarhibol. At Yale.

ΘΕΩΡΕ	Θεῶν ἱε-
ΡΑΒΛΩ	ράβλω
ΑΝΗΓΕΙΡΕ	ἀνήγειρε[ν]
ΟΛ . . .	ΟΛ . . . [.]
Ρ . . .	Ρ . . . [.]
Λ . . .	Λ . . . [.]
Λ . . .	Λ . . . [.]
ΙΣ . . .	ΙΣ . . . [.]
Ι . . .	Ι . . . [.]
. . .	. . . [.]

For the spelling ἱέραβλος which occurs in an inscription of Coptos (F. Petrie, *Coptos*, p. 33=IGRR I, 1169), cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Arch. Or.*, II (1896), pp. 118—122.

902. Black dipinto on the top border of Relief II, cf. p. 262 above. Letters average 0.013 m. high.

Μνησθῆ [Αι]ράνης Μαλίχου τοῦ [Νασῶρ]

903. Graffito on the top border of Relief I. Letters average 0.012 m. high.

Αἰρά[νη]ς [Μ]αλί[χου]

The graffito did not include the grandfather's name; the surface beyond the final *upsilon* is preserved and quite without trace of letters.

904. Graffito on the socle of the niches of room 9, cf. above, p. 254. Letters average 0.013 m. high.

ΒΑΡΝΕΟΥ ΑΧΕΟΥ ΨΩΜΙΝ  
 ΒΟΥΕΟΥ ΨΩΜΙΝ  
 ΒΟΥΒΕΟΥ ΣΑΜ ΨΩΜΙΝ  
 ΒΑΡΓΙ ΨΩΜΙΝ

Βαρνῆος Ἀχέου ψώμιν  
 Βουῆος ψώμιν  
 Βουβῆος Σαμ (?) ψώμιν  
 Βαργί[νναῖος] ψώμιν

Βαρναῖος is common at Dura. Ἀχῆος, a common Semitic name (Wuthnow, *Sem. Menschennamen*, s. v.; Littman in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s. v.), occurs at Dura in the forms Ἀχείας and Ἀχέας Cumont, nos. 127, 130. Βουῆος is unparalleled and may well be an error for Βουβῆος (cf. on no. 915, p. 308, below). Βαργινναῖος occurs frequently at Dura.

905. Graffito just below no. 904. Letters average 0.013 m. high.

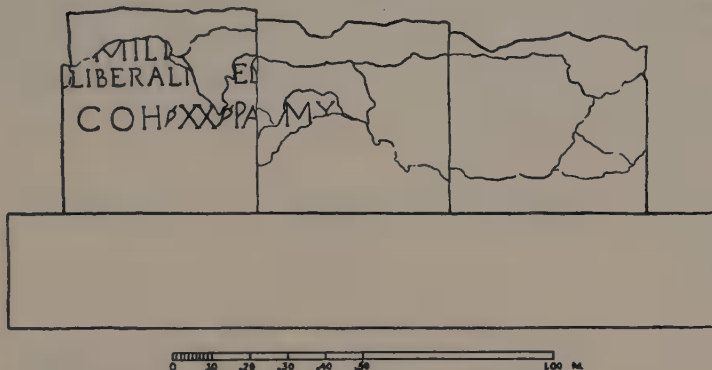
ΑΚΙΒΑ ΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ ΚΡΙΘΗΝ  
 ΑΒΙΔΑΘΗΝ ΚΡΙΘΗΝ  
 ΑΚΙΒΑ ΟΥΕΤΡΑΝΟΣ ΚΡΙΘΗΝ  
 ΜΙΤΤΟΛΒΑΕΙΣΑ ΜΗΝ ΚΡΙΘΗΝ

Ἀκίβα Λυσανίου κριθήν  
 Ἀβιδάθην κριθήν  
 Ἀκίβα οὔετρανός κριθήν  
 Μιττολβαείσα Μην(?) κριθήν

Ἀκίβα(ς) is probably the name found in the forms Ἀκαβαῖος, Ἀκκαβαῖος, Ἀκαβήσιος (Wuthnow, *Sem. Menschennamen*, s. v.), while Λυσανίας is one of the commonest Greek names at Dura. Ἀβιδάθ(ς) appears as Ἀβδαάθ in nos. Cumont 9c and d. The last two names occur in the same combination (Μιττολβαίσου Μηνᾶ) in *D. Perg.* 10 of 121 A. D. from Paliga.

Both lists appear to have been written by the same hand. They may, since the names with one exception are in a rough alphabetical order, have formed the beginning of a longer list of contributions.

906 Cut on the face of the plinth in colonnade 10, cf. above, p. 251. Height of letters, first line, 0.05 m.; second line, 0.045 m.; third line, 0.06 m.



]MILI/  
LIBERALI[TAT]E E/  
COH(ORS) XX PA[L]MY[RE]NORUM SAG.

The Twentieth Palmyrene Cohort was in garrison at Dura by 209 A. D.<sup>1</sup> The dedication is presumably to a god or gods or to an emperor or emperors. The dimensions of the plinth indicate that it supported at least two statues, which would probably have been those of Septimius Severus and his two sons or of Caracalla and Geta.

*B. Semitic*  
(Nos. 907—913).

907 (Pl. XXXIII). This inscription, in three parts, occupies the base of Relief I (above, pp. 258—260). In the center is the following:

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. VI*, p. 31, n. 28.

אֲדָא דִּי דוּרָא עֲבַד חִירָן בֶּר מַלְכוּ בֶר נַצּוֹר  
 מֵלַכְרָא בִּירַח נִיסָן שְׁנַת 470  
 נִי.י.ת. נ.נ.נ.

אֲדָא דִּי דוּרָא עֲבַד חִירָן בֶּר מַלְכוּ בֶר נַצּוֹר  
 בִּירַח נִיסָן שְׁנַת 470

“The Gad of Dura; made by Ḥairān bar Mālīkū bar Naṣōr, in the month Nisan, the year 470” (159 A.D.).

A votive inscription on a small altar erected to the Gad of Dura was published in the *Rep. I*, pp. 61 f. The Τύχη of the city-fortress is frequently mentioned in the Greek inscriptions which have been found in the course of the excavations.

At the right of the main inscription is the name of the reported founder of Dura:

מְלֹקוֹס  
 נִיקְטוֹר

מְלֹקוֹס נִיקְטוֹר

“Seleucus Nicator.”

At the left of the main inscription we read:

אֲלֵנִי אֲדָא  
 מֵלַכְרָא בִּירַח

צֶלֶם חִירָן בֶּר מַלְכוּ בֶר נַצּוֹר

“Image of Ḥairān bar Mālīkū bar Naṣōr.”

908 (Pl. XXXIV). On the base of Relief II (above, pp. 260—262), in the center, is the following inscription:



גדא דר תדמור עבד חי[רן] בר מלכו בו נצור  
 מן מלכא נאשור

גדא די תדמור עבד חי[רן] בר מלכו בו נצור

“The Gad of Palmyra; made by Ḥairān bar Mālikū bar Naṣōr.”

The letters average  $1\frac{3}{4}$  cm. in height, both here and in the other inscriptions on the two reliefs. The proper names are well known, and require no comment. A piece broken from the stone has left only a part of the name at the end of the first line, but the restoration is made certain by Relief I.

At the right of the above inscription is another which gives the date:

בירח ניסן שנת 470  
 — 333 —

בירח ניסן שנת 470

“In the month Nisan, the year 470 (159 A. D.).”

909 (Pl. XXXV, 2). Relief IV (above, pp. 264 f.) has at the foot the following interesting inscription:

הרחבול אלהא טבא מצבא די עינא  
 עבד בני מיתא קשמא  
 ערנא ערנא ערנא  
 טפא טפא טפא  
 רחבול אלהא טבא

ירחבול אלהא טבא מצבא די עינא  
 עבד בני מיתא קשמא

"Yarhibol, the good god; stele (*masseba*) of the fountain; made by the Bnai Mithā, the archers."

The letters of the inscription are well made, though not of the ornamental type. The contrast between the two forms of מ, the one at the beginning of the second line and the other in the last line, is perhaps worth noticing.

The god Yarhibol is already known as the protector of the spring (*ain*) at Palmyra. This source of flowing water, so important to the city, would in any case have been given religious significance; but it was held in especial reverence because of a certain medicinal quality which was recognized, the water being somewhat sulphurous. The office of curator of the sacred place was an honor to be coveted, and we happen to have two inscriptions, the one Aramaic and the other Greek, commemorating members of the Palmyrene nobility who had been thus distinguished. The official named in the former text<sup>2</sup> renders thanks to the tutelary deity because he has been permitted to hold the office a second time; while in the case of the other the inscription (Le Bas-Waddington, 2571c, on a little altar from the sacred site) mentions a column which had been erected in his honor. The latter text gives also the name of the fountain, *Ephka*, and tells us that its curator is "chosen by the god Yarhibol," ἐπιμελητῆς αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰαριβόλου τοῦ θεοῦ.

The precise position of this god in the cult of *Ephka* is nevertheless a matter of uncertainty. The Aramaic inscription above mentioned is dedicated "to the Gad of the blessed fountain," לַגַּד דִּי עִינָא בְּרִיכְתָּא and there arises the question, which can hardly be answered decisively, whether "the Gad" is to be identified with Yarhibol. Février, *La Religion des Palmyréniens*, treats this, on p. 41, as unlikely; on pp. 83 f. as quite possible; and on p. 152 as probable. See also Chabot's "Le Génie de la Fontaine," in his *Choix*, pp. 75 f.

The "fountain" of our Dura stele, wherever the monument was made, might be the Palmyrene *Ephka*; but it is perhaps equally probable, as Du Mesnil du Buisson concluded in his excellent "Inventaire des Inscriptions Palmyréniennes de Doura-Europos," *Rev. Ét. Sem.*, C (1936), pp. xvii-xxxix (see p. xxxvii), that a spring in the neighborhood of Dura was also held to be under the protection of Yarhibol.

<sup>2</sup> This is De Vogüé's no. 95, incorrectly copied and quite misunderstood until it was correctly read and interpreted by Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. Arch. Or.*, II, 1; see further below.

Concerning the Bnai Mitha, see Cantineau, *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre*, Fascicule IX, pp. 30 f., where the literature of the subject is fully given. This was a Palmyrene tribe, or clan, mentioned as  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\eta\ \text{Μιθηνῶν}$  in the Greek of a bilingual inscription (*ibid.*, p. 30), dated in the year 371 (60 A. D.). For the "archers," see also the Palmyrene inscription (no. 845) in the Mithraeum, above, pp. 83 f.

910 (Pl. XXXVI, 1). At the foot of Relief V (above, p. 266) is the following inscription:

נבו עבד זבדא בר זב[ד]לא  
זבדילא

נבו עבד זבדא בר זב[ד]לא

"Nebo; made by Zabda, son of Zab[di]lah."

As the facsimile drawing shows, the last name appears on the monument distinctly as זבלא. How such a name could be interpreted is not clear. It can hardly be anything else than a compound with the verb זבד, "gave, granted," so widely used in Semitic proper names. One of the most familiar names in Palmyrene inscriptions is זבדלא, or זבדלה (that is, זבד - אלה); and since the letter ד could easily be omitted by accident, because of the close resemblance to ב (while a contraction would certainly drop the ל and retain the ד), it seems very probable that "Zabdilah" must be restored.

911 (Pl. LIV, 4). On the plinth of the niche-*aedicula* of the *pronaos* façade (above, p. 238).

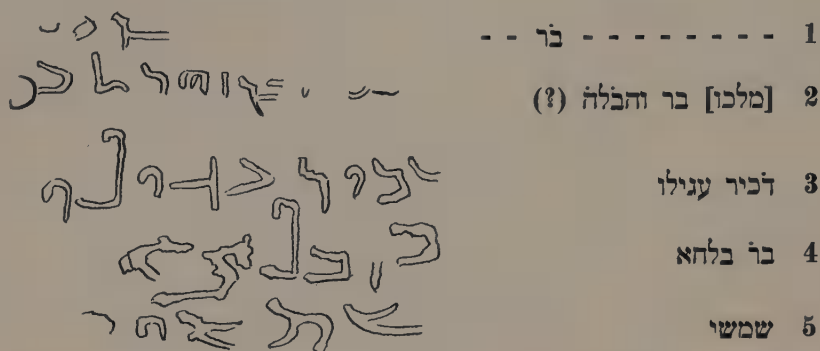
עבד מלכו בר ירחי נאשור  
נאשור

עבד מלכו בר ירחי נאשור

"Made by Mālīkū bar Yarḥai (bar) Naṣōr."

The restoration of the second name seems to be made certain by the remaining traces of the letters on the stone. The vocalization of the last name is provided by the Greek transcription, Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 325.

912. On fallen Period III wall plaster, room 2a. Graffito.



1. Illegible.

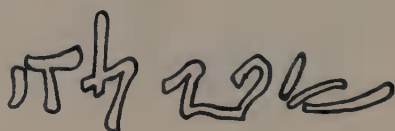
2. "Mālikū bar Wahballath" (cf. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Rev. Ét. Sem.*, C, 1936, p. xxiv).

3 f. "May 'Ogīlū bar Bōlhā be remembered!"

The names are well known. The latter is the abbreviated form (common) of the name which appears in *Rep. VI*, p. 171. Observe that there also the name is written -בל without the usual ו.

5. "Shamshai;" hypocoristic form of שמשנרם or the like.

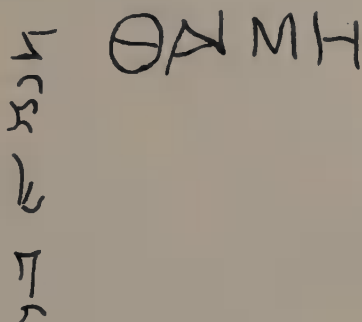
913 a and b. On fragments of Period III wall paintings from room 2a.



a. The only letters which are certain are the first and the last. The most natural reading is שפינא, or שפילא, but neither yields any satis-

factory sense. A Nabatean n. pr. fem. שכינת is known (*CIS* II, 216), and שכינא, Sh'kena ("neighbor," *Prov.*, 27: 10) is perhaps as good a guess at the name as any other.

b. (Pl. XXVII, 8)



Greek: Θάιμη

Palmyrene: "Taimē bar-"

A Palmyrene name already well known.



## VI.

### BLOCKS M8 AND N7 W. TEMPLE OF ZEUS KYRIOS

#### I. ARCHITECTURE

(Pls. IX, 2—XI; Figs. 77—79, facing p. 292).

Street 5, the second south of Main Street, was originally laid out to terminate on the west opposite the inner face of Tower 16. As the city grew outward from its original nucleus the row of blocks along the west wall was gradually built up to a line some 4.50—6.50 m. from the wall. The free space formed a narrow street along the fortifications. On either side of the west end of Street 5, however, for a length of some 44.00 m., the façades of Blocks M8 and N7 were set back 11.50 to 9.00 m. from the wall to allow passage space between them and a building previously erected against the face of Tower 16.

In January 1934 the clearing of the upper layers of the inner embankment against Tower 16 revealed a small bas-relief set in the face of the tower. The removal of the debris filling Wall Street disclosed the building beneath, which was completely excavated in November and December 1934 (Pl. IX, 2).

#### *A. Period I.*

The bedrock within the excavated area slopes away to north and south from a line about opposite the north corner of Tower 16 with a grade of some 5%. After the erection of the tower and adjacent curtains and previous to any construction in the area the ground had gradually risen to an almost level surface 0.40 m. to 1.00 m. above bedrock, i. e. about 0.12 m. below the joint between the top and second courses of the curtain socle. This surface formed the earliest floor of the sanctuary (cf. figs. 78/79).

An area 5.90 m. wide and 4.45—6.85 m. deep before the north half of Tower 16 and a section of curtain adjacent was walled off with narrow mud brick walls on a socle of rubble (Pl. X, 1). These walls average 0.50 m. thick. The rubble socle is laid in two courses and averages 1.05 m. high. It is footed on bed rock. In the east wall, 2.90 m.

from the southeast corner, was a doorway. Only the south side of the original opening in the rubble socle is preserved. It lies 0.13 m. above the early floor, or at this point 0.58 m. above bed rock. At a later period the north side of the opening was hacked away and the whole was filled and levelled off with crude unpointed rubble to carry the heavier rubble socle that was run above the remains of the old. The original width of the doorway may be estimated from this fill as about 1.40—1.45 m.

Opposite the doorway against the face of the tower an altar of mud-brick 1.10 m. square was erected on the early floor. It was lightly rendered with a single coat of plaster, and remains standing to a height of 0.85 m. within the shell of a later altar built up about it (Pl. XI, 2). Its original height can no longer be determined. An inscription cut in the face of the tower directly above the altar records its erection in the year 28/29 A. D. (no. 914, p. 307 below).

The inner face of the south wall of the enclosure is flush with the north side of the tower doorway. The outer opening of the doorway was thus narrowed by 0.50 m.

The enclosure itself was not roofed. There are no traces of sockets for roof-beams or of a roof-line on the face of the tower which is preserved to a height of 6.85 m. above the early sanctuary floor. The narrow mud brick enclosure walls could scarcely have stood to this height, and if they had could not have supported the weight of a roof. Confirmation is furnished by the presence of a catch-basin for rain water sunk in the sentry-go of the curtain with an outlet directly above the northwest corner of the enclosure. It drained into a pool beneath formed by walling off the northwest L of the enclosure with a low rubble parapet and hollowing out the enclosed area in the bed-rock to a depth of 0.27 m.

The enclosure was centered not upon the altar but on the bas relief let into the face of the tower 5.15 m. above its floor and 1.35 m. from the north corner of the tower (cf. fig. 20, above, p. 45). It represents the deity Ba'al Shamin-Zeus Kyrios and is dated in the late fall of 31 A. D. (no. 915, p. 309). It was sheltered from the elements by a small canopy or covering fixed to the tower by means of four sockets, two above and two below the relief. The doorway is not on the axis of the

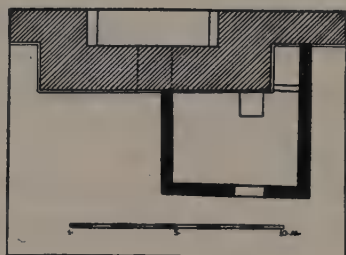


Fig. 73. Temple of Zeus Kyrios, Period I.

relief, but is centered on the altar, which alone was visible from the street. It is more difficult to conjecture why the altar was not placed directly beneath the relief. Perhaps it was to avoid smutting the sculpture with the smoke rising from the altar.

### *B. Period II.*

The term Period II designates all those intermediate alterations and additions which took place between the original construction and the final rebuilding.

Within the original enclosure there was a first general rise in floor level of 0.17—0.23 m., indicating a considerable period of occupation. In the top 0.03—0.04 m. of this rise are many bits of plaster refuse whose presence here as elsewhere denotes a period of construction in which bits of wet plaster were spattered about and trampled in. In this case the construction was that of a new altar which was footed on the original floor but built to the later level, 0.18 m. higher. Its rendering of plaster flanges out over this floor level (Pl. X, 2). On a plaster base 0.18 m. high a rubble casing with outside dimensions of 1.90 m.  $\times$  1.50 m. was erected about the early altar. It stood 0.87 m. high above the base and is preserved to its full height. (It has now been cut away on the north side to reveal the original altar.) From this socle rose the altar itself, some 1.50 m.  $\times$  1.30 m. It was completely destroyed in the later rebuilding, but, from the estimated rise of the steps which approached it, probably stood about 2.00 m. higher. Of these steps only the first two and the mud rubble foundation for the rest are preserved. The two preserved steps show treads of 0.28 m. and risers of 0.27 m. On these dimensions one must restore eight steps with a total rise of about 2.16 m. and a small platform before the altar. Against the tower face south of the altar a series of rubble seats or steps was built. It was probably during this period that a small round-headed niche, 0.30 m. high, 0.18 m. wide, and 0.09 m. deep was cut in the tower face 0.90 m. below and 0.55 m. to the north of the relief.

In other respects the original enclosure apparently remained exactly as before.

Early in this intermediate period two large rooms, Z<sub>2</sub> and Z<sub>3</sub>, were added to the north of the original enclosure. Their walls, 0.72—0.78 m. thick, of mud rubble pointed and rendered with plaster, are footed

on the rammed earth surface of Level I. This surface remained the floor of Z2. The floor of Z3 lay 0.13 m. higher. Both had low rubble benches, Z2 along its north and east walls, Z3 on north, east, and south (Pl. XI, 1). There was no communication between these rooms and the original enclosure. The north wall of the enclosure is preserved above the height of its rubble socle for its entire length and shows no trace of an opening. The rooms were accessible from the exterior by a doorway near the south end of the east wall of Z2. A portion 1.27 m. long of the rubble projection to carry the sill remains beneath the later rubble socle. Z3 was accessible only from Z2. Its doorway 0.90 m. wide between the jambs, was set in a shallow recess of 0.08 m. above the north bench of Z2. The northeast exterior corner of Z3 was protected by a rubble *paracarro*.

Room Z3 was roofed. At a height of 3.63 m. above its floor the curtain face shows an un-

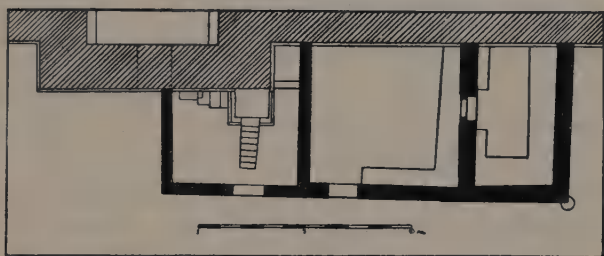


Fig. 74. Temple of Zeus Kyrios, Period II.

mistakable line of weathering beneath which scattered bits of plaster adhere to the stones. These traces end abruptly just beyond the north and south walls of room Z3. They indicate that Z3 had a flat roof supported on tie beams resting on its north and south walls. The absence of such traces or of sinkings for the ends of tie beams along the curtain above room Z2 constitutes strong evidence that Z2 remained roofless.<sup>1</sup>

This annex to the original *temenos*, therefore, consisted of a chamber and forecourt. The chamber Z3 with its benches has the same general character as the "chapels" of the other temples of the city. It doubtless served like them for group reunion and ritual dining. Its separate forecourt probably indicates that the group which used it, though intimately concerned with the cult of the *temenos*, had other not strictly religious activities. This arrangement is analogous to that of the Temple of the Gaddé.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We must otherwise suppose that its roof was carried on beams the west ends of which were anchored on the curtain sentry-go some 7.00 m. above the floor of the room. Room Z2 would on this assumption have stood some 2.85 m. higher than Z3 and probably equally high above the *temenos* Z1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 226 f., 230—232.



*C. Period III.**(Figs. 75 and 76)*

Period III represents a complete rebuilding of the old sanctuary. It occurred at a time when the level within had risen to 0.80—1.00 m. above the earliest floor. The level of the street outside was approximately equal. The surface of this level was not flat like the preceding ones. It sloped with a gradient of about 1 in 22 up toward the city wall. It corresponds to an early stage in that sudden sloping fill along the walls which raised the level in this region a total of about 1.15 m. above the preceding street level (= 2.00—2.15 m. above bedrock) in a very short time (cf. p. 40 above).

The original enclosure was completely abandoned. Its south wall was razed to a height of 0.50—0.70 m. above bedrock. Its north wall was left standing to the height of the new sloping floor 1.25—1.55 m. above bedrock (Pl. XI, 2). The lowest rubble course of the socle of the east wall was preserved as a footing for the new wall run above it. The altar of Period II was razed to the level of the new paving.

The new enclosure was 4.25 m. wider than the old to the north and 4.65 m. wider to the south with a total width of 15.80 m. Its east wall of necessity followed approximately the line of the old. The rise in the ground level had rendered the entrance of Tower 16 useless and had obviated the necessity of keeping it free. It was accordingly incorporated in the enclosure whose south wall abutted almost at the south corner of the tower. The rubble socle of the new enclosure was 0.72—0.86 m. thick. Where not utilizing the old walls of Z1 and Z2 it was footed on bedrock and laid in two courses. On the north and south it stood 1.50 m. high above bedrock. On the east it was some 0.26 m. higher. The mud brick superstructure of the south wall still stands 3.00 m. high above the socle.

The somewhat wider new doorway was set directly above the old (Pl. X, 1). When the new socle was laid the doorway opening, 1.87 m. wide, was left above the bottom tier of rubble, and the socle was built up in steps at either side in the usual fashion to a height of 2.75 m. to buttress the thrust of the heavy stone jambs and lintel. Later when the sill was laid and the stone trim put in place the opening was filled up to the required level with unpointed rubble. The finished doorway was 1.08 m. wide between the jambs and 1.97 m. from sill to lintel.

To replace the altar of Period II a cube of mud brick plaster-



rendered, 0.95 m. square and 1.30 m. high, was erected on the base of the old. Upon the upper surface was a small hearth for burnt offerings contained between two rubble arms. On it were found the remains of the last sacrifice, consisting of ashes and the bones of a small fowl.

The face of the tower about and beneath the bas-relief for 1.36 m. on either side of it was whitewashed. The whitewash was first applied in Period III since it descends only to the Period III floor level. Above, it terminates on a line 0.21 m. above the relief. In the course of Period III the whitewash was twice renewed, except for an area 0.52 m. wide and 1.09 m. high directly beneath the relief which received only the original coat. Evidently a rectangular object of some sort was affixed to the wall at this point.

There is no evidence to show that the enclosure was roofed during this period. If it were, the beams would have been anchored partly on the curtain sentry-go and partly in the face of the tower above the line of actual preservation. On the other hand the evidence of the original enclosure and the nature itself of the sacred open precinct about the altar militate against the presence of a roof. The termination of the whitewash above the cult relief is perhaps an indication of the height of the enclosure walls.

At some time during this period a thin mud brick partition was erected on the sanctuary floor to cut off the south end of the enclosure (Z<sub>4</sub>).

Chapel Z<sub>3</sub> of the old sanctuary was retained in the new essentially unchanged. The north portion of Z<sub>2</sub> not incorporated in the enlarged enclosure was treated as an entry corridor (Pl. XI, 1). A doorway was cut at its east end and faced off with new rubble piers. This opening had no sill and showed no trace of doors. It was probably arched. The remains of the old bench of Z<sub>2</sub> were covered by the new floor level, probably approximately that of the enclosure. The resultant difference of level between Z<sub>2</sub> and Z<sub>3</sub> was taken up by raising the sill of the doorway to Z<sub>3</sub> with plaster-mortared mud brick and placing a mud brick step between the reveals.

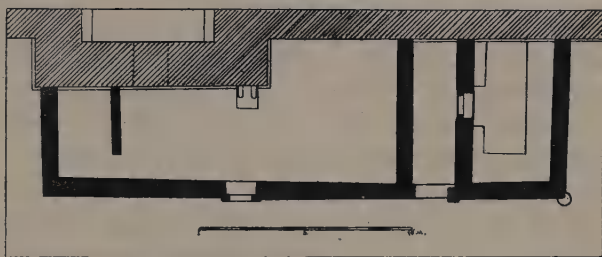


Fig. 75. Temple of Zeus Kyrios, Period III.

*D. Dates and Cult.*

The construction of the original *temenos* is dated by the inscriptions above its altar and on its cult relief<sup>3</sup> to the end of the second decade of the first century after Christ. The time of the addition of rooms Z2 and Z3 cannot be so narrowly defined. Presumably, from the levels of their floors, there was no considerable lapse of time after the building of the *temenos*. Blocks M8 and N7 facing the original enclosure were vacant at the time of its erection. As is shown by the level of a doorway in N7 which gives on the street along the wall they were built up soon afterwards, but probably before the addition of rooms Z2 and Z3. Their façades were set back obliquely far enough to allow an adequate width of street (ca. 4.50 m.) between them and the original *temenos*. The building of Z2 and Z3 caused an awkward narrowing of this passage to only 2.70 m.

The beginnings of the sloping fill in the street along the walls which formed the floor of the *temenos* of Period III have been plausibly connected with the disposition of the debris left by the earthquake of 160 A. D.<sup>4</sup> It may therefore be supposed that the earthquake so damaged the old sanctuary that its reconstruction became imperative. The restoration must have been carried out soon after the catastrophe while the work of clearing away the debris was still in progress.

The little *temenos* of Ba'al Shamin-Zeus Kyrios remained unchanged in character throughout its history. It exemplified the Semitic sanctuary reduced to its barest essentials, an image of the deity with an altar of sacrifice before it in an open enclosure. It was the smallest and simplest of the sanctuaries of Dura. The city affords no parallels for its plan or for the placement of its cult image high above the altar. No satisfactory explanation for these features or for the existence of the sanctuary in this place is furnished by the information at our disposal. It may probably be inferred from the disposition of the elements of the sanctuary that the worshippers were few and that they were banded together in a college or fraternity of some sort. It is perhaps natural to assume that this group was military in character, and that the erection of the sanctuary against the tower and curtain and the setting of the bas-relief in the face of the tower were essential to a cult of soldiers. It should, however, be observed that the two

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 914-915, below, pp. 307-309.

<sup>4</sup> *Rep. II*, no. H2, pp. 86-90; above, pp. 38-40.

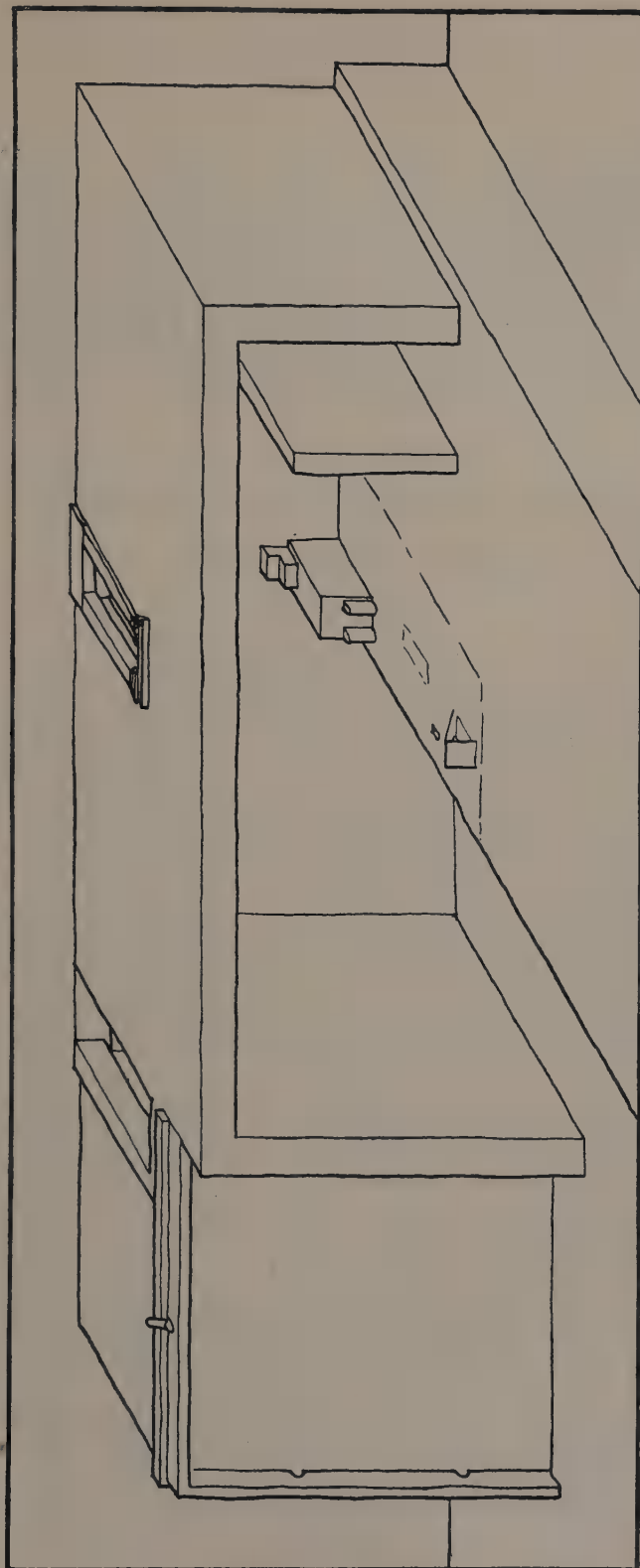


Fig. 76. Temple of Zeus Kyrios, Isometric.

inscriptions give no hint of this. In the cult relief itself neither the dedicant nor the god are portrayed in military costume, though it is almost the rule for the gods of this period to appear in panoply of war. We are left to suppose either that the relation of the sanctuary to the walls was purely casual, or that the deity, though in no sense military or the god of a particular group of soldiers, had a definite apotropaic significance either for the fortifications in general or for Tower 16 in particular. The latter is probably nearest the truth.

## II. SCULPTURE AND SMALL OBJECTS

### *A. The Cult Bas-Relief.*

(Pl. XXXVII)

The stele, 0.515 m.  $\times$  0.345 m.  $\times$  0.095 m., is of a very soft stone with fine grain similar to that in the relief of Aphlad (*Rep. V*, pp. 106—120, pl. XIII). The sides are cut straight from the surface for 0.05 m., then cut back. Around the relief is a border, 0.01 m. wide around the sides, 0.035 m. beneath, where occurs the dedicatory inscription (below, no. 915, pp. 307—309). At the upper left hand corner, the stone is cut at an angle, perhaps because of the original shape of the block, perhaps to facilitate its introduction into a niche. The relief, altogether 0.045 m. deep, extends 0.01 m. above the line of the border. The middle portion of the relief is cut deeper than the edges. The border of the relief is broken on top by the *polos* of the god which extends to the top of the stone and projects 0.005 m. beyond the border. The stone is at Yale.

The god, Zeus Kyrios, sits on a backless stool covered with a cushion, the folds of which are represented by incised vertical lines. The ornaments of the cushion are indicated by three rows of dots between folds, the dots probably representing jewels. A long-sleeved *chiton*, unadorned except for semi-circular folds beneath the chin and almost horizontal folds along the arms, covers the upper body of the god. A *himation* covers his knees, passing under the right arm and over the left shoulder, its end falling to the cushion. The other end, in a thick fold, passes up over the left elbow and falls along the border of the stone as far as the top of the stool. Fold lines in the heavy borders run parallel to the edges of the rolls. Folds fall almost vertically from the knees and curve fairly naturally from the lap and over the left leg. Heavy high boots with criss-cross lacings cover the feet. The lower











part of the left foot is broken away, but in the right one may remark that the shoe is made in two parts, one covering the toes and lower foot, while, the other, adorned with the criss-cross design between raised edges and perhaps some decoration on the sides, covers the upper foot, ankle, and lower leg. The *polos* of the god consists of three rows of jewels set between raised bands. The upper row of ten and the lower one of eight have the stones set beside one another, while in the middle the four and one-half stones, larger in size, are set individually in square bands enclosed within the borders above and below.

On either side of the god's face, long hair hangs down in wavy bands, while above the middle of the forehead vertical incisions mark the lines of hair rising straight up and perhaps formed above into "snail" curls or half curls. The mustache marked with oblique incisions falls into the beard which has low half curls on the side and apparently full snail curls in front. A straight horizontal wrinkle is depicted in the center of the forehead and a curved one over the right eye. The eye-brows are represented by incisions close to the edge of the frontal bone, incisions which leave a narrow band of stone above the eyes set a little further back than the forehead. The eye-balls are egg-shaped between lids which meet equally at the outer ends. The left eye-ball is broken. The nose is broken but was apparently quite well formed. Traces of incisions for the nostrils are still visible. The parted mustache reveals the upper lip, and the beard, beginning just above the cleft in the chin, leaves the lip clear. The lips protrude a little and are well modelled with the depression in the middle of the upper lip clearly shown. The neck, wide and heavy, is marked with a horizontal incision which recalls the work of early Palmyrene artists. Zeus holds in his right hand a lance or long sceptre, almost all of which except the three-petalled point and traces of the staff is broken away. The left hand is almost completely gone. The right hand at shoulder height holds a bunch of fruit. Clear are the bunch of grapes with grape leaf, the pomegranate, and the blades of wheat. The remaining stalk with small oval fruit and narrow leaves probably represents the olive branch. The four fingers of the right hand clasp the stalk; the thumb is not visible.

Beside Zeus stands Seleucus, the dedicant, with a ram in his arms. The ram is given in side view, its head resting against his right shoulder. Its forehead is broken away but a horn is clearly visible curving around behind the ear. The fleece is represented by long, slightly curving lines running the length of the body, between which are cut

short curving incisions. The surfaces between the curving lines are planed down toward the curve. The large tail, marked off from the body by a deep incision, proves the ram to be of the fat-tailed variety. Seleucus supports the beast with his right hand placed beneath its belly, his left beneath its hind quarters.

The head of Seleucus is almost entirely broken away but his long neck is nearly complete and shows four horizontal wrinkles indicated by incisions. He is clad in a long sleeved *chiton* which appears above the ram and which is marked on his chest with semi-circular folds, on his right arm with curving folds more or less horizontal which bunch toward the elbow. As in the figure of Zeus, the *himation* runs under his right arm and falls to just above his feet, covering the lower part of the body. A heavy band of this garment runs from the back over his left shoulder and descends toward his chest, covering his shoulder and left upper arm. The other end passes over his left elbow and falls along his left side in straight vertical folds. His lower legs are apparently bare and his feet are covered with low shoes whose pointed tongues project above the line of the shoe top. His right arm is bent at the elbow and the fingers of the hand, disproportionately long, support the animal while the thumb is held loosely beside them. In his left hand, the thumb and fingers are just visible supporting the hind quarters and concealing the hind legs of the animal.

It is obvious at first sight that the relief contains Greek and Eastern elements in much the same way as the relief of Aphlad dated a few years later. Just how much each civilization contributed is not so clear. One is inclined to ascribe at first the position of the god on the chair and the sceptre as well as the dress to the Greeks.<sup>1</sup> A study of the more ancient Syrian monuments, however, especially the seal cylinders, reveals a very strong eastern tradition in the whole arrangement. A very common design on Syro-Hittite cylinders reveals a god or goddess seated on a stool or chair with low back, approached by worshippers.<sup>2</sup> Not uncommon is the presentation to the god of an animal, usually a goat or a gazelle, an offering held in the arms of the worshipper. One might mention especially two Syro-Hittite cylinders,<sup>3</sup> the one representing a worshipper (repeated symmetrically before and behind the goddess) presenting to a seated goddess a goat held in the arms, the other a worshipper presenting a similar offering to a seated

<sup>1</sup> See my article in *Berytus*, III (1936), pp. 6 f.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910), pp. 292—295, 360—367, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ward, *op. cit.*, figs. 902 and 1024, pp. 294 and 321.



bearded god. An earlier seal from Babylon depicts the goddess seated on a stool,<sup>4</sup> and before her a priest leading a dedicant who holds a gazelle in his arm. In these cylinders the gods are seated with legs and head in profile, the torso front. In a small group, however, both head and torso are full front while the legs are in profile. The famous Rich cylinder<sup>5</sup> presents the goddess in this position seated before an altar toward which the worshipper carrying a goat is led by the hand. Another Syro-Hittite cylinder presents a bearded god,<sup>6</sup> seated on a low backed chair with face and torso in front view, the legs in profile. Before him a worshipper holds a *libra*. Moortgat<sup>7</sup> suggests that frontality of the deity in relief allows the worshipper to address the god more directly. He traces the origin of this artistic tradition to the Mittannian-Assyrian civilization.<sup>8</sup> The type of "lamb-carrier", also, Moortgat (p. 81) assigns to the Mitannian civilization and states that its presence on a Syrian seal of the second millenium is due to borrowing from the Mitannians. An excellent example cited by him from north Syria<sup>9</sup> harks back to the late Sumerian designs. It shows the god in profile seated on a low-backed chair, and approached by a worshipper *en face* carrying a lamb in his arms. There is no doubt, therefore, that both the general arrangement of our stele and such details as the position of the god and the disposition of the dedicant are taken directly from ancient north Syrian tradition. The chief change is the compression of the scene due to the limitation of the field of the bas-relief as opposed to the comparatively wider field of the seal cylinder. In place of the goat, which Ward (p. 367) says is regularly the sacrificial animal carried in the arms in Assyrian as in earlier Babylonian reliefs, the Syrian fat-tailed ram has been substituted. That in Syria the sheep regularly replaced the goat at this period seems proved by the sculpture from Palmyra of a boy carrying a lamb in his arms.<sup>10</sup>

These general arrangements of the stele, however, are by no means the only things which betray oriental influence. The *polos* is obviously of Syrian origin. The treatment of the hair of the god with the long locks on either side of the face cut to represent undulating curls is

<sup>4</sup> Ward, *ib.*, fig. 1269, p. 367.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 1233, p. 360.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, fig. 907, p. 295. Ward, p. 294, says it may be either god or goddess.

<sup>7</sup> *Bildende Kunst des alten Orients*, pp. 62—64.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also above, p. 93, n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. XII, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Chabot, *Choix*, pl. XX.

paralleled on some Parthian coins of the middle of the first century B. C.<sup>11</sup> An interesting parallel, probably from Syria, occurs in the relief of Allath in Berlin, published by M. Seyrig.<sup>12</sup> In the relief of Zeus, again, as in the relief of Aphlad,<sup>13</sup> the treatment of the beard with finely cut parallel undulating lines and "snail" curls goes back directly through the Achaemenid Persians<sup>14</sup> to the Assyrians.<sup>15</sup> It is worth observing that even in Palmyra the snail curl does not seem to appear in the sculpture until the middle of the second century, the period when it was officially introduced in Rome.<sup>16</sup> The horizontal incisions marking neck wrinkles are common in early Palmyrene work and may be ascribed to local Syrian tradition. Even the horizontal folds along the arm belong to the Persian rather than the Greek tradition.

One of the attributes of the god, the long sceptre or lance, may be taken over from the common Greek type<sup>17</sup> or it may be a survival from the Babylonian-Assyrian period; see my discussion in *Rep. V*, p. 110. In any case it was common on Parthian coins,<sup>18</sup> and a noticeable characteristic of the Partho-Greek sculpture at Nimrud Dagh.<sup>19</sup>

However this may be, there is no question but that the second attribute, the bunch of fruit and grain, is eastern, and we may ascribe its provenance to the Hittite tradition of southern Asia Minor and north Syria. The famous Hittite relief at Ivriz in the Taurus<sup>20</sup> shows the great Hittite god carrying both grapes and wheat. The tradition survived and at Tarsus in the fourth century, the god, while retaining his old attributes, the grape and corn, acquired the characteristics of Zeus.<sup>21</sup> On silver coins, as Cook says, struck in Cilicia by the satrap Datames 378—374 B. C., he appears under the name Ba'al-Tars

<sup>11</sup> Wroth, *B. M. C.*, Parthia, pl. XII, 1—6.

<sup>12</sup> *Syria XIII* (1932), pl. LVII.

<sup>13</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. XIII.

<sup>14</sup> Moortgat, *Hellas und die Kunst der Achaemeniden*, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, (1920), pl. XI.

<sup>16</sup> Ingholt, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> Compare, for example, the painting of the throned Zeus now in the museum at Athens, most recently reproduced by M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (1929), fig. 383.

<sup>18</sup> *B. M. C.*, Parthia, pl. XI, 1; XIV, 12; XIX, 2 and 3; XX, 3, etc.

<sup>19</sup> K. Humann, O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* (1890), pl. XXXIX, 1.

<sup>20</sup> L. Messerschmidt, "Corpus Inscriptionum Hittiticarum", *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* (1906), 5, pp. 4—7, cf. pp. 19. f.

<sup>21</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 595; Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, pp. 4—10, 12—15, pl. CIV.

with eagle sceptre in his right hand, an ear of wheat and a branch of grapes in his left. But I cannot entirely agree with Cook that the god has acquired the characteristics of Zeus while retaining his old attributes. Some of the coins of Datames and of Mazaeus, satrap of Cilicia in 364—361 B. C., show the god with torso and head full front, legs turned right as in our representation, the lotus sceptre in his left hand, the grapes and grain in his right. There is an extraordinary parallel here to the representation of the god with face and torso frontality on the ancient Syro-Hittite seals. Obviously, both at Dura and in Cilicia, the artists have taken the ancient god of fertility, arranged the scene in accordance with the ancient Syrian tradition, and changed under Greek influence only a few details of dress.

The fact of the matter is that Greek artists through superior artistic skill were able to introduce some modification toward naturalism in ancient designs. Through western influence the eastern gods often accepted Greek names and not infrequently Greek clothes. The astounding thing at Dura is that even with these changes, the coiffure, the hat or *polos*, the treatment of the hair, and the characteristic position of the body remains unchanged. The relief of Zeus is not Hellenistic in the sense of a true union of Greek and Eastern elements, but essentially oriental with only the thinnest possible veil of Greek influence superimposed.

Three inscriptions from the Hauran mention Zeus Kyrios.<sup>22</sup> The first, found at Sf̄, dedicates an altar whose face is adorned with a fruitful vine from whose branches rises the bust of a man, clad in a tunic which leaves bare the right shoulder and carrying in his left hand an object which appears to be a pomegranate. Dunand (p. 21) assumes correctly that the address is made here to Dusares-Dionysus whose youthful bust is represented.<sup>23</sup> A statue from the Hauran presents a bearded god clad with *chiton*, *himation*, and *calathos* and holding a cornucopia in the left hand, a *patera* in the left. Dunand (p. 37) calls it the only standing representation of Dusares hitherto known. The fact is that a cult of the great god of fertility was widespread in Syria and southern Asia Minor. Sometimes the name Zeus Kyrios, sometimes Dusares, was applied to the divinity. If Dunand is

<sup>22</sup> M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda* (1934), no. 15 = *Syria*, VII (1926), p. 328; Dunand, no. 177 = *Princeton Expedition to Syria*, III, A, no. 665 (where earlier bibliography); Dunand, no. 178.

<sup>23</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), pl. XXXVII, 1; Dunand, *op. cit.*, no. 42, pl. VII.

correct, the name Dusares may be applied both to a young unbearded god and to the older bearded divinity. Dusares is possibly found on the coins of Bosra<sup>24</sup> and is represented on the temple of Dushara at Sî.<sup>25</sup>

Further afield, very striking parallels to the representation of Zeus Kyrios at Dura may be found in a series of most interesting monuments from Carthage. We may, first of all, compare the figure of the standing Dusares from the Hauran with the statue of Saturnus found at Bulla-Regia.<sup>26</sup> The bearded god is depicted clad in Roman costume, with cornucopia in the left hand (the right is broken), and with *calathos* on his head. Toutain<sup>27</sup> remarks that in the first century of our era the two most popular cults in north Africa are those of Saturnus and Caelestis. Saturnus is often called *Deus Frugifer* and *Deus frugum*, and the representation with cornucopia is the interpretation of these epithets. Perhaps even more significant in relation to the Dura relief is a series of older reliefs from Africa which belong to the pre-Roman tradition,<sup>28</sup> and which show among other deities a male god holding fruit in his hands. Usually the grapes are in the right, the pomegranate in the left. No. 748 shows him holding both grapes and a pomegranate in the right hand, a second pomegranate in the left. This is obviously the same god of fertility, as he appeared before the Romans introduced the cornucopia.

It is certainly not mere chance that among the general epithets of Saturnus the most significant is *Dominus*,<sup>29</sup> an epithet which corresponds exactly to the Greek Kyrios. In Africa *Dominus* sometimes attains the value of the name of the god itself, and the divinity is addressed as *Dominus Augustus*, *Dominus Balcaranensis*, *Dominus Sobarensis*, etc. As Toutain remarks (pp. 16 f.) the Latin *Balcaranensis* is only the transcription of the Punic Ba'al Qarnaim, which consequently shows the assimilation of Saturnus to the Phoenician Ba'al.<sup>30</sup> We may recall

<sup>24</sup> F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte* (1874), pp. 366 f. But cf. *B. M. C.*, Arabia, p. xxvi: "more likely Zeus Ammon" under Elagabal. Symbols of Dusares appear later in the coins; cf. *ib.*, pp. xxvii—xxix.

<sup>25</sup> *Princeton Expedition to Syria*, II, A, p. 390.

<sup>26</sup> A. Merlin, *Le temple d'Apollon à Bulla-Regia* (1908), pp. 12 f.; P. Gauckler *et al.*, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, Supplement (1910), pl. XXXIII, 1; J. Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*, III (1920), p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Du Coudray, La Blanchère, P. Gauckler, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (1897), nos. 741—752 pp. 62 f.

<sup>29</sup> Toutain, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Toutain, *De Saturni Dei in Africa Romana Cultu*, pp. 28 f.



now (above, pp. 296 f.) that the Ba'al-Tars, i. e. the Ba'al of Tarsus is portrayed on the coins of Cilicia with fruit and grain and that this Ba'al Qarnaim in Africa has the title *frugifer*.

It must be emphatically stated, however, that though representations of Saturnus in Africa are similar to statues of Dusares in the Hauran, the two gods are quite distinct. There is no suggestion in Africa that Saturnus was originally Dusares-Dionysus. Both the epithet *Dominus* and that of *Kyrios* probably are merely translations of the older *Ba'al* and both epithets are most commonly attributed to gods of vegetation, but this does not necessarily mean that the Ba'als were identical. This conclusion is brought home most strongly to us by the fact that the Zeus Kyrios of our relief at Dura is not translated in the Palmyrene inscription by Dusares but by Ba'al Shamin.

In a recent article Seyrig<sup>31</sup> has discussed the cult of Ba'al Shamin at Palmyra. He very justly draws a sharp distinction between the cult of Ba'al Shamin and that of the great divinity Bel at Palmyra (associated with Aglibol and Iarhibol), though both Bel and Ba'al Shamin in Greek bear the name of Zeus. Bel is regularly represented as unbearded (as are Iarhibol and Aglibol),<sup>32</sup> his monuments bear no representations of the thunderbolt and his cult is not closely connected with the growth of vegetation. On the other hand Seyrig suggests (p. 93) that the cult of Ba'al Shamin came to Palmyra only after it became an agricultural center. Ba'al Shamin as "lord of heaven", Zeus Ouranios, naturally held the thunderbolt and as god of storm brought increase of crops. The cult of Ba'al Shamin at Palmyra, at least in the first century, is far less important than that of Bel. It is impossible, naturally, to identify absolutely Ba'al Shamin and the unnamed god at Palmyra, but Seyrig shows conclusively that the cult of the unnamed god was closely associated with that of Ba'al Shamin and probably a later development of it. It is particularly significant, therefore, that a bust of this unnamed god shows a bearded divinity.

These conclusions seem strikingly borne out by the evidence at Dura. Ba'al Shamin (Zeus Kyrios) as a bearded god is quite different in appearance from the unbearded god who appears with Aglibol and Iarhibol in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods,<sup>33</sup> and the bunch of fruit Ba'al Shamin carries distinguished him again from the god with

<sup>31</sup> *Antiquités Syriennes*, I (1934), pp. 87—102 (*Syria*, XIV, pp. 238—253).

<sup>32</sup> *Ib.*, p. 88.

<sup>33</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. L.; Cumont (*ib.*, pp. 103 f.) wishes to identify this beardless god with Ba'al Shamin.



the celestial globe. Furthermore, the little temple of Ba'al Shamin betrays a cult of far less importance than that of the Palmyrene triad.

The antiquity and importance of the cult of Ba'al Shamin in Syria is too well known to discuss here.<sup>34</sup> Seyrig is inclined to recognize Ba'al Shamin in the god called simply Ba'al in the tablets of Ras-Shamra.<sup>35</sup> Dussaud, on the other hand, associates this Ba'al with Hadad.<sup>36</sup> The Dura finds support the conclusion of Dussaud, for Ba'al Shamin at Dura in this period is sharply distinguished from and greatly inferior to Hadad. It is true that Hadad is bearded, and carries both thunderbolt and stalks of wheat. He is, however, regularly accompanied by the bull and most closely associated with the great goddess Atargatis, both of which aspects are absent in the cult of Ba'al Shamin. Just as at Palmyra the cult of Ba'al Shamin is introduced relatively late and remains at least for a time unimportant, so at Dura his cult is at this early period far less important than that of Hadad. Even the local Aphlad (son of Hadad) in the first century has a more important cult than Ba'al Shamin.

In the Hauran the cult of Ba'al Shamin was early of great importance and at Sîf the great temple begun in 33/32 B. C. was dedicated to him. At the entrance to the *theatron* court in front of this temple the Princeton expedition<sup>37</sup> recovered a keystone adorned with a bust in high relief. Since the unbearded head was radiate they wished to identify the god with Ba'al Shamin. The more recent discoveries in Palmyra and Dura make such an identification impossible and it is probably better to recognize in the bust merely the sun god or a celestial body, associated more or less closely with the god of heaven. A much stronger candidate for the image of Ba'al Shamin is a bust found by de Vogüë<sup>38</sup> representing a bearded god who holds in his hand a cornucopia with grapes, two pine cones and a pomegranate. Unfortunately the bust merely capped one of the antae in the temple and there is no proof that it actually represented Ba'al Shamin. Such a bust might represent with equal propriety either a male Tyche or Dusares, closely associated in the Hauran with Ba'al Shamin.

In the very precinct of Ba'al Shamin at Sîf, occupying a place of

<sup>34</sup> See Hastings, *Encyclopedia*, s. v. *Baal*.

<sup>35</sup> *Antiquités Syriennes*, p. 95.

<sup>36</sup> "Le vrai nom de Baal," *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, CXIII (1936), pp. 5—20; cf. *ibid.* CV (1932), pp. 255 ff.; CXI (1935), p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Princeton Expedition to Syria*, II, A, p. 380.

<sup>38</sup> *Syrie Centrale*, I, p. 34 and pl. III.

advantage in the central court, lay a great temple of Dusares. This is significant for it shows the close association of these two divinities even though the separate temples prove their separate individualities. The fact is, as we have seen, that both were gods closely connected with vegetation and therefore appropriately associated together. It is probably on account of this close relationship and the intimate tie of both with crops and fruits that we find the same name, Zeus Kyrios, used in the Hauran as the equivalent of Dusares, in Dura as the equivalent of Ba'al Shamin.

Paton suggests<sup>39</sup> that in the Greek period the cult of Ba'al Shamin was generally diffused throughout Syria and Mesopotamia and that he attained the rank of *summus deus*. This proposition seems to be supported by the evidence in Palmyra where a metamorphosis apparently changes the cult of Ba'al Shamin into that of the unnamed god called "he whose name is forever blest" and "compassionate". Such a change is due in part to the fact that he is originally "lord of the sky" or "the Ba'al who dwells in the sky" and so easily becomes Zeus Olympius and then Ζεὺς μέγιστος κεραῦνιος. Seyrig suggests that at Palmyra the ultimate change may have been affected by the Jewish conception of Yahveh.<sup>40</sup> This question of the later cult of Ba'al Shamin is, however, far too complicated to be undertaken here.<sup>41</sup>

At Dura Ba'al Shamin at this period is identified merely as Zeus Kyrios and distinguished chiefly by his attributes of grain and fruit. He is one expression of the great nature and celestial divinity in Syria. a deity who appears also under the forms of Hadad, Dusares, and many local Ba'als, e. g., the Ba'al of Tarsus. The fact that in the Hauran this nature god is sometimes bearded, sometimes not, probably means that in some representations he is more closely associated with the Dusares-Dionysus cult, in others with the Ba'al Shamin conception.

Perhaps another distinctive feature in the cult of Ba'al Shamin at Dura may be observed in the relief. Instead of the usual offering of grains of incense on a flaming altar, the dedicant in the Dura relief bears a ram for the god. It may not be chance that an altar found at Gdê m north of Palmyra, and dedicated to the unnamed god, is adorned with a hand holding a thunderbolt above a flock of goats. Beside the thunderbolt is represented the sun and moon.<sup>42</sup> Seyrig interprets this

<sup>39</sup> Hastings, *Encyclopedia*, II, p. 295.

<sup>40</sup> *Antiquités Syriennes*, p. 100.

<sup>41</sup> But cf. above, pp. 260, 274.

<sup>42</sup> *Antiquités Syriennes*, p. 116, fig. 19.

to mean that the god of the thunder brings sustenance to the flock. Unfortunately the inscriptions supersede earlier texts so that it is impossible to tell to whom the stone was originally dedicated. It is worth suggesting, however, since at Dura the dedicant offers a ram to Ba'al Shamin, and near Palmyra the unnamed god is associated particularly with the herds of goats, that Ba'al Shamin, at least near the Euphrates, was particularly concerned not only with agriculture but with sheep and goats. In this particular his cult would be distinguished again from that of Hadad, who is so closely associated with the bull.

The astonishing thing in this early cult of Ba'al Shamin is how much emphasis is placed on the agricultural aspect of the god and how little is given except indirectly to his celestial power. One might suspect that the influence of the Dusares-Dionysus cult in the Hauran played a part in this development except that in the Hauran itself the change is not so noticeable. Perhaps the cult of Ba'al Shamin came to Dura rather from the north than from Palmyra and the Hauran and the northern cult retained more of the agricultural aspects so prominent even in Persian and Greek times in Cilicia.

*B. The Male Figure Holding a Bull's Head.*

(Pl. XXXVIII, 1)

The bas-relief of a man holding a bull's head was found in the debris just south of the temple (N7 W2). It is now at Yale. The stone, which is ordinary gypsum, is 0.35 m. high, 0.26 m. wide, and 0.056 m. thick with a relief 0.013 m. deep. The relief is very flat but is cut away sharply and deeply around the edges.

A great halo of hair circles the upper part of the head and the hair immediately above the forehead is adorned with small circles separated by incisions and representing curls. Incisions mark the eye sockets but no details of the eyes are drawn. The nose is straight and long, the mouth a single incision with no provision for lips, and the chin is long and pointed. As a whole the visage is long and almost triangular, as so often on Parthian coins and reliefs. The man is naked and the genitals are clearly cut. The breasts, represented as small and round, are placed unnaturally high. Above the shoulders the muscles bulge up to reach the height of the middle of the face. The outline of the small stomach is represented by an incised line. There is far too large a space between chest muscles and stomach. The left leg is represented

in profile as if the man were advancing right. The right leg is twisted around and there is no difference in plane between hip and waist as if the leg were completely out of joint. Even the right hip is completely in profile. The shins are far too long in proportion to the upper leg. The right arm is bent sharply at the shoulder and the hand is held just below the right breast. Apparently the hand holds some small object, but what it is is not clear. The left upper arm is not quite horizontal; the forearm is vertical and the hand grasps the right horn of a bull's head. The hand is hidden by the ear which extends along and in front of the horn.

The eyes of the bull are two projecting circles and the nose widens at the end quite unnaturally. The horns are very high and curve in toward the center at the upper ends. From the bottom of the bull's head, two vertical incisions outline a narrow vertical ridge which probably represents a stream of blood. The stream inclines to the right and widens near the bottom.

In style the relief may be compared to the lower half of a bas-relief of Heracles with club and lion's skin, found in the fifth campaign.<sup>43</sup> In both reliefs the shins are disproportionately long in relation to the upper leg and the right leg is twisted around quite illogically into profile. The relief of the fifth campaign shows more clearly that the feet are in profile and rest flat on the ground. I pointed out in publishing it that the treatment of the legs follows the Assyrian tradition. Our new relief shows that it is not an accidental treatment due to lack of skill on the part of the artist, but reflects definite conventions observed by the cutters.

As a comparison with the general subject of this scene I present here a plaster relief of Heracles found in G5 10 during the seventh campaign (Pl. XXXVIII, 2). This relief is cut on a plaster block 0.23 m.  $\times$  0.135 m.  $\times$  0.065 m. The sides of the block are cut back slightly so that the back measures 0.22 m.  $\times$  0.115 m., a fact which suggests the relief was set in a niche or *aedicula*. A raised border 0.013 m. high and 0.01 m. wide forms a frame for the relief.

Heracles stands full front, holding a bull's head in his right hand, a club in his left, a lion's skin or drapery falls over his left arm. The god is naked except for this skin about his shoulders, the paws of which are knotted on his chest, while the head apparently covered his left shoulder. His right arm is bent at the elbow, the forearm being extended to the left, and his hand grasps the lowest part of the bull's head,

<sup>43</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 54 f., pl. XIX.



This is in profile and against his forearm. The horns are not clear. The left leg of the god is full front, the right in three-quarters view with the foot turned slightly left as if the god were to advance left. A row of four ringlets made of concentric circles adorn his brow. His square beard is badly defaced. His eyes are large, round and protruding. The surface of the relief, made of chalky (gypsum) plaster, is rather badly rubbed, but one may see that the details have been cut with considerable delicacy.

I published in *Report VI* a bas-relief of the torso and head of a man holding in the left hand a bull's head, in the right a club or short staff. This I compared with Mithras reliefs depicting one of the dadophores with torch and bull's head. Comparison with this Heracles relief of the seventh campaign suggested that Heracles also should be included in this Mithraic circle. I am not, however, entirely satisfied with this explanation. Our new relief apparently represents neither a dadophore nor Heracles, though as has been remarked above, the closest parallel in style among Dura reliefs is found in a crude statue of Heracles. It seems more reasonable to ascribe the whole group to a local tradition which depicts a hero with the severed head of a bull. Apparently, as the Heracles relief suggests, this hero is sometimes identified with Heracles. Unfortunately prototypes for this figure with bull's head I have been unable to find. It is quite common on Mesopotamian cylinder seals to find bull's heads as decorative features of the field. On the other hand, recent discoveries at Khafaje have brought to light an Akkadian seal cylinder representing a hero slaying a dragon with many heads.<sup>44</sup> A Babylonian seal<sup>45</sup> presents a hero with lion skin, bow, and club. Dr. Frankfort properly suggests that the figures of this god, Eshnunna, are prototypes of Heracles representations, comparing the motive of this battle against the demon with that of Heracles slaying the Hydra. The truth is that our knowledge of ancient cults, particularly the Syrian, is far from complete. At Dura all that seems clear at present, with four reliefs of figures carrying bull's heads before us, is that a very strong tradition of such a type existed on the Middle Euphrates, and that the figure was sometimes identified with Heracles. The seal from Khafaje as well as the many accounts of Gilgamesh prove that stories similar to the exploits of Heracles existed long before the Greeks. It was common, also, in later times to identify as Heracles any warrior-hero of more ancient civilizations. The figure with a bull's

<sup>44</sup> *Ill. London News*, July 22, 1933, p. 125, fig. 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 124, fig. 1.



head may be an echo of the slaying of the divine bull by Gilgamesh, or it may represent some story not yet revealed. I think it is better, at present, to call the prototype of our reliefs a mystery rather than to try to identify it definitely with some cycle, at least as long as the evidence remains so meagre.

I should, however, like to call attention in this connection to a relief in Tunis. The stelae already mentioned which depict the god of fertility above depict not uncommonly below this the sacrifice of a bull. One relief<sup>46</sup> substitutes for the sacrificant the naked Heracles with his club raised in his right hand slaying the bull. As the bull's head is always full front, though the body is in profile, the style of presentation recalls our own. It is not certain that the new relief at Dura belongs to the temple of Zeus Kyrios, since it was found outside of the building. It lay, however, just south of and beside the wall of the temple and may well, therefore, have come from the sanctuary. Since the Zeus Kyrios may safely, I think, be associated with the Saturnus of the African reliefs, it is not beyond possibility that the scene of a sacrifice of a bull in Africa or of its slaying by Heracles, so intimately connected with the god of fertility, should be related at Dura to the figure of a hero with bull's head very possibly connected with the cult of a god of fertility, Zeus Kyrios.

### C. Minor Finds.

In the debris above the floor level of the temple were found a number of potsherds, some with graffiti, and pieces of Roman armor. All these had been thrown in when the final fill was made to construct the embankment. The most important objects were part of a *lorica squamata* with fragments of powdery cloth still attached to the scales; a small fragment of a shoulder piece with goose design; and fragments of a wooden shield, the design representing part of the circular geometric decoration around the boss.

On the floor of the temple were found three pegs of common ware, used in the walls to support votive plates or for garment hangers, and scattered Roman coins from a small hoard dating at least as late as the time of Trajan Decius.

In the north end of the room stood a plaster bowl of the ordinary type. Comparison of this with similar bowls found in the Fayum exca-

<sup>46</sup> La Blanchère—Gauckler, *Cat. du Musée Alaoui*, no. 751.

vations at Karanis show it was employed as a mortar for crushing grain.<sup>47</sup>

Part of a little stone figurine represents a woman from just above the knees to the waist. The left hand is held over her pudenda and a corner of the robe extends to just above the right knee. The piece is very crudely cut, 0.095 m. high by 0.065 m. maximum width by 0.043 m. maximum thickness. It probably represents Aphrodite disrobing and may be compared with the statuette found in the fourth campaign.<sup>48</sup>

In the temple was found also part of a figurine of common ware representing the torso of a man naked except for a necklace. The arms are stumps and the head is gone, or was represented only by the stump of a neck which remains (dimensions 0.60 m.  $\times$  0.064 m.  $\times$  0.026 m.).

In the south end of the extended *naos*, beneath the last floor level, the blade of a pointed iron knife (0.104 m.  $\times$  0.015 m.) and fragments of colorless window glass were recovered.

With the remains of Roman armor close to the entrance was found a round bronze lock plate 0.07 m. in diameter. The keyhole is small and the plate probably belonged to a casket rather than to the entrance door.

Worthy of remark among the pottery finds is a green-glaze jar with two handles, whose base rested on two small feet pierced with holes, and a large pitcher whose neck was of green glaze, but whose base below the shoulder was black.

Smaller finds were part of a bone doll, the handle of a bronze bowl, beads, and buttons.

A curious carved plaster piece 0.095 m.  $\times$  0.08 m.  $\times$  0.045 m. showed a branch design incised on the side, and an incised design of part of a wheel with spokes and a surface adorned with punch marks on top. Its use is not clear.

In the *naos*, beneath the level of the latest floor, was discovered a little terra cotta of an animal, — probably a dog (0.05 m.  $\times$  0.037 m.  $\times$  0.055 m.). The under side of the front feet is flat and seem to have been fastened to a base. The hind quarters and tail are broken off. The ears are broken, only stumps remaining. The front feet are modelled together but the hind feet are wide apart. From the bottom of the hind feet the clay is modelled in pyramid form to a sharp narrow back. The figurine is crudely fashioned with fingers but it stands well though with a slight list to the right.

<sup>47</sup> But cf. above, p. 141.

<sup>48</sup> *Rep. IV*, pp. 243 f. and pl. IX, 4.

## III. INSCRIPTIONS

(Nos. 914—915)

914. Cut in the face of Tower 16 directly above the altar. Square alphabet. Letters 0.02—0.03 m. high.

ΡΟΥΝΗΣ 'Ρούμης

ΕΠΟΕΙ ἑπόει

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΜΤ' ἔτους μτ'

28/29 A. D. The name Roumes(-as) is common at Dura. A certain Roumes, son of Ochchanus, was a member of the college which dedicated the *andron* of Aphlad (*Rep. V*, no. 418, p. 114).

915a. (Pl. XXXVII). Cut in the top margin of the cult relief above the head of the worshipper. Round alphabet. Letters 0.008 m. high.

ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ

b. Cut in the top margin of the cult relief to the right of the head of the god. Round alphabet. Letters 0.015 m. high.

Ζεὺς

c. Cut in the lower margin of the cult relief. Letters 0.008 m. high. Cf. R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Rev. Ét. Sémi.*, C (1936), p. xxxi, where the end of the Greek text is given incorrectly.

Professor Torrey contributes the following discussion of the text.

"This very interesting monument bears at the base a well executed bilingual inscription, the Greek at the right, the Palmyrene at the left, the two separated by a vertical line with no intervening space. The surface has been damaged, with the loss of numerous letters, wholly or in part. The reading of the Palmyrene text is certain throughout, however, and in the Greek only one word is doubtful.

כ"ה חודש אדר - נתנו כסף וזהב  
 מאתבא דנא נתבב כ' ואלא  
 ליה כ' ראבבואי כ' ד  
 לב' ינ שמר אלגא

ביר[ח] תשרי[י] שנת 343 | מצבא דנא

נצב ב[ר] עתה בר | לוק ואבבואי

ברה | לבעל שמינ אלהא

“In the month Tishri, in the year 343 (31 A. D.), this stele was erected by Bar‘atēh, son of Luke, and his son Ababūhī, to the god Ba‘l Shamēn.’

“Bar‘atēh’s Greek name, Seleucus, appears only in the other half of the inscription, and in the case of his father it is only the Greek name that is given. The latter is not transliterated לוקיס, which would be the complete form, but לוק, according to the Syriac rule, by which the ending — ιος is commonly dropped off in the rendering of Greek proper names. This is one of numerous indications, appearing in the Dura inscriptions, that we are in Syriac territory.

“The name אבבואי seems to occur here for the first time, though its Greek equivalent, Αβαβούιος, in the slightly different form Αβαβούιος, appears in *Rep. II*, p. 134. The name does not look quite Semitic; the ending suggests the Persian caritative in-ōi, and this it probably is, for a contraction of Nöldeke’s Aramaic אבא דאבבואי (*Persische Studien*, Wien, 1888, p. 11, n. 3) is hardly to be thought of, even if the conjecture is accepted. In *Rep. VI* there is found twice the name Βαβούιος (pp. 252, 253), the reading being certain; and this, beyond much doubt, represents the well known Persian name Bābōi. It therefore seems very probable that in our bilingual inscription, as also in the graffito ’Αβαβούιος, we have an adapted Semitic form of the name just mentioned.

“The name ’Αβοῦιος, *Rep. V*, pp. 114, 125, and probably also ’Αββούιος, *ibid.*, p. 122, should not be included here, but have a different origin.<sup>1</sup>

“The Greek inscription reads:

<sup>1</sup> See Wuthnow, *Sem. Menschennamen*, p. 10.



Σέλευκος Λευκίου ἐδώρησ-  
 α τό(ν) ἀνδριάντα [τ]ῷ Δεῖ κυρίῳ  
 καὶ Ἀβαβοῦις υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.  
 ἔτους γμτ' μηνὸς Ἀπελλ-  
 αίου. μνησθῆ Ἰαραῖος .[.]ΛΛΦΤΕΣ.

"The only difficulty is in the final word. Of the initial letter only the upright line perhaps remains, and there is no indication of the way in which it was completed. The whole word is obviously a vulgar form of γλύπτης, the second λ of course miswritten for α. Between the γ and the λ there is considerable space, and in view of the care with which the whole inscription is carved it seems quite certain that a letter stood there. Before the foot of the λ there is a curved line which might well have been a part of the letter ε. The matter is complicated by the fact that the Aramaic has a borrowed root ܩܠܦ, which is much used; 'sculpture,' for example, is *gelaf*. It is a reasonable conjecture, though of course precarious, that a hybrid form, γελάφτες, was written.<sup>2</sup> Another sculptor Yarhai happens to be mentioned in the Palmyrene inscription, *Répertoire* 286 (see also Chabot, *Choix*, p. 69), dated in the year 500 (188 A. D.): ܕܢܝܪ ܝܪܗܝ ܕܠܦܬܐ, 'May the sculptor Yarhai be remembered.'

"There seems at first sight to be a discrepancy in the dating, since the Palmyrene month Tishri is October-November, corresponding either to Ὑπερβερεταῖος or Δῖος, whereas the Greek has Ἀπελλαῖος. But here, again, we are in Syriac territory. In the Syriac calendar there are two successive months bearing this name, the former Tishri corresponding to October, and the latter Tishri to November. The two dates therefore are found to agree."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Editorial note. Since the first two letters are obliterated by a flaking of the stone and only doubtful traces of them remain, [δ γ]λάφτες may perhaps be read. The word γλάφτες clearly has the meaning of γλύπτης to which it is perhaps related as γλάφας in a metrical text of the second century from Coptus (*Class. Rev.*, XII, 1898, pp. 218 f. = *Arch. f. Papyr.* II, 1903, pp. 562 f., no. 104) to γλύψας.

The name Λεύκιος is here probably not a rendering of the Latin Lucius but is the Greek name (cf. *SIG* 913; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 417, Athens, fourth century B. C.).

<sup>3</sup> Editorial note. They agree, however, only if the first Tishri = Dios. This is additional proof that the change in the month beginning the Greek year as postulated by Johnson (*Dura Studies*, pp. 8—15) did not occur until 45—47 A. D. (McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 147—153; cf. A. Olmstead, *Classical Philology*, XXXII, 1937, p. 87).



## VII. THE NECROPOLIS TEMPLE

### I. ARCHITECTURE

(Figs. 80/81)

During the exploration of the necropolis in 1934, hardly noticeable remains of walls were discovered about three hundred and fifty meters from the town wall close to a small tumulus just opposite Tower 19. During the subsequent excavations in the seasons of 1934—35 and 1935—36 the walls were found to be the remains of a temple which stood in the necropolis.<sup>1</sup> The building had been erected directly on the layer of pinkish calcarious sandstone which covers the whole plateau to the west of the town. Only the foundations of the walls remain, 0.40—0.50 m. in height, built of the same calcarious sandstone laid in plaster; the walls of mud brick have crumbled to dust (Pl. XII, 1). The thick walls of the *naos* have been preserved somewhat better and rise to about 1.50—1.70 m. The general plan presents, as usual, a rectangular court with a range of rooms adjoining it on the south and with a porch on the north; the main sanctuary preceded by a porch is on the west. To the south another court with a colonnade, a small chapel on its west side, and a range of rooms along its south wall, lies adjacent to the main block of the temple buildings. The whole block of buildings forms a rectangle 46.00 m. in length with the two sanctuaries projecting from its west side. Sanctuary 1—1' (Pl. XII, 2, 3) consists of a *pronaos* about 4.70 m. in width, with a *naos* opening from its western wall; it has only one doorway, in the middle of its eastern wall. This is framed at the sides by two pairs of stone jambs with caps. Two fragments of these caps of slightly different profile and dimensions were found in the doorway during the excavations. Two round sockets at the sides of the threshold and a rectangular one nearly in the middle indicate that the doorway once had two doors. The walls, 1.20—1.70 m. in height and 1.05—1.10 m. in thickness, are of rubble rendered with plaster. The rubble part of the wall probably rose to a height of about 2.00 m.; above, the wall was of mud brick 0.41 m. × 0.41 m. in format, mortared with plaster. The part of the wall which had fallen inside had seventeen courses of bricks, which would account for 1.70 m. of

<sup>1</sup> Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Comptes Rendus*, 1935, p. 283.

its original height. The total height of the sanctuary therefore was not less than 4.00 m.; probably it was 5.00—6.00 m. as in other temples in Dura. The *naos* presumably had a brick vault. The span of the entrance arch is 3.00 m., that of the vaulted chamber 2.00 m.

Inside the thick western wall there is an empty space of 0.50—0.60 m. in width, similar to that in the Temple of Adonis (above, pp. 138 f.; cf. p. 227).

A recess, 0.30 m.  $\times$  0.50 m., occurs in the south wall of the *naos* at the level of the floor. Another smaller recess occurs in the wall to the right of the entrance arch at a height of 1.10 m.

The plaster floor of the *naos* has an elevation of 0.05 m. above the level of the *pronaos* floor. At the rear of the *naos* is the low *podium* for the cult statue and in both corners were found vestiges of bases of altars which have disappeared.

Beneath the upper plaster floor lies a second, more ancient floor, consisting of two layers of baked bricks 0.26 m.  $\times$  0.26 m. in format. A layer of small stones and sand lies still deeper; in this layer are two low, narrow walls 0.20 m. thick and preserved to a height of 0.20 m. running north and south and covered with an overall rendering of plaster.

Small pieces of plaster with traces of red and greyish-blue paint, found on the floor of the *naos*, indicate that the walls were covered with painting.

Immediately before sanctuary 1 is a porch of two columns (Pl. XII, 3), of which only the bases remain; it is bounded by walls on the north and south.

The south wall of the porch contains a door leading into a narrow passage communicating with the second court. Two benches 0.30 m. in height and respectively 0.40 and 0.35 m. in width stand along the walls of the northern half of the porch.

Porch 2 gives on the main court, the chief entrance into which lies on an east-west axis opposite the door into the sanctuary. The altar, 1.70 m.  $\times$  3.70 m. in plan, of which only the base, 0.20 m. in height, remains with the base of the steps leading up to it from the east, lies on the same axis in front of porch 2 (Pl. XII, 3). The main entrance into the temple with two buttresses at its sides leads into the long narrow room 4, a kind of *propylaeum*. Court 3 is bounded on three sides by a wall, 0.85—0.90 m. thick, which is plastered on both sides. The western and the eastern walls must have been continuous up to the roof, evidence for this being given by the adjacent room 4, the southern

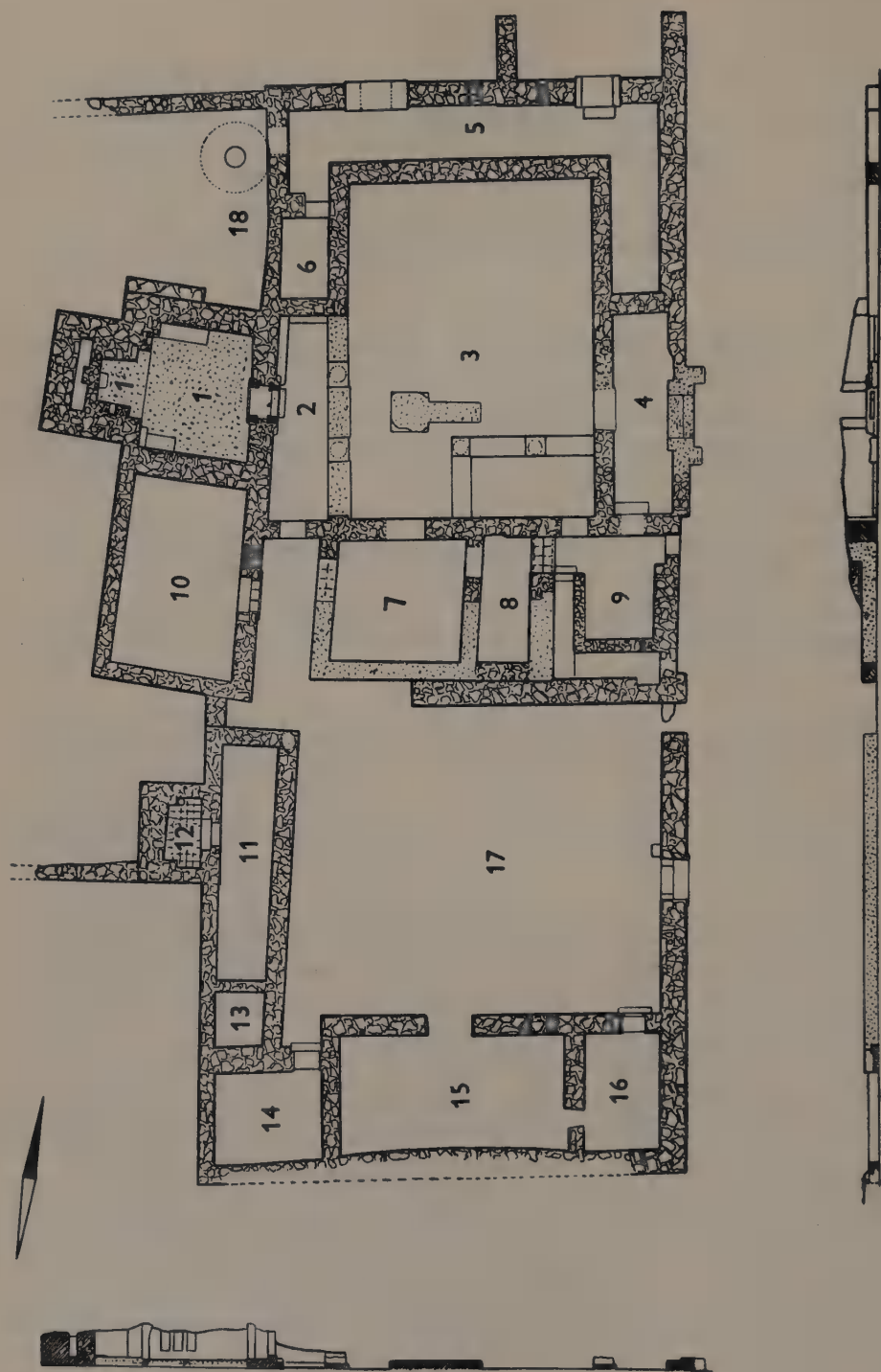


Fig. 80. Necropolis Temple, Plan.

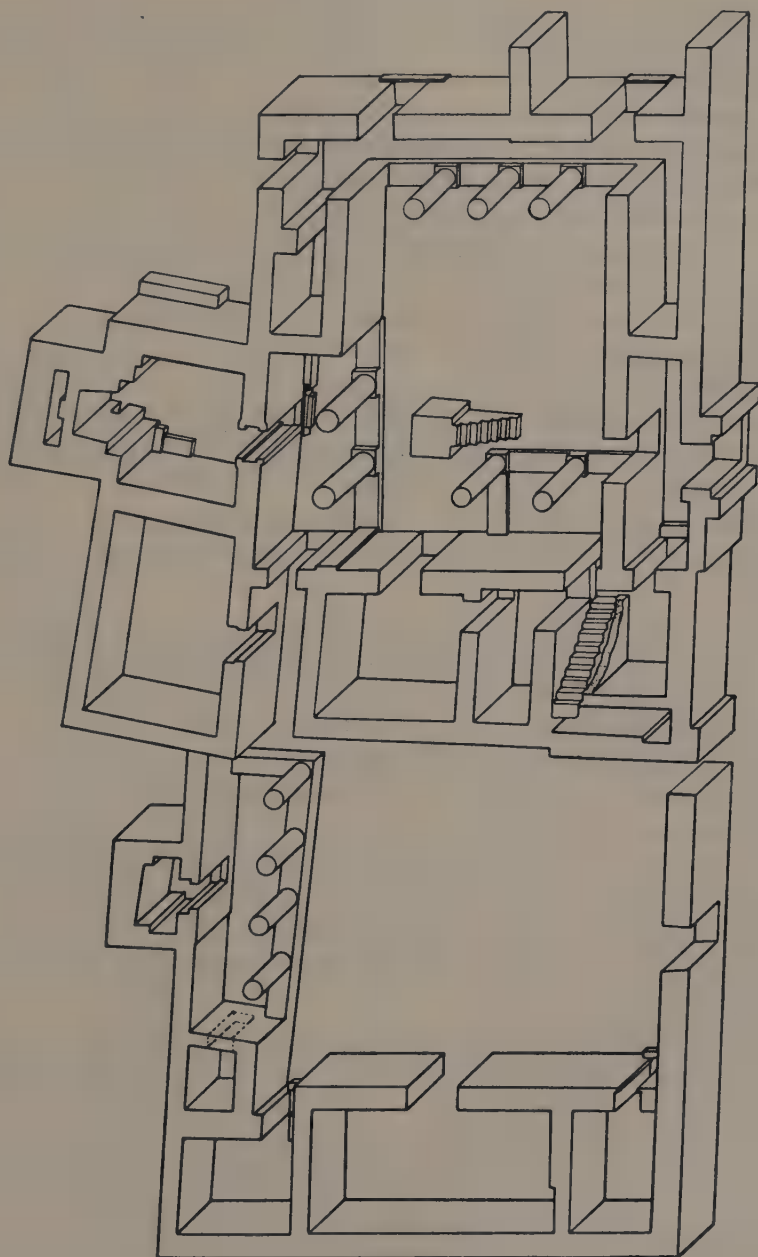


Fig. 81. Necropolis Temple, Isometric (Partially Restored).

porch, and room 6. On the northern side the rubble foundation probably supported a colonnade, for it bears no traces of doorways to correspond with the doorways in the outer northern wall, which, no doubt, must have led into the main court 3. It must be supposed that a row of columns, probably three in number, formed a portico within. This colonnade may have also continued along the eastern wall up to *propylaeum* 4. The outer northern wall contains two doors, one of which, the eastern, has two walls projecting at its sides, which probably served as an outer covered porch. There is no trace of the columns which presumably stood between these walls.

A small door leads from the western part of porch 5 into a back court, 18, containing a cistern (see below).

A small room 6, contiguous to the main porch 2, is connected with 5 by means of a doorway; this shows that room 6 had continuous walls.

Another portico stood in the southeast corner of the court in front of the entrance into vestibule 9; it consisted of two columns, of which only the foundations now remain. Two large slabs 0.60 m.  $\times$  0.60 m.  $\times$  0.12 m. and 0.60 m.  $\times$  0.70 m.  $\times$  0.15 m., their capitals, had fallen inside court 3.

Rooms 7 and 8, connected with each other by a doorway, are disposed along the southern wall of the court, room 7 having also a door leading into the court. The western wall of chapel 7 has been better preserved than the other walls: several layers of brick remain above the foundation 0.60 m. high.

The corner room 9 is connected with room 8 by a door with a brick threshold; it has two other doors also, one leading into the court, the other into room 4. A thin wall 0.45—0.50 m. thick separates 9 from the staircase which ascended from it to a flat roof. There were probably two flights of stairs; the first, of which three steps remain, probably rested on a dirt fill, while the second was supported by the walls and by wooden beams.

It remains only to mention the large room 10, adjoining the *pronaos* on the south, but nevertheless forming a part of the complex about the second court 17. Room 10 has only one door, which connects it with the passage between rooms 7 and 10.

The second court also, 17, immediately south of the northern block, has its main entrance in the eastern wall. It communicates with the northern block only by a door into porch 2 lying at the end of the passage between rooms 7 and 10. Court 17, like court 3, is not paved.

Along the western wall run foundations which probably represent



a colonnade before the *naiskos* opening from the western wall. The foundation of the colonnade bears no trace of column-bases save in the northeast corner where traces of the column which stood there are noticeable.

The second sanctuary, *naiskos* 12, is a small chamber 1.40 m.  $\times$  3.00 m. with a niche at the rear and a door connecting with the covered colonnade. The western wall of the sanctuary is thicker at the north than at the south, perhaps to bring the inner face into alignment with the rear wall of the chief *naos*. In the right corner stood a round altar with a well-profiled capital (Pl. XXXVIII, 5). It had fallen and was found lying along the northern wall.

The floor consists of a single layer of baked brick of the 0.29 m.  $\times$  0.29 m. format. Fragments of plaster with marks of painting were found lying on it.

A small room, 13, of which only the foundations remain, adjoins colonnade 11 on the south. There is no trace of the door, which must have been on a considerably higher level than the other doors of the temple, either in the thin north wall, opening from colonnade 11, or in the east wall.

A series of rooms, 14, 15, and 16, runs along the southern wall just as in the first court. Room 14 is somewhat smaller than the rest, and the door leading into it from the court is set back, possibly to give space for a door joining room 13 with the court. The doorway connecting the large room 15 with the court has no threshold and is much wider than the rest (1.80 m.). Room 16, adjacent to it, also has a door into the court.

The north wall of court 17 was built against the outer wall of rooms 7 and 8. It was functional only in so far as it supported the stairs ascending from room 9. Otherwise it only doubled the already existing wall.

From the northeast corner of the block and from *naos* 12 two walls extend in a westerly direction as far as they can be traced. They were built of stones laid dry and are very badly preserved. The only explanation of their existence is that they formed a kind of enclosure around the back court to the west of the main block.

The cistern in the north corner of court 18 was built in the form of a circular shaft gradually widening as it gets deeper. At the depth of 5.00 m. it reaches the width of 2.90 m. Further down it begins gradually to become narrower, thus assuming more or less a bottle shape. It was excavated to the depth of 7.00 m. where the plaster lining and the

very walls themselves of the cistern had crumbled away, probably due to the action of the water which once filled it. Further excavations were stopped for fear that the walls would fall, but a narrow shaft dug in the middle to the depth of 2.00 m. failed to reach the bottom. The cistern must thus have been at least 9.00 m. deep.

The walls of the cistern are covered with three layers of plaster. The outer layer, 0.005—0.007 m. in thickness, consists of a special mixture of mortar with coarse black sand. The opening of the cistern, 0.75 m. in diameter, is rimmed with a wall of small stones cemented with plaster mortar. A part of this wall has fallen.

## II. MINOR FINDS

### *A. Sculpture.*

The mud brick walls of the ruined temple have crumbled completely and were scattered by the wind, so that the remains of the foundations do not rise above the present level of the plateau. Only *naos* 1 forms a small mound. Thus in consequence of the absence of any considerable layer of earth in the temple the number of finds was insignificant. In the main sanctuary were found fragments of ordinary common ware, sherds of a storage jar, pieces of glass, and two bronze nails with round heads. A fragment of a green glaze jug with a wide flat bottom was found in the neighbouring room 10.

Several insignificant pieces of the sculpture which once existed in the sanctuary were found on the floor of *naos* 1.

1. (Pl. XXXVIII, 3). The base of an alabaster statuette, 0.23 m. long, 0.65 m. wide, and 0.057 m. high. It probably consisted of two human figures standing beside an altar. Only fragments of feet remain.

2. (Pl. XXXVIII, 4). A fragment of a bas-relief, 0.12 m. high  $\times$  0.9 m. wide. It represents the figure of Hercules with a club in his left hand and a spear in his right. It is badly preserved. The head and part of the breast are lacking.

3. (Pl. XXXVIII, 5). A small altar of plaster, 0.165 m. high, in the form of a pillar resting on a base of three tori.

*B. Painting.*

On the floor of chapel 12 was found a fragment of plaster 0.20 m.  $\times$  0.37 m. with painting barely discernible owing to the action of crystallizing salts. It represents a warrior with a shield and a spear. The head is almost completely preserved with the exception of the top part of the helmet. The brim of the helmet is peculiarly shaped and is similar to that represented on a shield found in 1934—35 (below, pp. 363—367). Further discernible are the upper part of the body, the right hand holding a spear, and the folds of a *sagum* fastened on the breast with a round fibula. The left hand holds a round shield covering the left shoulder. The middle part of the figure is not visible and further down only a part of a tunic ornamented with triangles and circles can be seen. There are undecipherable marks of red paint above the shield. The style of painting is purely linear; the colours are brown or black and red. The face and the hands have a pinkish tone. Generally the style of the fragment is nearest to the frescoes of the Mithraeum, with the same range of colors, the same linear drawing, and the same pinkish flesh tone; cf. e. g. the face of the Mithras in the hunting scene. For the identification of the figure cf. below, pp. 323 f.



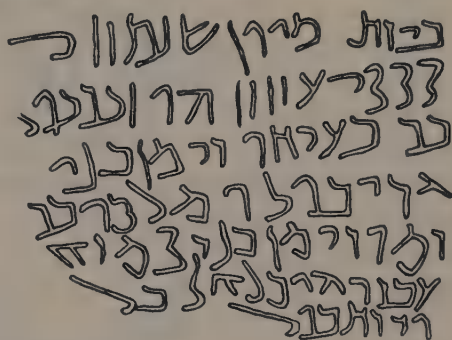
Fig. 82.

Fragment of Wall Painting from *Naos* 12.

## III. INSCRIPTIONS

*A. Palmyrene (No. 916; Pl. LV, 1).*

The inscription<sup>1</sup> is on a gypsum slab, found in the debris of the upper wall on the rear wall of *naos* 1<sup>1</sup>. The stone measures about 0.40 m. × 0.28 m. The characters are cut somewhat roughly in irregular lines, and are crowded at the bottom. The facsimile was made from the stone itself with the aid of an excellent squeeze. At Yale.



בִּירַח סִינָן שְׁנַת 279 הוּ זַבְדִּיבֹל בֶּר  
 בַּעֲיָחוּ דִּי מִן בְּנֵי גַדִּיבֹל וּמַלְכּוּ בֶר  
 רִמּוֹ דִּי מִן בְּנֵי כִמְרָא עֲבָדוּ הִיכְלָא  
 לְבֵל וַיִּרְחִיבֹל

"In the month Sivan, in the year 279, this Zabdibol son of B'YHW, of the Bnai Gaddibol, and Maliku son of RMW, of the Bnai Kumara, made the shrine for Bel and Yarhibol."

The date, the early summer of 33 B. C., makes this the earliest Palmyrene inscription thus far known. The honor had previously been held by the sepulchral inscription M. de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, 1868—1877, no. 30 = *CIS* II, no. 4109, dated in the year 304, corresponding to 9 B. C.

On the side of palaeography the inscription is decidedly interesting, though it contains hardly anything new. The contrast, in the style

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Comptes Rendus*, 1935, p. 283; *Rev. Ét. Sem.*, 1936, p. xviii.

of its writing, with Vog. 30, just mentioned, is very striking. The latter inscription exhibits, throughout, the same conventionally ornamental script which is prevailingly used during the whole history of Palmyrene writing, from 9 B. C. to 271 A. D. Our inscription, on the contrary, shows no trace of this ornamentation, none of the calligraphic uniformity which we expect to see in every important monument of this branch of Aramaic epigraphy. Nevertheless the writing is typically Palmyrene in every line, and there can be no doubt that the origin of its peculiar style antedates this example.

A few particulars may be mentioned. The "Syriac" form of final א in lines 5 and 6 is worthy of notice. The way in which the letter ב is made (twice) in the proper name at the end of line 2 is peculiar, standing halfway between Palmyrene and Nabataean forms. A transition to the usual form appears at the beginning of line 3. The head of ד (or ר) is generally very small, sometimes hardly to be seen. The "broken-backed" כ, so definitely Palmyrene, is in evidence, with a particularly fine example in line 5. Both forms of ל are present, as also those of ג. The form of ס in the first line is very rare, but not unexampled.

Two of the proper names in the inscription are troublesome. בעיחי (if the text is correct) must be a compound of some sort, but the elements are not evident. If the name were Phoenician, it would be natural to suppose an abbreviation of בעל-יחי equivalent to יחובעל. The Aramaic root חוה "to show", seems unlikely, but is possible. The only alternative seems to be to suppose that the stone cutter mistook ר for ע (an easy mistake in the Palmyrene alphabet). With the name בריחי we could compare the Neo-Babylonian Barihu, K. L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (*Acta Soc. Scient. Fenn.*, XXXII, 2, 1902), p. 22, and *Heb.* בְּרִיחַ, 1 *Chron.* 3:22.

The other name which makes difficulty is רמו at the beginning of line 5. Du Mesnil du Buisson writes "Rémou", referring to Cantineau, *Inscriptions Palmyréniennes* (1930), p. 27, no. 37, where the same name occurs and is transcribed "Ramo". Neither transcription suggests any interpretation. There is a Syriac proper name רמא, Rāma; see *Rep. III*, p. 71; and Rām also appears frequently in Persian proper names. Might this be the Palmyrene form Rāmu?

The Bnai Gaddibol and the Bnai Kumara are both well known in the Palmyrene inscriptions. The former name was read by Du Mesnil du Buisson as ידיבול but the ג is distinct on both stone and squeeze.



The use of the term *היכל*, *haikal*, to designate this shrine is interesting and unexpected. The word ordinarily denotes a somewhat pretentious building, and is thus rendered "temple, palace", etc. It is used in Vog. 16 (= *CIS* II, no. 3959) of a temple (*ναός* in the Greek text) which was built in Palmyra in the year 131. It also occurs once (designating a temple) in the Palmyrene Tariff (*CIS* II, 3913, l. 10).

The pronoun *הו*, "he, that one", before the name Zabdibol, is remarkable. The natural interpretation of it would seem to be this, that Z. was the prime mover in the undertaking and its originator, though Maliku was given a part in it. Instead of saying "I, Zabdibol. . . and Maliku", and "*we* made the shrine", he substitutes the third person for the first; as was so often done euphemistically in the Jewish literature of about this time.

### B. Greek (Nos. 917—918).

917. Numerous fragments (Pl. LIV, 5) comprising perhaps one-third of a block of gypsum 0.05 m. thick, originally perhaps ca. 0.33 m. × 0.43 m., found in *naos* 1'. Only the lower part of the text can be recovered, and three small fragments cannot be placed. Square alphabet, letters 0.02—0.035 m. and rubricated. About A. D. 100. At Yale.

"Ε[τους . . . . ] Δ[ — — — ] [ — — — ] [ — — — ] [ — — — ] 5 [ . . . . ] τ[ὸν] ναὸ-	ν Β[ή]λω θεῶ ὑπ[ὲρ τῆς ἐ]αυτ- οῦ [καὶ τ]έκνων 10 καὶ [ἀδε]λφῶν σ- ωτ[ηρία]ς κατ' εὐχή(ν).
--	---

The final *nu* may have been crowded in as a ligature at the end of line 11, or have occupied a line by itself.

The three unplaced fragments have only a few letters each:

Σ	Ν	Ο
Υ	ΛΥ	
Π		

918. Block of gypsum (Pl. LV, 2), 0.67 m. × 0.50 m. and 0.07 m. thick, found on the floor in front of the door into *pronaos* 1. It may

have been set originally above the door. Oval alphabet irregularly cut, letters in l. 1 0.03 m., below 0.015—0.025 m. Daesius, A. D. 173. At Yale.

- Ἔτους δ' πν', [Δ]αίσι[ου . ]  
 Εἰμι Μαριβήλος υἱὸς [ . . . . ] [ . . . ] υς Μαλίχ[ου.]  
 οἱ πρότεροί μου γονεῖς Α[ — — ca. 16 — — ]  
 καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἀνήγειρα ἐγὼ [Θεῶι . . . . . περίβολον?]  
 5 καὶ ἄλλον ναὸν παρακείμενον[ . . . . . ]  
 καὶ πλοκὴν χρυσέην καὶ ἀργυρέην κ[αὶ . . . ]  
 χλ[ανί]δα ΣΕΥΧΡΟΕΗΝ καὶ πο[ρ]φυρέην καὶ [ . . . . ]  
 ὦι ΜΝΑ[ . . ] ΥΔΙΑ πέντε ὁμοῦ ὀλκὴ μν[αῖ πέ]ντε  
 τῶι Θεῶ[ι, ἔτι? δ]᾽ ἔτευξα Βήλωι ΒΑ[ . . . . . ] ΓΕ[ . . . ]  
 10 ΤΟ[ . . . . . ] Ν ναὸν πέντε ἑτέρῃ . . . Ε . Ο[ . . . . . ]  
 εὐχαριστῶ δ' αὐτῶι εὐεργετικῶ π[ρὸς] τὸν  
 υἱὸν Δάββου[ν, ὃν ἄ]ντ' ἐμὲ ἔλιπον ἱερέα [ . . . . . ]  
 οἰκοδόμοι δ[ε] Β[α]ρριοχχάμας Βαφιλ[ . . . . . ]

The transcription gives an inadequate impression of the disappointing condition of the surface of the stone. As may be seen by the photograph reproduced in Pl. LV, 2, many of the not-dotted letters are capable of more than one interpretation, many of those dotted are extremely obscure and ambiguous, and many of the lacunae contain traces or suggestions of letters sufficient to control in some degree attempts at conjecture. Study of the text has only begun. The above text must be regarded as tentative in many ways.

The interpretation of the two texts is discussed in the next section, and may be handled here summarily. The former is a dedication of a familiar type. The latter has more of a Semitic look, especially in the opening "I am Maribelus" and the citation of the architects at the end. The Greek, however, is remarkably good, though of an epic cast; note especially the systematic use of *iota adscriptum*. The author refers first to benefactions of his parents (perhaps he meant rather ancestors by "my former parents") and then proceeds to his own, a precinct(?), a *naos*, and temple furniture of various sorts (for πλοκὴν read perhaps βόθρην?). Perhaps the adjective in line 7 should be read as λευ(κο)χροέην, a neologism modeled on his others (or possibly δύο|| χλ[ανί]δας εὐχροέην?). It is unfortunate that it is as yet impossible to identify the five objects twice mentioned, the second time in connection with Bel. The noun ending in ΥΔΙΑ or ΥΛΙΑ should be identifiable (μνα[ει]ῖδα = dishes of a mina's weight each?). Lines 9/10

may perhaps read [εἰς] | το[ῦτον τὸ]ν ναόν (i. e., the *naos* before which the inscription was found), but the end of line 9 is otherwise difficult. The prayer at the end for the protection of his son may or may not imply that Maribelus was dead.

For the Semitic names cf. below, Chap. XIII.

#### IV. DATES AND CULT

The temple complex as excavated is the result of successive accretions of several building periods. Three may be readily distinguished.

I. The original temple probably consisted of sanctuary 1—1' with porch 2, court 3, propylaeum 4, portico 5, room 6, and room 10. Its south wall was probably continuous, without openings save for the doorway leading from porch 2 to the exterior. Room 10 projected from the south side of this original temple and opened on the exterior. That it was not a later addition is shown by the junction of its west wall with the south wall of the sanctuary. The corresponding north exterior corner opposite was made very thick to take the thrust of the vault of *naos* 1'. The builder did not make the south exterior corner to match, because it was to be buttressed by the west wall of room 10, which was thus foreseen in the plan.

This original temple was probably the building dedicated in 33 B. C. and called "haikal" in no. 916 (above).

The existing altar in the court is probably not the original altar of this period. The lofty altar approached by steps does not appear elsewhere at Dura until the middle of the first century of our era. Its first occurrence is in the so-called Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, ca. 50 A. D. Previous to that time a simple low cubical altar of Babylonian type was in use, and such we may assume the original altar of the Necropolis Temple to have been.

II. At some later date rooms 7 and 8 were added projecting from the south side of the complex, and doorway 3—7 was cut in the original south wall. Probably at the same time the small portico before room 8 was erected and the original cube-altar replaced by the existing step-altar.

It is tempting to associate these changes with the building operations recorded in no. 917 of ca. 100 A. D. (above). The text, however, is too fragmentary to yield any certainty on this point. If we may assume that the original position of the stone is indicated by the spot where it was found, the *naos* referred to is more probably 1—1'

than 7 or 8, and the text itself a record of some alteration carried out there.

III. A final period is marked by the addition of a complete new temple (11—17) to the south of the earlier complex. The erection of its enclosing wall created a re-entrant space between the two which was walled up on the east side and utilized to form room 9 with its stairway to the roof. Doorways 8—9, 3—9, and 4—9 were cut to give access to it. Since the enclosure to the west of the two sanctuaries abuts on *naos* 12, it dates from this period or later. The cistern which it enclosed in area 18 may well be earlier.

It is probably to the building of the new temple in whole or in part that lines 4 and 5 of no. 918 of 173 A. D. refer. The condition of the text, unfortunately, is such that we cannot be sure whether the entire complex 11—17 is meant or only the *peribolus* and *naos* 12 with its porch and room 13. That these were built first and their dedication recorded in no. 918, while the other rooms were added later from time to time, is perhaps to be preferred as an hypothesis.

From the temple's plan and its position in the necropolis it might well be assumed that it was dedicated to a funerary cult, was, in fact, a sort of *heroon*. The sum of the evidence, however, does not bear out this assumption. The plan of sanctuary 1—1' with its wide *pronaos* and deep niche-like *naos* is indeed typical of certain *heroa*.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it recurs at Dura in the Temple of the Gaddé IV, and, like the normal Dura temple plan, appears to be of Babylonian derivation. It is probably descended from an exceptional type of Babylonian *naos* with a deep niche for the cult image, examples of which are known from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta<sup>2</sup> and Gig-Par-Ku of Ur.<sup>3</sup> The nature of the temple's site altered with the passage of time. It was surrounded by the tombs of the necropolis only in the latest period of the city. In 33 B. C. the tombs did not extend so far from the walls but were concentrated about the Main Gate and the roads of approach. The original temple stood by itself in the desert. A series of pits and tunnels sunk and driven during the course of the excavations beneath both sanctuaries and courts failed to disclose the slightest trace of a tomb chamber.

The inscriptions of dedication name two gods, Bel and Iarhibol. The name of a third, whose image is presumably that found in *naos* 12

<sup>1</sup> At Gerasa, Pergamum, and Kalydon. Cf. above, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Mitt. d. Deut. Orient-Ges.*, LIII (1914), pp. 45—48; Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, pp. 18, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Antiquaries Journal*, VI (1926), p. 372.



— Arsu or Malakbel — is probably to be restored in no. 918. None of these gods had, so far as known, any connection with the cult of the dead.

The assumption that the Necropolis Temple was a *heroon* may therefore be dismissed. Its singular location outside the city walls must be otherwise explained. In seeking to do so it should be borne in mind that the original temple of 33 B. C. was a definite outsider among the religious establishments of Dura. It was a creation of the vigorous and, at that time, new Palmyrene influence upon the city. Dedicated in Palmyrene to two great Palmyrene gods by two Palmyrenes of well known tribes, it was approximately contemporary with the earliest trace of Palmyrene influence within the walls — Gaddé II. The cults of the city up to this time had been local or North Syrian, as we know from the three contemporary temples that have been excavated. They are those of Artemis-Nannaia and Apollo-Hadad III, Zeus Megistus Olympius-Ba'al Shamin II (orientalized dynastic cults of the Seleucid period), and Atargatis I.<sup>4</sup> In the third quarter of the first century B. C., the period of the sudden rise of Palmyra, a powerful Palmyrene religious influence became operative. It was exerted primarily by the considerable number of Palmyrenes which we must assume to have been domiciled at Dura even at this early date. In all probability they were for the most part merchants who brought the worship of their home gods with them. The evidence from the Temple of the Gaddé and the Necropolis Temple may be taken to suggest that the worship of these gods was organized to some extent along tribal lines as at Palmyra.<sup>5</sup> Thus we find the tribe Bnai Mīthā associated with the Temple of the Gaddé and the Bnai Gaddibol and Bnai Kumara with the Necropolis Temple.

These considerations are of little help toward the solution of the problem of the suburban location of the temple, but they set definite limits to hypothesis. They condition the acceptance of the explanation which most obviously suggests itself. With the dependence of Dura on Babylonian forms in matters of architecture and ritual in mind it is natural to compare the Necropolis Temple with the one type of Babylonian temple which was regularly built at some distance outside the city. This was the *Akitu*, the temple of the New Year festival to

<sup>4</sup> For Artemis-Nannaia and Apollo-Hadad see *Rep.* VI, pp. 397—411. The others are as yet unpublished.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. G. Février, *Essai sur l'Histoire Politique et Economique de Palmyre* (1931), pp. 8—11; *La Religion des Palmyréniens* (1931), pp. 211—214.



which the chief god of the city was taken for a few days each year in company with his satellites, the lesser gods.<sup>6</sup> That Dura should possess such a rite and such a temple would not surprise us, but that this rite and temple should have been due to Palmyrene influence would be curious indeed. On this theory we should probably have to assume that the local gods of Dura had an *Akitu* temple of their own and that the Necropolis Temple was built as the *Akitu* for the Palmyrene gods of the city with Bel, the national god, in the chief place. Until fresh evidence be forthcoming any affirmation is hazardous.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For the *Akitu*, see: H. Zimmern, "Zum Babylonischen Neujahrfest" (*Ber. Gesell. Leipzig*, LXX, 5, 1918); S. A. Pallis, "The Babylonian Akitu Festival" (*Kgl. Danske Vid. Selskab., Hist.-fil. Medd.*, XII, 1, 1926). For the *Akitu* of Assur, see: *Mitt. d. Deut. Orient-Ges.*, XXXIII (1907), p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the orientation of the temple is significant in this connection. With the exception of the Temple of Adonis (above, pp. 136, 155) the main axis of all Dura temples of the Parthian period is directed E. N. E., some 28° north of east, owing to the orientation of the streets and blocks of the city. In the Necropolis Temple the court and its dependencies were roughly oriented E. by N., some 11° north of east, while the sanctuary was swung around and carefully oriented due east, presumably on the equinoctial sunrise. This orientation would be peculiarly appropriate in a temple designed for the equinoctial New Year festival.

## VIII.

### THE PAINTED SHIELDS

#### I. INTRODUCTION

Near the close of the eighth campaign three painted shields were found buried in the embankment on the north side of Tower 24 close to the circuit wall. The shields lay in a pile together about five meters below the top of the circuit wall, and it is clear that they had been purposely thrown away while the embankment was under construction. They lay so far beneath the surface of the fill and so high above the last level of the street that they could only have been placed there in or about 256 A. D. when the embankment was constructed. Preservation of the paintings and the wood was due in part to the fact that they lay pressed upon one another. The wood was very fragile and the painting faint. Mr. Gute undertook the extremely delicate task of removing them and then of copying their designs. Thanks largely to his untiring efforts, the shields were successfully transferred to Yale, and reconstructions of their designs were drawn.

Final cleaning of the shields, a long and difficult task, is now being carried out by Mr. Gute. When that is completed certain additional details of drawing may become visible. A microscopic examination of color has been made with the kind cooperation of Mr. R. J. Gettens of the Fogg Art Museum (Section IV, below). The complete study of the paintings and their relationship to ancient painting in general will take time, but it seems worth while now to publish a preliminary report of these extraordinary monuments. The shields were painted on both sides, but the difficulty of cleaning the reverse before work on the face had been finished and the danger of turning the fragile boards made a study of the under sides impracticable. The paintings on the reverse, therefore, consisting largely but not entirely of geometric designs, will be discussed on a subsequent occasion. The present description of the fronts of the shields owes much to the long study of Mr. Gute. I have gone over the shields with him, examining particularly the more difficult details, and verifying his reconstructions.

## II. TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

With the three shields hereinafter discussed by Mr. Hopkins, which will be referred to as Nos. I, II, and III, it is convenient to consider two others, Nos. IV and V, found under similar circumstances

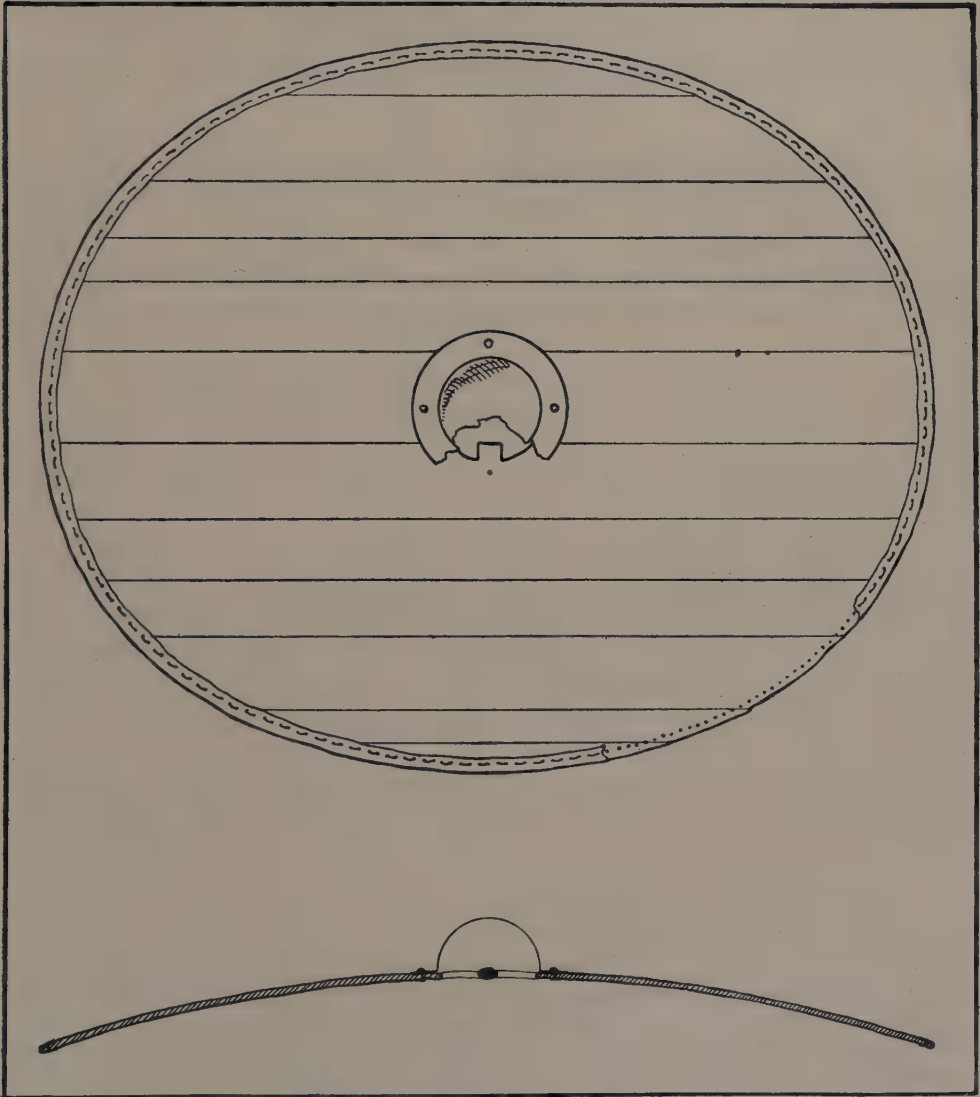


Fig 83. Shield IV, Restored.

during the season of 1933/34.<sup>1</sup> Both were found in the fill of the first embankment, No. IV in N8 W9, some 17.00 m. south of the axis of the Persian assault ramp, No. V in L7 W5, behind the Synagogue. Shield IV was recovered practically intact, its planks still firmly glued together, wanting only its leather edging (fig. 83, with the edging restored). It showed no traces of painted decoration. Shield V, to which patches of red underpaint still adhered, was in fragments. When these were assembled it was found that one or two planks from its right edge were missing, together with the lower portion of several others (fig. 84).

All five shields were broad ovals, 1.07—1.18 m.  $\times$  0.92—0.97 m., and were slightly concave.<sup>2</sup> Each was composed of from twelve to fifteen planks of poplar (*populus euphratica*), 0.127—0.35 m. wide and 0.008—0.012 m. thick, carefully fitted and glued together lengthwise of the shield. The edge of each was bound with a leather edging laced on through holes pierced 0.007—0.012 m. from the edge and 0.01—0.021 m. apart. The center of each shield was cut out to admit of a hand grip, and the hole was intended to be covered by a metal *umbo* giving strength to the shield and protecting the bearer's left hand. The cutting of shield IV was circular, 0.137 m. in diameter, with a short projection at the left side on the line of the grip. The other four shields had upper semi-circular cuttings separated from quadrilateral cuttings beneath by transverse bars on the line of the grip. On the painted shields I and II the space intended to be covered by the circular *umbo* is indicated by the inner edge of the concentric bands of ornament in the center. In shield I this space is 0.207 m. in diameter, in shield II 0.193 m. in diameter. These dimensions correspond with the average size of the numerous circular *umbones* of bronze and iron found elsewhere in the excavations, which range from 0.185 to 0.22 m. in diameter. These *umbones* were regularly affixed to the shield by means of four bronze rivets driven through the collar of the *umbo* and the wood beneath. In none of the shields under discussion are

<sup>1</sup> A large fragment of a sixth shield was found in the embankment in N8 W1. It differed from the others in being made of the same sort of ply-wood as the Roman *scutum* (*Rep. VI*, pp. 456f.) and was apparently covered with cloth or parchment. About one fourth of its oval surface was preserved with holes along the rim for lacing on a leather edging. The surface gave evidence of an overall undercoat of deep pink with traces of figured decoration too fragmentary to be satisfactorily restored. Parts of a heavy leaf border and what seems to be a male figure have been recognized.

<sup>2</sup> This concavity could be measured only on shield IV. The planks of the others were so warped as to make accurate measurement impossible.

there holes for these rivets, and it is apparent that these shields were not provided with *umbones*, i. e. were never completed nor put to the use for which they were intended.<sup>3</sup> The provision in four cases for

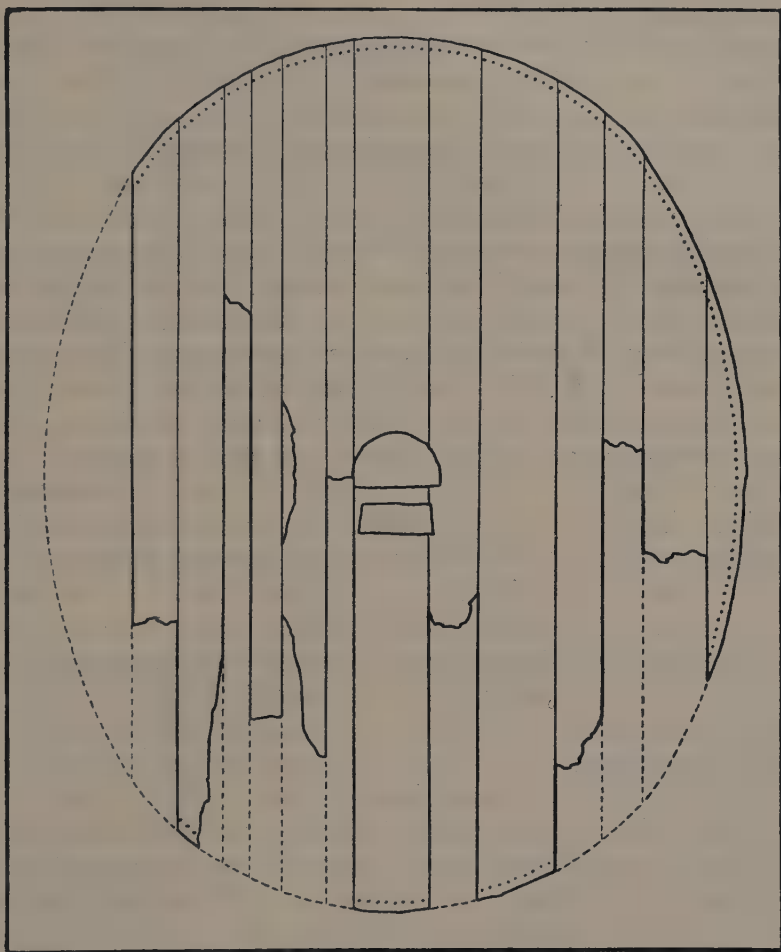


Fig. 84. Shield V.

a grip in the structure of the shield itself and the indication of its position in the fifth case shows that all five shields were originally meant to be wielded by a single handgrip in the center. Most of the *umbones* cited above were, when found, fitted on the inside with iron

<sup>3</sup> In fig. 83 shield IV is shown as it would have been completed with the *umbo*.



cross pieces designed for this purpose. The four large bronze rivets which shield I retained when found were placed without relation to an *umbo* and must have served some other purpose. Two of them were on the transverse median line of the shield, equidistant from the center and 0.282 m. apart. One was on the right upper edge of the space reserved for the *umbo*, and the fourth was 0.33 m. above and to the left of the center. This somewhat enigmatic disposition is perhaps best explained on the hypothesis that shield I in contrast to the others was fitted with a double grip consisting of a leather strap for the arm attached by the first two rivets and a handgrip attached by the last.

The light oval shield of wood had long been in use in the Roman armies. During the early empire it was for the most part the arm of the auxiliaries and cavalry,<sup>4</sup> but in the second century began to supersede the rectangular *scutum* for legionaries as well. By the time of the Column of Marcus Aurelius and the Arch of Severus its employment was almost universal.<sup>5</sup> This type of shield as displayed on the monuments has all the characteristics of the Dura examples. If, as is generally assumed, its edging was of metal, the Dura shields represent a third-century development similar to that shown by the rectangular *scutum* published in *Rep. VI*, pp. 456—466. On the monuments the oval shield is held either by a hand-grip fixed behind the *umbo* or by a double arm and hand grip. It seems impossible to tell under what circumstances either method was preferred. Decoration on the monuments is confined to a few geometric designs represented either as of metal appliqué (by a slight relief) or as painted (by incised lines). Elaborate compositions such as those on the three painted Dura shields do not appear.

It is important in this connection to remember: (1) that the Dura shields were all found in the fill of the first embankment, i. e., they were deliberately discarded at the time of the construction of the embankment (256 A. D.) as being neither of use nor of value; (2) that their condition shows that they had never been completed to serve as actual military equipment. Since there is no reason to assume that they were not originally intended to receive *umbones* and to see actual service as arms,<sup>6</sup> the most reasonable supposition is that they were still in the process of manufacture or decoration. The finding

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Column of Trajan, where, however, it also appears on the arms of troops identified as Praetorians.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Couissin, *Les Armes Romaines* (1926), pp. 390—393.

<sup>6</sup> We may discard at once the possibility that they were votive shields intended

of the three fully decorated shields in a group at a point close to the west edge of the Roman camp strongly suggests a shield-painter's shop in the *canabae* as their provenance. The shop was presumably one of the flimsy camp structures along the wall which was covered by the embankment or razed to make a way along its foot.

It is not clear at this period whether soldiers were obliged to find their own shields or whether they were issued from the military *armamentaria* against a stoppage of pay. In any case it appears from the condition of IV that shields came from the shield-maker complete with edging but wanting *umbo* and decoration. *Umbones* were probably affixed by an armorer. We do not know whether or in what circumstances ornamental devices like those shown on the monuments were a matter of regulation. We may assume, however, from shields I, II, and III that soldiers were allowed great latitude in this respect, though we must admit the possibility that these three shields, being part of the stock of a shield-painter's shop, were in the nature of samples of his art or display pieces.<sup>7</sup>

### III. PAINTING

#### A. *The Homeric Shield.*

(Pls. XLI—XLII).<sup>1</sup>

##### 1. The Decorative Design.

The shield measures ca. 1.07 m. × 0.95 m. The decorative design which marks the inside line of the leather edging consists of two sets of double white lines following the curve of the edge, between which alternate rectangles and squares are marked off by double lines of white. In the rectangles triple diagonals of white form the only decoration. White dots in the middle of each side of the squares limit the fields to open centers from which points radiate to the corners. In the center of each of these spaces a small white dot is placed.

for dedication in some temple. It is inconceivable, if this were the case, that the shield-maker would have troubled to cut the holes for the grip or the painter to reserve a space for the *umbo*, which would assuredly have been represented in painting.

<sup>7</sup> The painter himself was presumably not a soldier but a camp follower, and, from the style of his work, not a native of Dura but a West Syrian. For the occurrence of samples and models in workshops cf. A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjûb*, 1922, especially p. 12.

<sup>1</sup> The colored reproduction by Mr. Gute has been reproduced in *Fortune*, Dec. 1936, p. 134.

The center was left grey and edged with circles and bands, white, grey, white, black, and yellow-brown in that order. Next comes a broken guilloche pattern (similar to that on the Roman shield of *Rep. VI*), on a black field. The guilloche consists of a series of short curved lines drawn with white centers and red-pink ends. Outside of this occur running spirals of white resting on double white lines with red-brown center. In the angles between the spirals small dots are placed. A band of black follows, then two bands of yellow-brown each bisected by a thin line of dark brown. Between these two bands is drawn the chief band of ornament, a series of dots against a black background. The dot design is divided into quarters by narrow rectangles formed by double white lines on either side cutting the circle. In the rectangles five series of three dots are drawn. The center dots are half white, half red, and from these branch to either side yellow dots. The design is further divided into eighths by a series of three lines separated by narrow bands of the black background. The center lines are thicker than the other two and decorated with red ends in contrast to the plain white dots of the others. The inner and outer circles of dots in the band itself project into the yellow borders on either side. These are grey in color as is the circle of dots beside them. Inside these double rows of grey dots is drawn on each side of the center a row of yellow dots from which project touches of red. Finally the center row consists of white dots with touches of red, resembling buds of flowers.

## 2. The Scene of the Trojan Horse (Inscr. No. 919).

The wall of Troy with a small arched gate forms most of the background of the scene in the lower half of the shield. Above the wall on the right, three figures may be seen gazing at the figures in the foreground. In the left foreground stands a man in front of the great Trojan horse. Immediately in front of the gate is portrayed the figure of a woman and to the right a group of four Trojans. The left edge of the painting, the lower part of the center, and part of the right foreground are gone completely. Along the bottom of the scene details of painting have disappeared, leaving only the red-brown under coat.

The head of the horse reaches almost to the top of the wall. The horse is in profile with left hind foot advanced. Probably the two front feet were straight with the left foot in front of the right, but the yellow paint of the design is here lost. The body and head of the beast are yellow with outlines of dark brown. In general the yellow body color

comes up to the outline of brown but along the neck and chest the brown line of the outline is distinctly removed from the edge of the yellow fill and the red background is quite apparent between the two. Apparently here a second outline was painted in after the yellow fill had been made and some correction in the drawing adopted. At the same time the dark fold lines of the neck were drawn from the new outline and so carried across the red interval. The mane is drawn in quick short strokes of brown with a fine brush. The end of the ear breaks the line of mane at the top of the head. The eye, though in profile, is almost correctly done. Upper and lower lids of brown are left open and brown lines above and below suggest the eyesocket. The iris, though small, is almost round, and a dot of white beside it marks the inside corner of the eye. A brown spot marks the nostril and above, a narrow line suggests a fold in the nose. Light brown shading along the bottom of the head and the lower part of the chest depicts the shadow. A series of more or less horizontal lines of white along the upper part of the neck and shoulder, similar lines above and below the eye, along the upper part of the flank and the inside of the right hind leg form highlights. Four dark parallel lines along the right hind leg present muscle folds. An almost vertical line of brown runs down along the neck of the horse, breaks slightly near the bottom, then continues for a short distance. The line seems to run across the wrist of the Trojan beside the horse. Two other brown lines extend from the bottom of the neck of the horse across the vertical line just described and seem to reach across the body of the man as far as the right hand. They look almost like the lines of a bridle.

The man himself stands, I believe, beside and in front of the horse, as in other representations of the same scene (cf. below), although at first sight he seems to be astride the animal. Apparently he stands with legs separated, probably in the position of advancing to the right. He is clad in long-sleeved green jacket caught with wide belt, *chlamys*, trousers, and a painted yellow Trojan cap. Outlines and folds in the jacket are in darker green, sometimes almost black. A series of folds around the neck depict the *chlamys* thrown back over the shoulders. Face and hands are light brown with the features marked in dark brown. Straight lines represent the eyebrows, a dot the eyes, a shadow line of brown beside a highlight of white the nose. One curved line shows the lips and a shorter curve the cleft of the chin. Little dabs of white above the eyes, beneath the lips, and on the cheek mark additional highlights. The Trojan holds his right elbow up, his hand at the



shoulder almost as if he were drawing a bow. The left arm is extended but it is not clear whether the hand clasps something or if the fingers are outstretched. The pointed eastern cap of light yellow is outlined with brown. The edge of the rolled brim and fold marks along the pointed top are also in brown in contrast to shorter highlights of white.

The wall of the city is a plain yellow brown. A double row of white lines marks the straight top of the wall, single brown lines separate the courses of stone, and double lines individual blocks in the courses. At the gate the depth of the wall is correctly given in perspective along the entrance way. A short break in the painting of the wall is made just in front of the neck and chest of the horse so that the outline of the horse may be more distinctly marked against the red background of the under paint. Left of the gate the line of the wall slants up decidedly to the left in sharp contrast to the wall on the right of the entrance where the top is almost horizontal. The front shallow arch of the gate is drawn with edges of white lines, inside which narrow brown lines limit a yellow field. Beneath, a curved band of red background appears, then a band of grey-green edged with brown. The red background again appears below this grey-green band. If, as is most probable, the red background depicts open space, then a double arch is represented. The front arch does not spring from the corner of the wall but at a distance of one stretcher from the angle. On the right of the gate the arch is drawn correctly to a point below the top of the right corner of the wall but the curve of the arch is not quite correctly rendered, for it should give the impression of reaching beyond the front corner of the wall. Just above the wall over the back of the horse were written faint letters, deciphered at the time of discovery as KHBPIOΘHΣ (no. 919).<sup>2</sup>

In front of the gate stands a woman clad in long sleeved blouse of yellow-brown with edging of black at the throat and band of black on the left arm, and skirt of grey-green with black fold lines. A belt around her waist is painted yellow with a dark brown line marking its top and a black line its lower edge. Folds in the blouse are done in brown; highlights are in white. Horizontal parallel lines along each

<sup>2</sup> Editorial Note: Apparently for Κεβριόνης, the son of Priam, who according to Homer was killed by Patroclus while serving as Hector's charioteer (*Il.*, XVI, 733/43). Unless a different tradition is here represented, the designation is simply a mistake of the artist. If the Trojan really was meant to be represented as shooting a bow at the horse, and not merely from his back, we should have here a variant on the Laocoon story (cf. below). Only the letters HBP are still visible.



upper arm may represent arm bands. The blouse seems to be fastened at the right shoulder with a ribbon, the ends of which fall along the breast below the knot. The woman's dark hair falls to her shoulders on either side of the face. The countenance is yellow-brown in color with shading on its left side. A brown shade line extends along the left side of the nose and curves up over the right eye. The dark brown dot marking the iris is placed in the lower edge of this shade line. The right side of the nose is depicted by a white highlight, the eye with a brown shade line set with the dark dot of the iris. Highlights in white are painted above the eyes, on the chin, and on the neck. The woman's right arm, bent at the elbow, is extended toward the horse. Along the bottom of the sleeves a shading of yellow-brown and short fold lines give an excellent impression of roundness. The fingers of the hand outstretched in front of the chest of the horse are sketchily drawn with brown and white lines. The left hand, its fingers also extended, rests on the belt. The lines of the left side of the skirt are broken by an instrument about the size and shape of a painter's palette. Part at least of its outline in brown seems clear as well as cross lines of brown and a cross band of light pink across the center, but identification of the instrument is not clear. Possibly it is held by the male figure on the right and is a shield of "Phrygian" type.

Standing stiffly beside the woman are four Trojan men. The first and most imposing figure is bearded. He wears a pointed cap of yellow with brown outlines and folds, a *chiton* of the same color, outlines, and folds, and a *chlamys* of brown outlines, yellow border, and blue-grey field, the garment covering the left chest, the left arm, and part of the body below the waist. A broad belt circles the waist. The center of the belt is yellow, limited on either side with successive lines of white, yellow-brown, and dark brown. The left hand clasps an end of the *chlamys* at the waist and brings to view below a part of the inside of the robe, painted white with traces of yellow edged with brown.<sup>3</sup> The *chlamys* is caught just below the right shoulder with a ribbon whose tags fall on the chest. The brown hair of the man is parted in the center of the forehead and falls to either side of the face beneath the cap. A moderately thick beard is clearly distinguishable along the cheeks and lower part of the chin. Three lines mark the mouth instead of the usual single stroke. Possibly therefore we should interpret two of them as a mustache. Shading is painted along the left side of the face and

<sup>3</sup> Editorial Note: Possibly the *chlamys* is continued across the body below, and the white object is something else held by the figure.

nose. The left eye is drawn with three short brown lines depicting iris, upper lid, and eyebrow. The usual highlights are drawn above the mouth, along the right side of the nose, and above the eyes. The right forearm and legs are not preserved.

Only the head and part of the chest of the next Trojan are visible. He wears a blue-grey pointed cap edged with darker colors, and a grey-green dress with dark fold lines. Whether it is a *chiton* or *chlamys* which is depicted is not clear. The brown hair as usual falls to the shoulders on either side of the face. The features of the face are rendered in almost exactly the same way in all the figures. Here may be noted two parallel brown lines along the left side of the neck, lines which may mark wrinkles rather than shadow.

The third Trojan wears a hat so light in color as to be almost white, marked with heavy bands of brown. The brown hair and features are the same as in other portraits except that he seems to face slightly more to the right than the others. His *chiton* is yellow-grey with brown outlines and is caught on the right shoulder with a black ribbon. Apparently an arm band is worn on the right upper arm. A *himation* of grey-brown with white fold lines swings up over the left shoulder and arm band appears again on the right side of the waist to cover the hips. A broad band of brown appearing above the *himation* at the waist and extending toward the left shoulder depicts a belt or broad shoulder strap. The legs are lost.

A brown cap with broad white fold lines covers the top of the head of the fourth Trojan in this group. His *chiton* is grey-blue, and his *chlamys*, caught at the right shoulder and covering left shoulder and left arm, is light grey with brown folds and white highlights. Features are drawn in the same fashion as the features of the others in the group. Only the upper part of the body and arms are preserved.

Three other Trojans are represented above the wall, looking over its top, their legs concealed by the fortification. The first, above the group of four Trojans in the foreground, is represented as bending his body to the left and extending his arms toward the horse. He wears a light colored cap with brown folds, a long sleeved *chiton* of yellow-grey, and a *chlamys* of the same color. Both have brown folds and white highlights. The right arm is extended just above the top of the wall and the left arm reaches down across the line of the wall. The fingers of both hands are outstretched but rendered only sketchily. Features of the face are carefully given with shadings and highlights in the usual fashion.

The second Trojan stands more upright but also extends his arms to the left. He has the same costume as his companion. The long sleeved *chiton* and *chlamys* are yellow-grey with brown outlines. Above his head is an oval field of white, from which descends on the left lines of blue grey. As the design is much obscured in this part, the meaning is not clear. Finally just at the break in the shield stands a third Trojan. He wears yellow cap with brown folds, a *chiton*, and *chlamys* fastened at the right shoulder. A broad blue-grey band with brown border runs from the right side over his left shoulder. Apparently he stands straight and stiff with no gesture of the hands.

### 3. The Scene of the Sack of Troy.

This scene which occupies the upper half of the field of the shield represents the Greeks slaying the Trojans. In the center of the painting are a pair of altars partly surrounded by figures. On both sides of this central group is a scene of confusion in which Greek soldiers are dispatching with their swords helpless Trojans. Cushions or mattresses show the scene is a banquet hall.

The lower altar apparently has a circular base which narrows to a short shaft, then flares at the neck and is surmounted by a rounded top with knob above. It is yellow-brown in color with dark outlines and angle marks, and white highlights. The smaller one or part of the one above it is very similar to the upper part of the lower altar and of the same color.

At the right of the lower altar a kneeling figure in front of the altar holds out its arms. Possibly the artist meant the man to be reaching toward the altar, but actually he reaches toward a shield on the ground before him. He has a pointed light colored cap with brown fold lines, and dark hair splashed with highlights of white. Features in the yellow-brown face are drawn in brown lines, set off with white highlights in the usual fashion. A yellow-brown longsleeved robe with brown fold lines covers the body and legs. A cloak of grey-blue with white highlights and brown folds, caught at the right shoulder, falls over the shoulders and along the left side. A dark irregular line along the cheeks and chin suggests a beard. Apparently he is the same person depicted below as leader of the Trojans and should be identified as Priam. His outstretched hands are very sketchily given with little indication of fingers. His feet are concealed in the robe but the length of the robe suggests the feet are outstretched to right and partly concealed by the left foot of the soldier.

The soldier stands with drawn sword raised above the head of his enemy. The blade of the sword, depicted by a single dark line, reaches up at an angle from the sketchily drawn hand which grasps the hilt. The soldier's forearm is bare but the roll of grey-blue cloth at the elbow suggests that the sleeve has merely fallen back. He has the long cuirass, the short skirt, and the *paludamentum* of the Roman soldier. In his left hand he holds a small shield. On his head is a high plumed helmet. The band of the baldric falls from the right shoulder to the left hip in the Greek fashion. The cuirass is light yellow in color with white highlights. A broad breast band is drawn across the chest with a double dark line marking its edges. The baldric also is outlined in brown and runs across and above the chest band. The skirt is yellow-brown with folds of darker color and in contrast to the skirts of the other soldiers, which are all edged with grey-blue, has hem of dark brown. Contrasting with cuirass and skirt is the grey-blue *paludamentum* which is caught at the right shoulder, crosses the upper chest, falls back of the shoulders and appears on either side of the waist and between the legs. The right foot is concealed behind the figure of Priam, the other is advanced to right and is drawn almost in profile. A high white boot apparently made of one piece of leather and drawn with brown fold lines reaches half way to the knee. The rim and boss of the shield are yellow-brown, the field is red-brown. The light-colored helmet, with flaring brim, is adorned with a great blue-grey crest schematically done. The lines of the crest are almost horizontal and nearly parallel to one another. The short white highlights seem to divide it into sections almost as if it were made of feathers. A row of short lines projecting on the forehead from beneath the helmet marks the hair. A brown line with fringe loops around the shoulder across the cuirass.

Beside this warrior and to the left stands a second soldier, his feet concealed by the roll of cushions. He has exactly the same costume as the first except that the skirt is edged with blue-grey and the *paludamentum* is yellow-brown. The right hand of the soldier is held higher and the brown blade of the sword he grasps slants down behind the crest of the helmet to a point almost above the center of the shield. The helmet plume is here drawn with almost vertical lines of blue-grey between which appear white highlights.

A third soldier, clad in a costume exactly like the first except that the skirt is edged with grey-blue instead of brown, stands further to the right, his legs and knees concealed by the cushions. His drawn sword



is held at still more of an angle so that the point almost touches the left shoulder.

On the roll of cushions in front of the two last mentioned Greeks sits a Trojan. He wears a pointed cap of light color with dark fold lines from beneath which dark hair falls on either side of the face. A short dark-brown *chiton* is caught at the waist with a belt, and a *chlamys* of the same color edged with black is fastened over the right shoulder. Apparently he wears dark colored trousers though the painting is not clear. The right arm is raised, bent at the elbow, and the hand, concealed behind the cap, rests on the head. Details of the left hand which rests apparently on the cushion have been obliterated by the rivet head of the shield which lay above and penetrated the design at this point. The Trojan faces front in accord with the traditions of Dura painting, in spite of the fact that both assailants stand behind him. His feet are turned out to either side and rendered almost in profile.

Beside him along the roll of cushions are stretched three figures, all in more or less the same position and with the same costumes though of different colors. They lie on their backs, with heads tipped back over the top of the roll so that the features are visible. Arms are extended back on either side of the head in the relaxed position of death. The heads are bare and circled on top with a narrow band of hair. The bodies are clothed in longsleeved *chitons* with ornamental bands at biceps and wrists, a band marking embroidery down the middle of the chest, and a narrow belt. The first figure is best drawn with more careful details. There are the usual shading and highlights in the face. The right arm is extended more or less naturally along the cushions. Even the hand is drawn though the fingers are apparently rather sketchily given. The position of the left arm is not clear but by analogy with the rest of the figures it should stretch above the head. The *chiton* is grey with brown fold lines. Dark brown are the bands at the wrist, the waist, and down the chest. The band on the upper arm, however, is blue-grey. The second figure with arms straight up to either side of the head has yellow-brown *chiton* with white highlights and brown shadings. Heavy bands of grey-green adorn wrist and upper arm. Parallel to these along the forearms are drawn narrow bands of dark brown, perhaps fold lines. The ornamental band down the center of the *chiton* is grey-green. The arms end in stumps rather than hands. The third figure, partly cut as is the second by the break in the shield, is clad in blue-grey *chiton* with dark folds. Again the upper arms and wrists are adorned with dark bands. Here, too, little or no indication of hands is given.



On the ground in front of the cushions lie two round shields with white fields, blue-grey rims, and black outlines. The little bosses have dark shadings beside white highlights. The ground itself beside the shields is indicated by short lines of blue-grey against the red-brown background.

In the foreground may be seen the outlines of the figure of a man stretched on the ground. His yellow-brown shortsleeved *chiton* with brown fold lines is rather difficult to distinguish from the background. Apparently his face is turned toward the observer and his right arm lies extended to the ground. One may distinguish part of a pointed yellow cap with brown folds and white highlights. His feet are concealed by a second figure which is apparently seated on the ground. Of this figure one sees the face, the pointed cap of yellow-grey and brown, the face, and the *chiton* of grey-green with brown outlines. Perhaps part of the grey-green and blue paint to the left of the figure represents the cushion upon which he leans, possibly it is part of the costume of another person. A break in the shield cuts off all the lower part of the body.

The roll of cushions is of the same type on both sides of the altar and is drawn in almost the same fashion except for the sequence of designs. In both rolls, broad sections are drawn in white and decorated with series of five dots, in each of which group one dot lies in the center of a square. Beside these sections are others of dark brown with fold lines of darker brown and black. The underside is darkened with shade lines which give a sense of depth and roundness. Whereas the roll on the right, however, has the dot pattern on the ends and in the center of the roll with dark fields between, the roll on the left has the sequence reversed. Separating the main sections of the design are broad bands of grey-blue. The fold lines slant up in a curve over the material thus accentuating the curve of the roll.

Just to the left of the central pair of altars are represented two figures, one a woman advancing to the left, the other preserved only up to the waist, apparently bending to the right. This figure was so placed in front of the other that much of the skirt of the upper figure must have been concealed by its body. The foot of the lower figure, drawn in profile and turned to the right, is painted white. The skirt and belt are yellow-brown with dark brown outlines and fold lines. Perhaps this figure was bent over or grasped the upper altar. The other figure is that of a woman; she wears neither helmet nor cap, and part of her hair, like that of the woman in the scene of the Trojan horse, is piled on top of the head; a part falls to her shoulders on either

side of the face. She wears shortsleeved grey blouse and yellow-grey skirt. Her right hand is extended to the right and reaches up to the level of the top of the head. Her hand perhaps clasps something no longer recognizable. Her left hand is thrown back to her left. The upper part of the skirt drawn with white highlights and brown fold lines is still visible but the lower part must always have been concealed by the body of the person below.

The three Greek soldiers depicted behind the roll of cushions have exactly the same costume and are drawn in almost the same position as those on the right of the shield. Their right arms are raised and their swords so extended behind the head that the points almost touch their left shoulders. This regularity suggests that the artist began with the right half of the scene, and having grown tired of variations in costume and position of the figures, made those on the left almost identical. The helmets are white, crests and *paludamenta* blue-grey, cuirasses light brown with darker belt lines and white highlights. Skirts are brown with dark folds and blue-grey fringe. Features are represented in the same fashion as those of the other soldiers. The only noticeable variations are that the legs are in slightly different positions and the shields are held at slightly different angles.

Four figures are sprawled over the top of the bedding, the first turned partly toward the altar, the rest rolled back in the direction of the folds of the cushions. The first figure has a grey-brown *chiton*, and grey-blue arm bands and bracelets. Hands and head are scarcely discernible. Next comes a figure clad in a yellow-brown *chiton*, with grey bands at wrists and upper arm and between them along the forearm brown fold lines. The third figure wears a grey *chiton* with brown bands and perhaps blue trousers. Finally, the last figure of this group wears a yellow-brown *chiton* with dark-brown bands. The arms of all are stretched up on either side of the head. No features are visible, and it is possible that they lie face down in spite of the general law of frontality at Dura. Unfortunately the picture is not clear enough to make this point certain.

In front of the cushions close to the altar lies a shield of the same type as those lying in front of the other roll. In front of the other end of the roll a figure lies stretched along the ground. He lies face up, with right hand and leg extended along the ground, the left leg flexed at the knee so that this knee appears above the other. He wears grey-green longsleeved jacket with yellow trousers. The upper part of the head is cut by the break in the shield.

## 4. Interpretation of the Scenes.

*The Scene of the Trojan Horse.* Illustrations of the stories of Homer were, of course, immensely popular with both the Greek and the Roman artists. Such a mass of material has come down to us from the Greek vases, the paintings of Pompeii, the *tabulae Iliacae*, the sarcophagi, and chance finds of various sorts that it is impossible to deal with it except most summarily in a report of this kind. To identify the figures in our scenes, however, and to place the designs satisfactorily in the classical tradition does require some discussion of the various classes of material.

The Trojan horse was naturally one of the most popular subjects since it represented the final dramatic scene before the capture of the city. In Hellenistic times, the Trojan horse appears on a molded vase of the third century<sup>1</sup> and in a Ptolemaic painting from Hermopolis.<sup>2</sup> In the first case, however, it is clear that the horse is already in the city, for the Greeks are descending from it and rushing to burn the temple of Athena. The painting in Hermopolis is incomplete but apparently an altar stands in front of the horse, which suggests the scene of battle inside the city rather than outside the city walls. If we may judge by the fresco in the House of Menander at Pompeii,<sup>3</sup> however, the motive of the entry of the horse was already well established at the period of the second style. In the painting the horse is depicted in profile on the right. The wall with gap made especially for the horse is rendered sketchily in the background. In front of the horse stands a flute player and a female figure with flowing robe whom we may identify as Cassandra.<sup>4</sup> To the left are a group of Trojans pulling the horse and behind them, a double row of spectators. The general masses of the composition of the picture with the horse on one side balanced by a group of Trojans on the other and the wall as part of the background are therefore already defined. It is worthy of remark that even in the Hellenistic representations the wooden horse is scarcely larger than a horse in the flesh and entirely too small for the group of warriors it concealed. Only in the famous painting of the Naples museum does it approach a size consistent with its purpose.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. Robert, *Homerische Becher* (*Winckelmannsprogramm*, 50, 1890), pp. 69—75, no. IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Ill. Lon. News*, Apr. 21, 1934, p. 598, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> A. Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro e il suo Tesoro di Argenteria* (1933), Vol. II, pl. V.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, tr. by Mrs. S. A. Strong (1900), pl. XII facing p. 148;

In the *tabulae Iliacae*<sup>6</sup> of about the beginning of our era, the small arched gate is the accepted type for the entrance to Troy. One of the scenes depicts the entry of the horse into the city. A group of Trojans and Phrygians are pulling the horse, shown in profile, toward the gate. Names written beneath the scene enable us to distinguish Priam leading the Trojans and Phrygians, Sinon with arms bound, and Cassandra issuing from the Scaean gate. The gate is on the extreme right of the scene, the horse on the extreme left, and all the figures are stretched in a line along the shallow background between the two. Jahn compares the scene to the representation on a gem.<sup>7</sup> The sarcophagi offer two representations of the scene. One,<sup>8</sup> a fragment, depicts two Trojans pulling the horse; the second<sup>9</sup> shows the horse pulled by a group in front of whom stands a figure who, Robert<sup>10</sup> believes, is Priam, and others Cassandra. Part of a replica of no. 64 was earlier published by Overbeck. These representations seem to follow very closely the relief of the *tabulae Iliacae* but make one important addition. In both representations a figure standing immediately behind the horse raises his hand to gesture in the direction of the gate.

Returning to the scene of the Dura shield, we see that many elements are taken directly from the same tradition. The horse is given in profile and represented not much larger than a living horse. As in the fresco from the house of Menander, the representation of the horse on one side is balanced by a group of Trojans on the other, while the wall of the city forms an effective background. The small arched gate is very similar to the Trojan gates represented on the *tabulae Iliacae*. With the *tabulae Iliacae* before us we may easily recognize Priam in the bearded figure who leads the group of Trojans. The woman beside him is almost certainly Cassandra. Identification of the man standing beside the horse is more difficult. He can scarcely be Sinon, for he wears the Trojan cap and costume and his arms are not bound. Probably he is the same figure who appears on the sarcophagi standing behind the horse and gesturing toward the city. On the sarcophagi he merely extends his arms in the direction of the gate, but in these scenes the

M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (1929), fig. 578. Two other scenes of the Trojan horse at Pompeii are briefly described by Maiuri, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 46f.

<sup>6</sup> O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (1873), pl. I.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 32; cf. *Monumenti Inediti, pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archaeologica*, I (1831), pl. XXXIV.

<sup>8</sup> Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophag-Reliefs*, Vol. II (1890), pl. XXVI, no. 65.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, no. 64.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 74.



horse is already being pulled by the Trojans. On the Dura shield he seems to be holding something in his hands, and a wide band or double strap is drawn prominently across the neck of the horse in preparation for moving the animal. Common practice in the East would induce the artist to place the figure of a man in front of the horse rather than allow a man's body to be partially concealed by an animal. The vertical bar which seems to penetrate the chest of the animal may well represent the spear of Laocoon plunged in its side.<sup>11</sup>

Before leaving the subject, however, there must be examined one other source of Homeric illustrations, the series of miniatures in Vergilian and Homeric manuscripts. The oldest of these, the two Vergilian manuscripts in the Vatican and the manuscript of Homer called Ambrosianus in Milan, date back to the fourth century. It is one of these, the *Codex Romanus*,<sup>12</sup> that presents, in pl. XIV, the closest parallel to our scene of the Trojan horse. I include (Pl. XLIII, 1) a copy of this miniature to show how remarkably close the two scenes are. In both, to meet the horse, a group of Trojans have emerged from an extremely small door with arched top set in a wall which forms a large part of the background. From above the wall a group of elders looks down upon the scene. In both the leader of the group of Trojans is an elderly bearded man, the only bearded figure in the whole group; in both the group on one side of the gate is balanced by the horse on the other; in both the Trojan men have pointed caps, long robes and the *chlamys* clasped over the right shoulder; the women have a low hairdress or veil falling behind the shoulders. Even the irregularity in the shield which shows part of the wall reaching up and back in contrast to the almost horizontal line of the wall on the other side of the gate is explained by the miniature which shows that the intention of the artist was to represent a portion of the fortifications as receding from the foreground. Differences there are, of course. The long robes of the Trojans on the shield do not quite correspond with those in the manuscript; the companions of Priam in the *Codex* are armed with spears, in the shield they are unarmed; a larger group looks down from the wall in the miniature, and the horse is accompanied by the

<sup>11</sup> *Sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam*

*In latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum*

*Contorsit. Stetit illa tremens...* (Vergil, *Aen.*, II, 50—2). But cf. above, p. 334, n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Picturae Vergilianae Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867* (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Phototypice Expressi*, Vol. II, 1902).



naked figure of Sinon, his arms bound behind his back, while on the shield the figure of a Trojan stands beside the steed. Finally the group of elders on the shield is on the right of the picture, the horse on the left; in the manuscript the positions are reversed. The general conception of the scene, however, is the same; the compositional balance is the same; the broad features which constitute the representation are identical. Considering the thousand or more miles which separate the provenience of these two pictures, and the considerable period of time which elapsed between the manufacture of the two, we are only amazed that differences of detail are not more apparent. They are one and the same scene, drawn from one and the same source, and for the origin of miniature painting, as well as the whole history of painting in the late Roman period they open up new vistas of extraordinary importance.

Nor is this miniature of the Trojan horse the only one of the early Homeric miniatures to which our painting is related. In the *Homer Codex Ambrosianus*,<sup>13</sup> pl. XIV, Troy is again represented by a wall which forms the greater part of the background of the picture. In front of the gate, narrow again and placed at an angle, stands Hector facing Achilles and the Greeks. Above the wall, parts of the figures of Trojans may be seen extending supplicating arms to Hector in exactly the same posture as the similarly placed figures on the shield. Clearly these three representations all come from the same stock.

Critics have been inclined to make a sharp distinction between the artistic styles of the *Codex Romanus* and the second Vatican Vergil.<sup>14</sup> Some have even gone so far as to suggest that the *Codex Romanus* was decorated as a sort of artistic joke for the amusement of a Roman schoolboy. Herbert<sup>15</sup> believes that the shortcomings of the manuscript may perhaps be indications not of late date but of provincial origin. He suggests that it represents "a praiseworthy effort on the part of a Gaulish scribe and artist for the delectation of some wealthy patron".

Significant it is for our purpose to note that at least the *Codex Romanus*, to one of whose scenes our representation of the Trojan horse seems peculiarly closely related, lies somewhat apart from the *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3225, called by Herbert the Vatican Vergil *par excellence*, and the *Cod. Hom. Ambrosianus*, though all three belong to the same period. In the Dura scene, though the general frontality and stiffness

<sup>13</sup> A. M. Ceriani, A. Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana* (1905).

<sup>14</sup> *Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana Codicis Vaticani 3225 (Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Phototypice Expressi, Vol. I, 1899).*

<sup>15</sup> J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (1911), pp. 10f.

of the figures follow the rules of local art, certain other features betray a Western influence. The use of highlights and of shading on the face and arms to give more depth and roundness to limbs and countenance does not belong to strictly Eastern art. The perspective shown in the corner of the wall at the gate is quite foreign to Eastern ideas. If we ascribe the shields to local artists, we must admit these artists are reflecting Western ideas far more than in the average Dura painting of the Roman period. The great question is, since the *Codex Romanus* does not belong to the direct tradition of Rome, and since the Dura scene belongs not to a purely local artistic tradition but rather to a general Syrian school reflecting Roman influence, whether there was not some direct relation between the two, whether they did not both descend from a common prototype.

We have seen that the various elements which make up the scenes are taken from the regular classical tradition. On the other hand the stiffness of the figures in the Vergil miniature, the complete frontality, except for the figure of Sinon, the grouping of the figures and the balance of the composition are so exactly similar to the Dura painting that development from a general tradition does not seem to explain adequately the startlingly close relationship.

The question, however, of the relation of Syrian to western art in the third and fourth centuries and of the part played by each in the development of Vergilian miniatures is far too large for this paper. It is worthy of remark, nevertheless, in view of the fact that the *Codex Romanus* was found in Gaul, that a growing body of opinion sees a close connection between Syrian and Gaulish art in the late Roman Empire. Bréhier<sup>16</sup> traces the development of colonies of Syrian and Jewish merchants in third and fourth century Gaul. At the time of the barbarian invasions, he says<sup>17</sup> there was a veritable surge ("véritable poussée") of Orientalism into the Occident. Perhaps scenes drawn by Syrian artists on the shields of local cohorts helped to bring Eastern art to the West.

*The Sack of Troy.* Polygnotus painted a picture of the *Iliupersis* on the walls of the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi. Pausanias, describing the picture (X, 27, 2), notes particularly that there are two versions concerning the slaying of Priam, one which states that he was killed at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, the other relating that his death at the hands of Neoptolemus took place at the doors of his house. Robert

<sup>16</sup> L. Bréhier, *L'Art en France des Invasions Barbares à l'Époque Romaine* (1930), pp. 32-39.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

notes that the first version was the popular one in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. judging from the scenes on Greek vases. He traces it back to the Cycle as reported by Proclus: καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν ἀποκτείνει Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑρκείου βωμὸν καταφυγόντα.<sup>18</sup>

The actual taking of Troy, representing the final victory of the Greeks over their enemies, was naturally from the beginning one of the most popular themes with Greek artists. On the vases only incidents of the sack could be represented, and the slaying of the Trojan leader became very popular. A Hellenistic bowl<sup>19</sup> represents Priam on his knees raising both arms to clasp a square altar. Perhaps Hecuba kneels beside him. The Ptolemaic painting already mentioned presents a standing figure, apparently a Trojan, raising his arms before an altar. Behind the Trojan stands the wooden horse. The scene has special interest for us for the altar as represented in the *Illustrated London News*<sup>20</sup> has a round base narrowing to a short shaft which flares out in the middle. Above is a circular, disc-shaped top. The altar, then, while not of exactly the same type as that on the shield, is very close to it. A painting of Pompeii<sup>21</sup> depicts Cassandra clinging to the image of Athena and attacked by Ajax.<sup>22</sup> In the *tabulae Iliacae*<sup>23</sup> Priam is seated on a square altar beside a female figure, probably Hecuba. Both are being attacked by Greek warriors. In the central scene of the design on our shield we may see a version of this popular theme. We can probably recognize Priam in the figure before the altar which extends its arms toward the fallen shield. In the figure which bends toward the altar above, we may perhaps see Hecuba or Cassandra. The figure advancing rapidly to the left in the background above may be the other of these women, or a Victory with palm and wreath announcing the triumph.

The sarcophagi introduce a very significant innovation, the slaying of Trojans who are engaged in a banquet. One scene<sup>24</sup> represents a group seated behind a couch. The banqueters who still hold drinking

<sup>18</sup> Robert, *Homerische Becher*, p. 44. Cf. G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I (1877), p. 49; T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera*, V (1912), p. 107. Cf. also Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 5, 21.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 41, I.

<sup>20</sup> April 21, 1934, p. 598, fig. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Mauiri, *La Casa del Menandro*, Vol. I, pp. 49—52, fig. 19, and Vol. II, pl. VI.

<sup>22</sup> For a similar scene cf. H. W. Schulz, *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispond. Arch.*, X (1838), pp. 181—183.

<sup>23</sup> Jahn, *op. cit.*, pl. I.

<sup>24</sup> Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Vol. II, pl. XXVI, 64, middle.

vessels in their hands are attacked suddenly from behind by a group of Greek warriors. Particularly significant is this representation from the point of view of the shield, for it is immediately beside a scene of the entry of the horse into Troy. On this sarcophagus, then, the two scenes of the shield are brought together, and just as on the shield, the sack of Troy is signalized by the slaying of revelling Trojans. The scene, as Robert suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 74), obviously goes back to the tradition of the Cycle: οἱ δὲ Τρῶες τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸν τε δούρειον ἵππον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσδέχονται διελόντες μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, καὶ εὐωχοῦνται ὥς νενικηκότες τοὺς Ἕλληνας — — — — — τραπέντες τε εἰς εὐφροσύνην εὐωχοῦνται ὥς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ πολέμου.<sup>24a</sup> In the sarcophagus relief, the mound of stuff behind which the Trojans are lying is not clearly indicated, and Robert (*op. cit.*, p. 74) suggests it is the ground. A miniature (Pl. XLIII, 2),<sup>25</sup> however, represents the Trojans reclining behind rolls of cushions, and probably the same interpretation should be applied to the sarcophagus. The miniature follows the *tabulae Iliacae* in presenting a bird's eye view of the whole city surrounded by its walls. The Greeks are descending from the horse and attacking chiefly two groups of Trojans obviously banqueting. One group in the foreground reclines behind a great semi-circular roll, divided by broad bands of dark colored material, while the group in the background seems to have before it a circular table<sup>26</sup> circled by the heavy roll of material. The same type of cushion lying in front and partly concealing banqueters is found in other miniatures. One from the Milan codex<sup>27</sup> represents a group of gods seated behind a great cushion placed horizontally before them. A second<sup>28</sup> shows a feast in the palace of Dido in which is drawn in the foreground a dish containing a fish, and behind it a great semicircular roll of cushion concealing the diners to the waist.

The miniature and sarcophagus representing the sack of Troy both present the Trojans as just surprised by the Greeks and not yet slain. There are in these scenes, therefore, no figures similar to those on the shield which lie fallen forward across the cushions. One of the sarcophagi<sup>29</sup> picturing the *Iliupersis*, however, represents two warriors as

<sup>24a</sup> Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 49; Allen, *loc. cit.* Cf. Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 5, 17.

<sup>25</sup> *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 3225, pict. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Editorial Note: The boss effect in the center of this tablelike object suggests strongly the top of the two altars of the Dura shield, and the object may also be interpreted as an altar.

<sup>27</sup> *Hom. Il. Pict. Frag. Amb.*, pl. X.

<sup>28</sup> *Codex Romanus*, pl. XIII.

<sup>29</sup> Robert, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, XXVI, 63.



fallen forward toward the spectator. The first has his head in three-quarters view, the second full front. The bend in the body of one which allows the artist to show the chest as well as the head is well explained, for he is being lifted from the ground by a companion. The second, however, has no such support, and apparently lies on uneven ground. Some such representation must have formed the model for the figures stretched over the cushions with heads full front on our shield.

The costumes on the shields require little comment here, for they reflect the Roman equipment with boots, skirt, cuirass, and *paludamentum*. Sometimes the helmet crests in the miniatures<sup>30</sup> are separated into sections by radiating lines which give the impression of feathers similar to those on the shield. Probably both go back to adaptations of Hellenistic monuments. Some of the Roman soldiers seem actually to have worn feathers instead of horsehair, though the crest did not reach down as far behind as represented on the shield.<sup>31</sup>

It is obvious that the shield scene is far superior in composition and technique to the similar scenes in the miniatures, on the sarcophagi, and in the *tabulae Iliacae*. The shield avoids the puerile conception of a Troy scarcely large enough to hold a company of soldiers, and it groups a series of figures on either side of the central altar scene with exceptional skill. The insistence on frontality in accordance with the Eastern tradition, and a certain repetition in the position of figures, both those sprawled on the couch and the Greek warriors, show the local influence. Perhaps to the same cause is due the very careful balance observed between the two sides of the painting, a balance which approaches that of heraldic designs.

### *B. The Amazon Shield.*

(Pls. XLIV—XLV)

#### 1. The Decorative Design.

The shield measures 1.135 m. × 0.97 m. Just inside the row of little holes which were employed to attach the leather edging is a decorative border consisting of a series of curved lines on either side of two parallel lines circling the shield. On the outside edge a scalloped white line was drawn on the red-brown background. A double series

<sup>30</sup> E. g. the crest of Achilles, *Hom. Il. Pict. Frag. Amb.*, pl. LIV.

<sup>31</sup> Couissin, *Les Armes Romaines*, pls. III, 13; IV, 20; V, 26, 27; VI, 32, 35.



of curved white lines on either side of the long parallel lines formed a number of incomplete ovals. A scalloped design, corresponding to the scalloped motive along the edge, consisted of three parallel thin lines edged alternately along the scallop with bands of blue-grey and black. Between scallops and incomplete ovals dots of black were added at the corners of the scallops.

Around the central blank space meant to be covered by an *umbo* runs a decorative design, the outer edge of which consists in running spirals in white resting on a double white line. Inside these is a wide band of plain grey, shading to black toward the center of the shield and ending in a black line. There follow two bands of brown bisected by a thin line of dark brown, between which a floral band is drawn. The floral design is divided into quarters by rectangles separated from the floral motives on either side by double white lines edging a line of brown. Between these, dots on a black field are drawn. The dots are arranged in five series of three, a white dot in each case being drawn to either side of a white and red dot as if branching from it. The quarters are divided into eighths by three cross lines on a black field. The outside lines in each case are grey-brown, the center one red at the ends, grey-brown in the center.

The design proper contains three motives, a simple series of dots, an arrangement of fruit and twigs, and a series of four flowers and stamens. It runs counter-clockwise from the top and has in sequence, dots, fruit, flowers, and fruit, the same sequence then being repeated. The dots are drawn on a black field though the outer and inner row partly project into the plain brown band on either side. Two rows of dots on the outer edge are grey-green, followed by a row of brown, then three white, one brown, and two red. The dot design on the lower part of the shield follows this sequence exactly except that the red dots are outside, the grey-green inside.

The fruit and twig design consists of six and seven series of three grey-green ovals edged with white between which are slight twigs of white. The whole is drawn on a black field with scalloped edges. The lower half of the fruit is in each case a darker grey-green than the upper part, and the lighter upper part (sometimes the whole) is bisected by a thin white line.

In the flower-and-stamen pattern, the top and bottom flowers are made with three lines, the lower of red, then pink, and finally brown, from which emerge stamens of brown against a black background. Stamens on the sides end in spirals, those in the center are short and

straight. The two middle flowers in the series of four are drawn with successive lines of blue-grey, grey and brown with stamens of brown. On either side of this design a series of short red lines radiate into the brown fields.

The center of the shield beneath the *umbo* was painted grey-green, marked off by a band of black. Beyond this was a band of brown bisected by a thin line of dark brown. Finally between the two series was a wave design with rather complicated colors. The sharply waved line is white, the loops filled alternately with brown at the bottom of the loop, red above, and grey-green at the bottom, light grey above. A white line in each case runs from the center of the loop into the middle of the second color.

The designs are of course common in the third century. One might mention, however, that at Dura the patterns of the floral band are all found with variations of colors on the Roman rectangular shield published in *Rep. VI* and on fragments of other oval shields. Clearly these designs form a regular part of the repertoire of shield painters. The wave design is very similar to that found in the borders between panels of the Synagogue paintings.

## 2. The Figures (Inscr. Nos. 920—926).

In the red-brown field are represented five pairs of combatants, each consisting of a mounted Amazon discharging an arrow at a Greek warrior. There are also depicted an indistinct object, perhaps a *pelta*, a Greek warrior standing alone, and a Greek attacking a kneeling Amazon. In the last pair we may recognize Achilles and Penthesilea, the former's name being represented, apparently, by the remaining letters YΣ (no. 920; Ἀχιλλεύς). The motive is a popular one. Achilles holds the sword in his right hand, extending his left across his body. With his left hand he grasps the hair of Penthesilea and is about to plunge the sword into her breast. The hero wears the high-crested helmet without cheek pieces of the Hellenistic warrior and has a scabbard suspended from a shoulder strap on the left side in the Greek fashion rather than the Roman.<sup>1</sup> The rest of the costume is Roman, however, consisting of *paludamentum*, long cuirass, and short skirt, though apparently the costume is worn with long sleeves. It is not clear whether or not there are any coverings on the legs.

The top of the helmet crest is drawn in blue-grey lines changing to

<sup>1</sup> Couissin, *Les Armes Romaines*, pp. 377f.

black as they fall behind the head. The helmet proper flares at the bottom to afford additional protection to the neck. A slight scallop along the edge probably marks the line of hair. The face is a light brown color with features marked in black and dark brown. A dark brown line marks the shadow line along the left side of the nose and extends along the top of the left eye. Other brown shading lines accentuate the straight black lines of the mouth and the cleft of the chin. A white line along the right side of the nose rises to make a highlight above the right eye. A similar use of white for highlights is found above and below the eyes, on the right cheek, and on the neck.<sup>2</sup> Achilles turns his face almost full front but gazes to the right at his opponent. The black iris is painted therefore in the left corner of the eyes, and a white dot in the right corner represents either the eyeball or a highlight.

The *paludamentum* is bound on the right shoulder, comes across the upper chest, and drops behind the back on either side as far as the middle of the calf of the leg. This robe is a blue-grey color with folds of brown and highlights of white. Beside the clasp of the *paludamentum*, parts of two shoulder straps are seen. A very clever arrangement of brown shadow lines and white highlights marks the right arm. A bright scarlet sword belt emerges from beneath the *paludamentum* on the right shoulder and crosses the chest to the left hip. Across the chest, just beneath the shoulder muscles, is drawn a broad band or belt consisting of two parallel dark brown lines edged inside with white. The long cuirass of the Roman muscled type which extends to the bottom of the belly is light brown in color with shading of dark brown along the left side and highlights of almost parallel lines on the right. The short skirt with a dip at the waist is drawn with folds of brown set off with lines of white and is adorned with a fringe of dark grey. Apparently it is made of some soft substance, not leather or metal plates. The division of the fingers of the right hand grasping the sword is indicated. The sword itself has a brown hand guard and brown blade with white upper edge. The light brown left arm, outlined in black and with the usual shadings and highlights of dark brown and white extends to the top of the head of the Amazon.

<sup>2</sup> In passing it may be remarked that parallel white lines for highlights are similarly used in the Synagogue, e. g. on the kine of the "Return of the Ark" scene. This same use continues in eastern Byzantine painting, G. Millet, *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra* (1910), pl. 110, 1; N. P. Kondakov, *The Russian Icon* (trans. E. H. Minns, 1927), pl. XXII, facing p. 94, etc.

Only a slight suggestion of fingers is given. The legs, visible from just above the knees, are outlined in dark brown. The arrangement of the white highlights skilfully suggests the bend at the knees. Achilles' right foot is hidden behind the helmet of the adjacent warrior but his left foot is depicted in full. It is turned away for the step and is given sketchily in profile.

Penthesilea apparently kneels beside Achilles. Her black hair falls down in disorder to either side of her face. As with Achilles, a dark brown shading line is drawn along the left side of her nose and curves up over the left eye. Further shading is made along the left side of the face. White highlights are drawn along the forehead, above and below the mouth, on each cheek bone, at the left corner of each eye and on the right side of the neck. Both breasts are bare, their outlines shaded with grey edged with black. The nipples are grey with black below. Apparently straps drawn in lines of black, brown and white cross between the breasts and rise over the shoulders. The displaced *chiton*, looking like a flounced skirt, is light brown, almost the same color as her skin, with folds of dark brown and suggestions of highlights in white. Edges of curved dark brown lines give a very impressionistic appearance. Neither arms nor legs are visible in the rather effaced drawing.

A second pair of figures occurs somewhat below and to the left of Achilles and Penthesilea. A soldier undistinguished by any name holds an upright spear in his right hand and an oval shield in the left. Except for the spear and shield his costume is much like that of Achilles. The helmet has a large horsehair plume of dark grey shading into black. The helmet itself is chiefly a light yellow with brown shading on its left. The oval shield has a rim of yellow-brown set off from the central field by a line of dark brown outside a line of white. White highlights on the right side of the shield comprise the only decoration. The spear is drawn in dark brown with a line of white along its right edge. A scarlet sword strap and a broad belt of brown and black lines enclosing a yellow-brown field adorn the chest. The face is a light brown color with shading on the left. White highlights are drawn on the cheek bones, the left corner of the eyes, the right side of the nose, above the brown cleft of the chin, and just above the lips. The *paludamentum* is caught at the right shoulder, runs in thick folds of brown and black, accentuated with white, across the top of the chest, and disappears over the left shoulder. It appears along the right side in a light brown surface with folds of darker color and white highlights,



and is shown again between and on either side of the legs with the same colors. The skirt, outlined along the stomach with a dark brown line, is brown with dark folds above shading to light brown and grey below. Folds and highlights are almost vertical. The lower edge is greenish grey with scroll suggestions of highlights and a black edge. The warrior's right forearm is grey-green with suggestion of almost vertical folds in dark brown. A shade line of dark brown below the highlights of white above accentuates the roundness and depth of the figure.

At his right (the spectator's left) is a mounted Amazon shooting back at him. Her black hair is massed somewhat on top of the head, caught with a white band, and falls to her shoulders on either side of the neck. Both breasts are covered with a short *chiton* which falls to just below the hips. This is outlined in brown with shading of grey and brown and highlights of white. A broad belt of white lines inside dark brown catches the *chiton* at the waist. The face is drawn with brown shading along the left of the nose and beneath the chin, and white highlights to mark the cheek bones, lines of the forehead, and chin. Her bare leg is well set off against the dark body of the horse. White highlights are visible on the right side. The Amazon turns on her mount, extends her left arm toward her adversary, and draws the right back. Obviously she is drawing the bow to discharge an arrow. The bow and left hand have disappeared. The right forearm is portrayed in front of the neck of the horse. White lines marking the fingers are still visible but the line of the bowstring has disappeared.

The horse is painted in dark brown with shadow lines of black. The shadow is noticeable along the bottom of the near front leg and the front of the belly; it reaches up around the middle of the horse in a great band, and serves to accentuate the lines of the leg of the Amazon. The rather impressionistic suggestion of mane rendered by irregular lines in white and black is broken by the upright ear, drawn in dark brown edged in front with white. The eye has a black center representing the iris, a line of white along the left side of the iris representing highlight or white of the eye, and a white highlight just above the eye to mark the frontal bone. The bridle drawn in scarlet and white forms a brilliant contrast to the dark brown of the horse's head and chest. A broad chest band of scarlet is drawn just below the folds of the neck and a scarlet rein loops down across the chest. Above the nostrils a scarlet band is drawn just below a white strap and across the forehead is a second scarlet band again just below



a white strap. Between these two double straps another scarlet band crosses the nose. A highlight marks part of the top of the near front leg; the hoof is effaced. The tail, sketchily done with alternate dark and light lines, partly obscures the right leg of the Greek warrior. The back legs of the horse as well as the foot of the Amazon are lost.

To the left occurs a second pair, similarly posed. The Greek hero stands apparently in the same position and wears the same costume as his predecessor, except that he seems to have the scarlet sword strap over the left instead of the right shoulder. His head extends into the decorative border of running spirals. The right half of the figure is gone but one may see part of the spear above the break. Possibly the *paludamentum* is caught on the right shoulder instead of the left. His shield, partly obscured by the head of the horse, shows that from the point of view of the artist he is standing behind it.

Beyond the break in the shield, a break which cuts off half of the warrior, appears his opponent, a mounted Amazon shooting back. The figure of the Amazon is complete except for her left forearm, but the back legs of the horse and half the bow are cut off. The forefeet of the horse are hidden beneath the decorative border. This second horse is represented in the same position as the first and with the same details. The Amazon is in exactly the same position and apparently in the same costume as the last. A white ribbon on the shoulder seems to be bound with a crescent-shaped *fibula*. Possibly, however, this represents the top of the quiver bound in the Greek fashion over the right shoulder. There is, however, no suggestion of arrows. The top of the reflex bow drawn in close lines of brown and white is distinct, even the faint white line of the string is visible. A curious broad dark band across the chest may represent in part the feathers of the arrow. The line of the arrow may be seen in any case just before the break. At the edge of the break is apparently written ΔΙ and below in a second line Μ (no. 921). Fragments of letters (ΤΙΣΙ, ΠΟ; no. 922) above the horse's head beside the right leg of the warrior above may refer to the Amazon (but the natural restoration is [κ]τ(ή)σι[π]πο[ς]!).

Of the next pair, only the Greek is preserved; beside his head is written his name Δημοφών (no. 923). He is portrayed in much the same style as those previously described except that he holds his spear across the chest instead of upright. His *paludamentum* is caught at the right shoulder and the sword strap descends from right shoulder to left hip. Just left of his right arm, a series of short almost horizontal lines may represent the side of the *paludamentum*. It looks, however,

almost as if the arm had first been drawn further to Demophon's right and then changed.

It is clear from the aggressive attitude of Demophon as well as the name Βαρύσατις (no. 924) beside the break that the representation of an antagonist has been lost. All that remain are faint traces of white just to the right of the inscription and on the fragment of plank adjoining. They indicate the edge of a form swelling in an irregular curve, probably a bit of floating drapery or the leg of the missing figure. The Amazon figure of which they were part can clearly not have been mounted like the others. Barysatis fought with or fled from her adversary on foot.

In the top center of the shield is represented the fifth pair of antagonists. The Greek advances right with spear held menacingly across his waist. The Amazon gallops off to the right but turns in her saddle to discharge an arrow at her opponent. The head and arms of the Amazon are gone but a close study of the remains of the breast shows definitely that she faces front, rather a significant fact since she must therefore draw the bow with the left not the right hand. A second difference from the other groups is the fact that the inside of the shield of the Greek is shown, exhibiting both hand and arm strap. Details of drawing and technique are almost exactly the same as in the other figures. The scarlet forehead strap of the horse is here above the white strap, and continues beyond the scarlet cheek band around the neck of the horse. The point of the spear is drawn in front of the tail of the horse, revealing the relative position of the two. A small band of dark brown beside the warrior's left foot apparently marks a shadow line on the ground, one of the very few such representations in Dura (a second example occurs in the painting of the white haired priest beside the Torah shrine in the Synagogue).

Beside the horse of the Amazon is written a name beginning ΔΙΟΣΠΕ (no. 925), which apparently belongs to the Greek warrior standing below (Διο{σ}πε|[Ιθης?]); the other Greeks' names occur likewise above their heads. His posture is much the same as that of the warrior in the lower field, except that his hand grasps the spear nearer to the point. Alternate lines of dark and white beneath his right foot represent the ground, or his shadow. Opposite his knee occurs a text which can hardly be read except as 'Ιππο|[λύ]τη, (no. 926), the well known Amazon name applied to Antiope, or to her sister. Above the inscription is an indistinct ovate object, which might be taken for a fallen *pelta*. One may trace high inward-curving horns

on either side of a point projecting from a brown center, a dark brown edge, and highlights in grey and white. On the other hand, in view of the poor preservation of the shield surface here, the object may represent all that is left of a fallen Amazon, Hippolyta.

### 3. Interpretation.

The design originated in a sort of frieze made up of a series of individual combats. The five groups left a vacant space along the right border, a space difficult to fill by another combat scene without crowding. The artist contented himself therefore with depicting a standing Greek warrior and drawing the shield of an Amazon beside him. The movement on the shield is clockwise with all the Amazons moving in the same direction around the border. This may have been the case in the original design. On the other hand, from the point of view of right and left, two Amazons gallop left and two right. In the original frieze design, therefore, the groups may have been separated, balanced on either side of a central motive, a motive which may easily be the struggle of the leaders, i. e. the slaying of Penthesilea by Achilles. It seems clear in any case, from the difficulty of the artist in satisfactorily dealing with the space at the right, that the design was not primarily intended for an elliptical border of this kind.

The subject of the strife between Amazons and Greeks was one of the most popular among Greek and Roman artists both painters and sculptors, and we have innumerable examples on the vases and in reliefs. In the early period the Amazons are clad in the Phrygian garb, highly decorated trousers and long sleeved tunics; they carry often round shields and fight usually on foot with bow and spear. Aristophanes (*Lys.*, 678 and Scholiast) reports that Mikon represented the Amazons in the painting of the Stoa Poikile on horseback. The famous Amazonian statues of Phidias, Cresilas, and Polycleitus certainly established the short Doric *chiton* as the accepted costume. Gradually the battle axe and the semi-circular crescent-shaped shield take the place of round shield and spear. The scene of Achilles plunging his sword in a half fallen Penthesilea must already have been well known when it was painted by the Penthesilea master. The Amazon friezes from the Nereid monument, the Phigalea temple, and the Mausoleum depict the battle as a series of individual combats. The Phigalea frieze indeed presents a kneeling Amazon seized by the hair by her antagonist and frequently, though not always, portrays the

Amazons as clad in the short Doric *chiton* covering both breasts. An Amazonomachy from Corinth<sup>3</sup> portrays a Greek in a Roman tight-fitting corselet and skirt, and an Amazon on her knees facing front in foreshortened pose. Edward Capps, Jr.<sup>4</sup> dates the frieze at the end of the second Christian century but because of the excellence of individual details such as the drapery of the Amazons, and the spacious compositions which contrast with the crowded designs of Roman sarcophagi, he places its prototype in the fifth or fourth century B. C. To the east Amazonomachies were particularly popular in South Russia and many examples are found on imported Athenian vases.<sup>5</sup> Carl Robert has collected the representations of Amazonomachies on sarcophagi.<sup>6</sup> He divides<sup>7</sup> the representations into three groups or classes. The first group, a very small one, has designs of a decorative character with careful balance in the composition. The third group comprises only a few exceptions from the schemes of the second group. It is the second, belonging to the second and third centuries, a group called by Robert the Graeco-Roman, in which the great mass of the material falls. His collection shows the great popularity of Amazonomachies in the late Roman Empire. It is interesting to observe that in the first section of the second group the Greeks are on foot, the Amazons for the most part mounted. Then is introduced the Greek holding a kneeling Amazon by the hair, and gradually this motive is brought into the center of the scene. Robert justly observes that while to the Attic sculptors the struggle of Theseus and Antiope were most popular, to the Romans the romantic story of Achilles and Penthesilea was more appealing. Finally, the sculptors represented Achilles lifting the dying Amazon rather than in the act of killing her. Together with this development, heroes from the Trojan fight and from the Attic were introduced indiscriminately into the same scene. On the Dura shield the figure of Demophon, according to one account the son of Theseus and Antiope, shows that Attic as well as Trojan warriors are employed. The motive of Achilles and Penthesilea relates our shield further to the Graeco-Roman cycle. Except for these resemblances and the costumes of Greeks and Amazons, little of the purely classical tradition remains.

<sup>3</sup> T. L. Shear, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, XXX (1926), pp. 457f., figs. 9—10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 188 f.

<sup>5</sup> E. g., K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* (*Arch. Mitt. aus Russ. Samml.*, IV, 1934), figs. 10, 64, pls. 5, 8, 24, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Vol. II. pp. 76—144, pls. XXVII—XLIX.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 76f.



In the period just after the Dura shield, a fourth century mosaic from Antioch<sup>8</sup> shows a single combat of Greek vs. Amazon, and a silver amphora from the grave treasure of Concesti about 400 A. D. shows a frieze depicting the battle of Amazons and Greeks running completely around the vase.<sup>9</sup> The frieze contains the representation of four Greek warriors on foot and four Amazons, of whom three are on horseback and one dismounted and kneeling. In general composition, then, this frieze comes close to our own composition, since one Greek attacks a kneeling Amazon, and others are engaged with Amazons on horseback. Furthermore, two of the Greeks are armed with spears and two with swords. It is also obvious that the Greeks have a round shield held by a single center strap. It is clear, therefore, that a very strong tradition continued the Amazonomachy from the sixth century B. C. into Byzantine times.

When we examine individual features of the shield, we see at once that several details correspond exactly with the Greek tradition. The group depicting the kneeling Amazon attacked by a Greek warrior is a common motive from at least the fifth century B. C. until the fifth century after Christ. The Phigalea frieze and the silver amphora from Concesti both represent the Greek grasping his victim by the hair. Though the warrior from Concesti attacks with the spear rather than the sword, he grasps the weapon with the right hand, and holds it across the body in almost exactly the same manner as is done on the shield. The Roman skirt with the dip across the belly is found on the Corinthian frieze, but not the *chlamys* or *paludamentum* across the shoulders. It appears on the amphora from Concesti, the mosaic of Antioch, and frequently in the Roman Homeric miniatures (e. g. *Homerus Ambrosianus* LIV). Long sleeves on the corselet are apparently an innovation but appear again in the Antioch mosaic. The helmet with high crest and horsehair falling down almost to the shoulders is not common, but springs from good Greek tradition, for it is found on a moulded bowl of the Hellenistic period.<sup>10</sup> The Amazon apparently has

<sup>8</sup> C. R. Morey, *Parnassus*, VII (May, 1935), p. 11, fig. 4; R. Stillwell, *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, II, *The Excavations 1933-1936* (1938), pl. 32.

<sup>9</sup> L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike, Studien auf Grund der Silbergefässe der Ermitage* (B. Pharmakovsky, G. Rodenwaldt, O. Waldhauer, T. Wiegand, A. A. Zacharoff, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Russischen Sammlungen*, Vol. II, 1929), pls. 36-42.

<sup>10</sup> Robert, *Homerische Becher*, p. 26 (F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, 1922, p. 285, fig. 49); cf. Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophag-Reliefs*, II, pl. XXVII, 68, and the helmet on the Hellenistic Panathenaic amphora from the Agora, *Hesperia*, V (1936), p. 54, fig. 7.



both breasts bare, an exception even on the shield. The painting is not entirely clear at this point, and it may be she is clad in a costume similar to that of the kneeling Amazon on the Corinth frieze, a costume which exposes one breast and is pressed so tightly across the other that only the fringe on either side proves it to be covered. On the shield, the feet of the Amazon are apparently not drawn. Presumably, therefore, they are bent back, as in the Corinth frieze.<sup>11</sup>

The second Greek in the lower right center wears the same costume but is armed with shield and spear. The round shield and spear are the usual arms of the Greeks in Amazonomachies but it is noticeable here that the shield is held rather far to the side and it is probable that the artist was portraying the type held with the hand only, a type clearly portrayed on the Concesti amphora. The Amazon turns back to shoot a bow and rides a horse plunging forward in a gallop. Both these points we shall discuss later. The only other details which need emphasis here are the shield of the Greek portrayed in the top center, and the shield of the Amazon on the ground. The first shows the inside of the shield equipped with arm band and long hand clasp. This is exactly the type portrayed on the theban grave steles of Mnason and of Rhynchon.<sup>12</sup> Closest parallels to the long narrow Amazon shield are found in the Antioch mosaic, but one may compare also the shield in the moulded bowl above mentioned. Neither is an exact replica of our own, which has a narrower body and longer horns than usual.

In the border designs the running spirals and the guilloche pattern of the Homeric shield are motives too common to require comment. Nor are decorative designs with floral patterns uncommon around mosaics or paintings. One might mention, however, the double decorative border around the lunette of Achilles at Palmyra,<sup>13</sup> and the floral border beneath the Amazon frieze on the Concesti amphora, because these two scenes particularly belong to the same class and are close to the period of our shields. It is worth remarking, at least, that on the amphora the single decorative band, though much simpler than that of the shield, as is natural in a toreutic design, still presents at least three different types of leaves and buds and that the types are

<sup>11</sup> Compare the similar motive on the Strangford shield, E. A. Gardner, *Six Greek Sculptors* (1910), pl. 19.

<sup>12</sup> W. Vollgraff, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XXVI (1902), pls. VII and VIII; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, figs. 336 and 466.

<sup>13</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom* (1901), pl. I.

separated by vertical bands. We are here very close indeed to the type of floral bands on the shields.

If, however, the shield presents many details belonging entirely to the Graeco-Roman tradition, it is equally clear that other details belong entirely to the East. First of all we may point to the gallop of the horse, and to the repetition of the type necessitating successive changes in the point of view of the artist. The position of the back legs of the horses is not clear, but it is obvious that each horse is given from a point of view a little above and a little in front of the steed so that a part of the broad chest of the horse is shown and the off fore foot is a little above the near. Not only is this point of view maintained for the two horses on the lower part of the shield but also for the one above advancing in the opposite direction. Müller points out<sup>14</sup> that the eastern artist is not so much concerned with a single point of view as with the desire to present the most detailed view of his subject. Such a desire was present even to an exaggerated degree to the Parthian artist.<sup>15</sup> It was, moreover, this point of view, i. e. a little in front and above the horse, that was the favorite one among the Parthians. Furthermore, a horse deep chested and small in comparison to the rider was the regular type in representations of the Syrian desert. Secondly, the Amazon, though mounted, shoots at her adversary with bow and arrow. I have been unable to find in the representations of the west a mounted Amazon armed with bow and arrow. They fight sometimes with these weapons, to be sure, but never from horseback. The type may occur but at least it is extremely rare. On the other hand at Dura and the desert as a whole the mounted archer was the rule. But the Amazon not only fires her arrow from the saddle but turns to shoot at an adversary behind with the famous Parthian shot. This is not common even in the East at this period and as far as I know is never found in the West.<sup>16</sup> The motive of shooting back occurs in a Graeco-Persian gem, is fairly common in Chinese pottery of the Han period,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> V. Müller, *Arch. f. Orientforschung*, V (1928—9), p. 199.

<sup>15</sup> See my article on Parthian Art in *Berytus*, III (1936), pp. 1—31.

<sup>16</sup> Sidonius Apollinaris (about 481 A. D.), *Epist.*, IX, 13 (ed. E. Baret, Paris 1897), speaks of tapestries depicting Parthian bowmen turning back to shoot in hunting. *Ubi torvus, et per artem resupina flexus ora, it equo reditque telo simulacra bestiarum fugiens fugansque Parthus*. It is not clear, however, whether these tapestries date from Parthian times or whether he is not using *Parthus* as a general name for Persian. Cf. further. Cumont, *Ill. Lon. News*, Oct. 10, 1936, p. 624.

<sup>17</sup> B. Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty* (1909), pls. XLVIII—LI and

and becomes familiar in Sassanian art.<sup>18</sup> Still more striking, perhaps, is the fact that while the two lower Amazons ride left and so draw the bow with the right hand, the Amazon on the upper part of the shield faces front though advancing right and so must draw the bow with the left hand. One of the very few examples of this kind that I know in this period is on a Chinese vase of the Han dynasty.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, on the Han vase the design is not clear enough to show whether the rider faces front or not. At Dura, however, a graffito<sup>20</sup> shows a Parthian warrior riding left and pulling the bow with the left hand, and the battle scene in the Synagogue<sup>21</sup> represents a spearman riding left and holding the spear in the left hand so that he may conveniently face front. In reliefs of the Han dynasty in China the warriors riding left not infrequently pull the bow with the left hand.<sup>22</sup> (See my remarks on the subject in *Berytus*, III, p. 18.) The fact, then, that an Amazon at Dura should pull the bow with the left hand in order to face the observer is not at all strange; it is simply another decidedly Eastern element.

As another Eastern trait in the shield I might mention not only the stiffness of the Greek warriors in the lower part of the shield but their extreme nonchalance in the presence of an enemy dangerously close at hand. In one of the Hellenistic moulded bowls Heracles holds a half-fallen Amazon by the hair with such a casual air that Courby<sup>23</sup> explains: "le guerrier n'est plus dans l'ardeur du combat; il fait une pause et semble moins terrasser sa victime que vouloir la montrer à quelque spectateur disparu." Such a position in the West is extremely rare even when the enemy is vanquished. At Dura, however, the law of frontality lends often an air of careless indifference to the figures. The archers shoot at a fleeing quarry from horseback, but stare at the spectator rather than their game. Mithras in his reliefs pauses to gaze at the artist at the very instant he is to plunge his sword into the heart

LVIII. For Siberia, cf. H. Appelgren-Kivalo, *Alt-Altäische Kunstdenkmäler* (1931), fig. 79. For China cf. also, Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), pp. 270f.

<sup>18</sup> J. Orbeli, C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie Sassanide*, nos. 6, 13, and 3, (*III Congrès International d'Art et d'Archéologie Iraniens*; Musée de l'Ermitage, 1935); J. J. Smirnoff, *Argenterie Orientale* (Commission Impériale Archéologique, 1909), pl. XXXIII.

<sup>19</sup> Laufer, *op. cit.*, pl. LI.

<sup>20</sup> *Rep. II*, pl. XLI, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 349f.

<sup>22</sup> F. Chavannes, *Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale* (1913), Text, Vol. I, p. 82, Atlas, Vol. I, pl. XXVI.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 207, fig. 33, 3, and p. 209.

of the bull. In the stiff frontal passive positions of the soldiers on the shield, one may perceive this Eastern idea carried to an extreme. This same nonchalance may be noticed on some of the early miniatures. For example in the *Codex Romanus*, pl. XVII, a battle between Greeks and Trojans is portrayed. A Trojan is in the act of drawing the bow, and his antagonist draws back his arm to discharge slingshot or javelin. The air is full of arrows and the battle is evidently at its height, but the attendants of the protagonists on either side, though standing shoulder to shoulder with their leaders, rest their spears on the ground and make no move to take part in the fray.

### *C. The Shield of the Warrior God.*

(Pl. XLVI)

#### 1. Description.

The shield measures 1.18 m.  $\times$  0.94 m. Close to the edge the painting is almost entirely destroyed, and it is possible that a decorative border circled the shield. The spear and halo of the warrior, however, came so close to the actual edge of the shield that little room is left for such designs.

The figure of the god occupies the whole field of the shield. He is clad in the Roman costume of skirt, cuirass, *paludamentum*, and helmet. He holds the spear in his left hand. His shield rests on the ground beside his left leg. His right hand is extended to the side. Apparently, though the feet are not visible, he rests his weight on one leg, and raises the other foot slightly for the step. This is the common stance for the warrior gods of Dura as shown in the Otes fresco, the fresco of the Tribune, and the graffito in the Temple of Azzanathkona.<sup>1</sup> Usually, however, gods rest their weight on the right foot and raise the left, whereas on the shield it is apparently the right foot which is raised. In the frescoes this is true only of the helmeted god in the Tribune fresco.<sup>2</sup> In the other representations at Dura the gods invariably hold the spear in the right hand, and frequently either shield or globe in the left. Here the holding of the spear in the left hand and the gesture to the side with the right are distinct innovations. If the figure were that of a warrior one would expect from the gesture that he were dropping incense on an altar. This is scarcely possible in the

<sup>1</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pls. L and LV, *Rep. V*, pl. XXXVI, 2—3.

<sup>2</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pl. L.



case of the god, however, and we must suppose he holds some attribute more significant than the weapons in his right hand.

Unfortunately the paint on the board running through the upper center has weathered away and so most of the details of features of the face are gone. Face and neck were painted a yellow-brown, and the features as far as they can be distinguished are drawn in black. The end of the left eye and the end of the eyebrow are both drawn with broad lines. Below the eye a slanting line depicts a shadow line down the cheek. The helmet, red-brown with dark outlines, flares at the brim to either side of the head. Head and helmet are set off by the light yellow field of the halo, a field which is edged with a thin line of grey inside a line of black. The *paludamentum*, yellow-brown with red-brown folds and outlines of red and black, is caught at the right shoulder, crosses the chest to cover the left breast, left shoulder, and upper arm and then falls down behind the figure and appears to either side and between the legs. Curving lines on either side of the knees attempt to show the natural fall of the folds along the edge. The cuirass and skirt are yellow with grey-green hem below. Along the right side of skirt and cuirass shading in red gives the impression of roundness. White lines depicting highlights are drawn across the belly. Above, chest bands marking perhaps sections of the cuirass run horizontally across the body. They are drawn in three broad lines of red between which are horizontal lines of white and yellow. A line of black defines the lower limits of the lowest and top red band and the upper part of the middle band. The long sleeve on the right arm is grey-green with dark folds, and has a dark line of shading below. Lines of white drawn across the upper surface of the sleeve mark highlights or fold lines. The left forearm is drawn with similar colors except that here there seems to be a greater contrast between the green of the sleeve and the dark shading. The right hand is completely gone, and only the outline of the left clasping the spear just below the head is visible. Both shaft and pointed head of the spear are black. Dark folds and white highlights are shown just below the skirt to mark the kneecap and bend at the knee. An attempt is made to show the shield in perspective by placing the boss not far from the right rim. The red rim with black outline also widens appreciably toward the bottom of the shield. The yellow field is, moreover, distinctly oval in shape. The boss is drawn in red with black outline and traces of highlights.

The field of the shield beside the figure is grey-green shading to a dark blue around the halo.



## 2. Interpretation.

Shield and spear are common accoutrements of warrior gods both at Dura and Palmyra though the shield is usually held in the hand rather than resting on the ground. The helmet, on the other hand, is by no means usual and seems to be a distinguishing feature of this god. The same type of helmet is found on the god left of center in the fresco of the Tribune<sup>3</sup> and is worn by the god who stands to the left of Aglibol in the fresco of Otes.<sup>4</sup> In all these cases the halo proves the figure's character as a god. In a bas-relief of Palmyra a god, distinguished by a helmet and holding in his left hand the rim of a circular shield which rests beside him on the ground, is found again standing to the left of Aglibol.<sup>5</sup> The same helmet appears in a relief of mounted gods from Palmyra published by Chabot and Ingholt (see below).

Seyrig<sup>6</sup> was the first to point out the difficulty of recognizing the triad of gods in the Sacrifice of the Tribune as Bel, Iarhibol and Aglibol. He called attention to the fact that the central god lacks the *anaxyrides* of Bel, that the god on the right of the center (the place of honor) has the crescent of Aglibol as well as the nimbus, and that the god on the left cannot be Iarhibol. He suggested, therefore, that we recognize Aglibol with crescent on the right and Malachbel on the left, basing his conclusions on an altar and a number of terracotta lamps from Palmyra which mention Aglibol and Malachbel together, with Aglibol mentioned first. On the altar they are mentioned with the Great God (unnamed).

Relief IV of the *naos* of the Temple of the Gaddé (pp. 264 f., above) throws some doubt on one part of this identification, for there the god is specifically named Iarhibol in spite of the crescent rising above his shoulders. We know that in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods the cult of Iarhibol was prominent, for not only is his name mentioned in relation to the personal adornments held in the temple<sup>7</sup> but a special altar was dedicated to him.<sup>8</sup>

If there still remains doubt, however, whether in the Sacrifice of the Tribune, the god in the position of honor on the right is Iarhibol

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, pl. L.

<sup>4</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, pl. LV.

<sup>5</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 133, fig. 29; Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, I, 1933, pp. 27-32, pl. = *Syria* XIII (1932), pl. XLIII. Cf. further the figure on a plaster fragment from the Necropolis Temple, above, p. 317 and pp. 323 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Antiquités Syriennes*, I (1933), pp. 27-32 = *Syria*, XIII (1932), pp. 190-195.

<sup>7</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, no. 12, p. 369.

<sup>8</sup> *Rep. II*, pp. 90f.

or Aglibol, it is clear that the third god is not Aglibol. There is no suggestion of the crescent there and the lunar symbol is definitely attached to the god on the right. The characteristic feature of this third god is the broad rimmed helmet he wears on his head, a feature he shares with the god on the shield.

Some light on the triad seems to be brought by the representation of gods in the sacrifice of Otes. Here four gods (beside a goddess) are represented. In the center is Bel with the *anaxyrides*, on his right probably Iarhibol, on his left certainly Aglibol, and to the left of Aglibol is another god who seems to wear a helmet. Cumont says<sup>9</sup> that the aureole "appears to be hidden above by a helmet very much effaced". Any doubt should be removed by the bas-relief found in Palmyra by Ingholt in 1924, for this relief depicts Bel in the center, Iarhibol with radiate head on the right of center, Aglibol, and a god with helmet.<sup>10</sup>

If we take these three monuments together a very significant fact comes to light. When both Iarhibol and Aglibol are represented it is the fourth god who wears the helmet; when, however, the god with the helmet is represented on the left of the center the god on the right wears both the rayed crown and the crescent. The new relief suggests that this latter god is a Iarhibol who also carries the crescent of Aglibol and who seems therefore to impersonate both sun and moon.

Two facts may be pointed out in relation to the helmet. The helmet is not a common feature in representations of the gods of Syria in spite of the fact that they are often armed with spear and shield, and the type of helmet that is found in the representations of Syrian gods seems always the same and of a very particular type. It is worn high on the head and has a wide rim extending to either side. At least in the large reliefs and paintings it is never worn by Bel, Iarhibol, or Aglibol. It seems reasonable to see in it therefore a distinctive feature of a particular god or gods.

There is one monument in which we can definitely recognize a Syrian god with helmet. This is the famous relief from Palmyra published by Chabot and Ingholt.<sup>11</sup> It represents a camel god clad in Roman military costume and armed with spear and helmet, his little round shield fastened to the camel beside him. Behind him comes a god clad in Palmyrene costume, mounted on a horse. The inscription gives us the names Arsu and Azizu and we may recognize with certainty the helmeted camel god as Arsu.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>10</sup> Cumont, *op. cit.*, fig. 29; Seyrig, *op. cit.* = *Syria*, XIII (1932), pl. XLII.

<sup>11</sup> Chabot, *Choix*, pp. 68—70, pl. 22, 1; Ingholt, *Studier*, pp. 44—47, pl. VII, 2.

It may be, of course, that Malachbel also wore the helmet. This, however, as far as I know, has not been proved. In the relief of Aglibol and Malachbel in Rome<sup>12</sup> both gods are bareheaded. Preisendanz, who collected the material for Malachbel in the *R.-E.*, mentions no helmet in the representations. Malachbel was, of course, closely associated with the sun, and is addressed both as *Sol sanctissimus* and *deus Sol invictus Malachbelus*.<sup>13</sup> It seems therefore rather significant that in the relief of four gods from Palmyra, whereas both Iarhibol and Aglibol have the rayed crown in addition to the nimbus, the helmeted god lacks the special symbol of the sun. It seems more logical, therefore, that we should recognize in this figure Arsu rather than Malakbel. Seyrig<sup>14</sup> is tempted to call a helmeted god in another relief from Palmyra Arsu. At present therefore, at least, we may call the fourth god in the sacrifice of Otes Arsu also and identify the helmeted god on the Dura shield as the same divinity.

That the helmeted god in the Sacrifice of the Tribune is also Arsu is suggested by a graffito whose significance has thus far been overlooked. It was found in the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, just to the left of the fresco of the Tribune written over painting VII. The first three lines in Palmyrene Cumont<sup>15</sup> translates "Que soit mentionné Malikou, fils de Wahballat, devant Iarhibol et Resou et GLRT." Cumont recognizes in the enigmatic "Resou" the name Arsu. In a temple dedicated to one god or group of gods it is not uncommon to have other divinities mentioned, and the position of the graffito may be mere chance. There seems good evidence, however, that in the helmeted god of the triad we should recognize Arsu. If this is the case, then there can be little difficulty in recognizing Iarhibol on the right of the center in spite of his crescent. In the new relief of the god with rayed nimbus and crescent, we recognize Iarhibol as the inscription states, but a Iarhibol endowed also with the crescent moon of Aglibol. This is the same Iarhibol depicted in the Tribune fresco. Apparently, then, the little graffito of the Palmyrene temple was written beside the divinities it named to obtain more surely the benediction it requests.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen class. Altert. in Rom*, 3rd ed. (1912-13), no. 988; Cumont, *op. cit.*, fig. 22.

<sup>13</sup> Preisendanz, *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 3 and pl. LVI.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, no. 10, pp. 366f.

<sup>16</sup> A relief discovered in the ninth campaign and specifically naming Arsu depicts the god armed with spear and shield. He is bare-headed and clad in a *chiton* with a short skirt. Apparently it is only when he wears the Roman costume that he has the helmet.

#### IV. THE MICROSCOPIC EXAMINATION OF SPECIMENS OF PAINT FROM THE THREE ROMAN SHIELDS

*Specimen 1. Gesso from the reverse side of shield no. 3, possibly with some paint.*

The gesso is a white, crystalline, inorganic substance; it is brittle and there is now little or no visible indication that a medium of film-forming substance is present. It effervesces strongly in dilute hydrochloric acid, partially dissolves, and on recrystallization much calcium sulfate is observed to be present. When studied optically it appears that the material is quite heterogeneous. The mean refractive index appears to be a little higher ( $n = 1.56$ ) than that of gypsum (calcium sulfate). The conclusion is that it is derived from a rather impure gypsum and possibly contained some lime which has now changed to calcium carbonate. It is difficult to characterize this ground material as any one particular substance.

*Specimen 2. Green-blue paint from the reverse of shield no. 3.*

When this was studied microscopically no crystalline blue pigment could be observed. There is present, however, a very finely divided substance which has the character of a poorly dispersed dye substance. Small particles of this type are green-blue in color by transmitted light. Larger particles are nearly black in reflected light. It appears to have all of the properties of indigo. The color is unaffected by cold dilute hydrochloric acid; it is first brightened and then discharged by cold dilute nitric acid. It is bleached rather quickly by sodium hypochlorite. All these properties are characteristic of indigo. The blue dye material is not evenly distributed. One gets the impression that it was applied in an aqueous dispersing medium.

*Specimen 3. Bright red with gesso, from the reverse of shield no. 2.*

The bright red layer ( $20\mu$  thick) which is applied rather thinly at the surface of this specimen is vermilion. Beneath the vermilion is a thicker layer ( $70\mu$ ) of a blue-black pigment. This appears to be the indigo, described in Specimen 3, except that the pigment is much more concentrated and opaque.

*Specimen 4. Dark blue, from the reverse of shield no. 2.*

The dark blue in this specimen is the same blue dyestuff already observed in Specimens 2 and 3. It appears to be a background layer over which red decorations were laid.



*Specimen 5. Black and other colors, from the reverse of shield no. 2.*

Some of the particles show a paint film with a definitely black pigment. Other particles are green-brown in tone. The black is a carbon black. Cross sections of particles of this specimen show that beneath the black there is a red-brown layer (about 40  $\mu$  thick) which is directly applied to the wood. This appears to be the same red bole already described by Specimen 3. The green-brown color is caused by laying a thin wash of indigo over the bole.

*Specimen 6. Dark green paint, from the obverse of shield no. 1.*

The color of the painted surface is dark grey-green. A small amount of indigo can be observed in the paint film. There seems to be no distinct underlying layer of red bole, as was noted in Specimen 5. There are, however, scattered particles of a reddish yellow earth which, mixed with a small amount of indigo blue, can explain the green color of the paint film. A cross section shows a thin, single layer (20  $\mu$ ) of the green applied directly over the gesso.

*The Medium.*

It was observed in examining flakes of this specimen that the paint film had a distinct crackle which appeared to be caused by the shrinkage of the medium and not by the checking of the wood beneath. The crackle is definitely cup-shaped and is characteristic of a tempera medium. Although an extended study was made, no visible evidence of any medium could be observed, but the character of the crackle indicates plainly that a fairly large amount of medium must have been present when the paint film was applied. The microchemical study shows conclusively that there are considerable amounts of both nitrogen and phosphorous still present in this paint film. It is rather difficult, however, to base definite conclusions upon the presence of these two elements. A phosphorous containing a nitrogenous organic medium is clearly indicated. Both these elements could have had their origin in egg yolk or casein. One is a little inclined to think that the medium may have been casein, but still there is no direct evidence for any such conclusion.



## IX.

### MINOR FINDS CHIEFLY FROM N<sub>7</sub> AND N<sub>8</sub>

#### I. MINOR FINDS FROM N<sub>7</sub>

##### *A. Relief of Heracles.*

(Pl. XL, 1)

In the fill along Wall Street just north of Tower 15 and a meter or two below the top of the circuit wall was discovered a plaster relief of a reclining Heracles (G 1210). The piece is 0.275 m. wide  $\times$  0.21 m. high  $\times$  0.085 m. thick in maximum measurements with a relief 0.035 m. in depth. The back is curved and probably therefore the piece was intended to be introduced into a wall.

Heracles reclines on a couch covered with the lion's skin, rests on his left elbow, and holds in his left hand a goblet, in his right the end of the club. The naked body of the god is rather crudely modelled and details of the face are almost indistinguishable. One may remark the line of hair rounded on top, the heavy beard, ears modelled close to the head, and part of the right eye with incision for the eyebrow, a round incised circle for the eyeball, and a small bored hole for the iris. The left leg extended behind the right is much too long and very carelessly modelled. The right shin is also disproportionately long, measuring 0.08 m. from ankle to the top of the knee, compared with little more than 0.08 m. for the torso. Chest muscles are rounded out disproportionately far, as is also the muscle of the right upper arm. Part of the left upper arm is broken, but the left hand is clearly visible, the fingers supporting a shallow drinking bowl. The right leg is bent at the knee, and the foot in profile rests flat on the couch. Halfway between knee and thigh rests the right forearm, the right hand covering the end of the short club. The lion's skin, marked with horizontal incised lines, extends along the couch, but the large round head with bulging eyes and radiate mane faces full front.

The piece was cast in a mould. In position the figure recalls the reclining single figures of Palmyrene reliefs. The extraordinary popularity of Heracles at Dura has been remarked upon many times in previous reports. For the position of the lion's skin with head front, see below, p. 373.

*B. Bust of a Nude Warrior.*  
(Pl. XL, 2)

From the same place came part of a plaster relief of a warrior or god with lance (G 1211). The maximum dimensions are 0.16 m. wide  $\times$  0.12 m. high  $\times$  0.022—0.035 m. thick, plus a relief of 0.018 m.

The piece without border presents only the head, the chest, and part of the arms of a figure facing full front. The head is large and round, and surrounded by a thick mat of hair which follows the curve of the head on top but which falls almost straight on the sides, contrary to the usual halo style. Eyebrows are marked only with slight straight incisions, the eyes are almost undesigned, and the mouth and chin are broken. Chest and arms are flat on the surface and made with angular stiffness. The head of the lance extends beside and above the right shoulder, and the staff is held very awkwardly by the right hand. Except for the slight relief given to the right hand, hand and lance are level with the background and the design is made only by outline incisions. There is no attempt to show the fingers. The left upper arm is held horizontally and there is no attempt to show the muscles. What little remains of the forearm is held almost vertical. Possibly the left hand held the hilt of the sword, the pommel of which is perhaps visible at the bottom of the chest.

The figure was made in a mould and from the marks of cutting to the right of the head one suspects the mould was of stone.

*C. Terracotta Plaque.*

In N7 W a little further north than the previous finds was discovered a terracotta plaque (G 1439), a replica of that found in the fifth campaign.<sup>1</sup> It represents the bearded Zeus holding over his chest a thunderbolt in the shape of double tridents in each hand. Features are obliterated but one may observe the folds of drapery between the thunderbolts. A round of apparently curly hair circles the head and a heavy beard covers the chin.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 129f., pl. XXII, 3.

*D. Terracotta Head.*

From N7 W came also a terracotta bearded head (G 1471). The hair circles the head and comes low over the forehead. Above the hair, however, is represented a great turban divided into sections by radiating incised lines. This may well represent a halo since a real turban would probably conceal the hair. The terracotta is hollow, showing that it was made in two parts. The back is roughly fashioned. Dimensions are 0.055 m. high  $\times$  0.044 m. wide  $\times$  0.043 m. thick.

## II. HOUSE N8 A

*A. Description.*

In the fifth campaign excavations in Block N8 were not pushed north of the temple of Aphlad except to excavate room 8.<sup>1</sup> Excavations in the seventh campaign revealed that this room, originally believed to belong to the complex around the court of the temple, in reality formed part of a private house adjoining the shrine of Aphlad. As usual the walls along and close to Wall Street were best preserved, for they were protected by the first embankment. They consist of mud brick over rubble foundations. The doorway to A2 and the west half of the door to A1 are well preserved and show rubble reveals and jambs topped with gypsum capitals. Except for room A2 and the west halves of A1 and A4 the remains consist only of low rubble foundations. The complete buttress around the northeast corner of the shrine of Aphlad shows that the house was later than the shrine. The west wall of the house continues the line of the shrine for a short distance, then turns slightly toward the circuit wall.

The house follows the usual plan of a series of single chambers around an open court. Apparently the chief entrance was through room A4 with a slightly angled turn into the court. There was no sign of columns in the court or of benches around any of the rooms dug. Rooms A10 and A11 were not excavated and the outlines are supplied only through the evidence of walls in A9 and 8, and the analogy with other houses. Possibly A11 was the *diwan* and was supplied with benches. A1, however, as the largest room, was the logical *diwan*. Possibly originally it was supplied with benches of wood.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. I. The plan is published *Rep. VI*, pl. XII.

*B. Graffiti from Room A1.*

## 1. The Lion.

In addition to a number of texts, there is drawn on the wall of A1 the design of a lion 0.32 m.  $\times$  0.20 m. (cf. cut on p. 374). One may see the outline of the back, perhaps part of one fore leg and part of the belly of the beast. Evidently the animal is advancing left. Only the head is done in detail, however, and this faces full front. The face is in shape more like that of a bull than a lion, for it is long and the nose widens about the nostrils. The great mane above, however, leaves no doubt that it was meant for a lion. The eyes are circles and the line of the left eye descends to form the shadow line of the nose and then the circle of the left nostril. The ears rise to either side of the head above the eyes. The design though crude is most remarkable, for it is one of the few instances at Dura in which an animal walking right or left turns the head full front. A second example occurs on the Roman *scutum*<sup>2</sup> on which is painted a lion advancing left with head turned almost full front. Similar also is the lion's skin mentioned above (p. 370), represented lying along the couch of Heracles with head turned full front. In the face of many representations of animals completely in profile at Dura these examples are exceptions, but exceptions which follow a very definite oriental motive. One may mention in comparison the man-headed lion from tomb I at Marissa from the Hellenistic period, and the great lion portrayed in the reliefs of Nimrud Dağ. In both cases the lion is represented with body in side view, and the head full front.

It is obvious that all these designs follow the Sumerian tradition which popularized this method of representing animals, especially lions. From Sumeria the motive advanced to Syria and became very popular at the beginning of the first millenium, as is testified by similar motives on early Corinthian vases under oriental influence and early reliefs from Carthage.

In Syria itself is found the Syro-Hittite relief of the Great Goddess standing on the back of a deer which faces front. The relief belongs to the end of the second or the beginning of the first millenium B. C.<sup>3</sup> In a relief of the Temple of Bel at Palmyra the horse approaching the

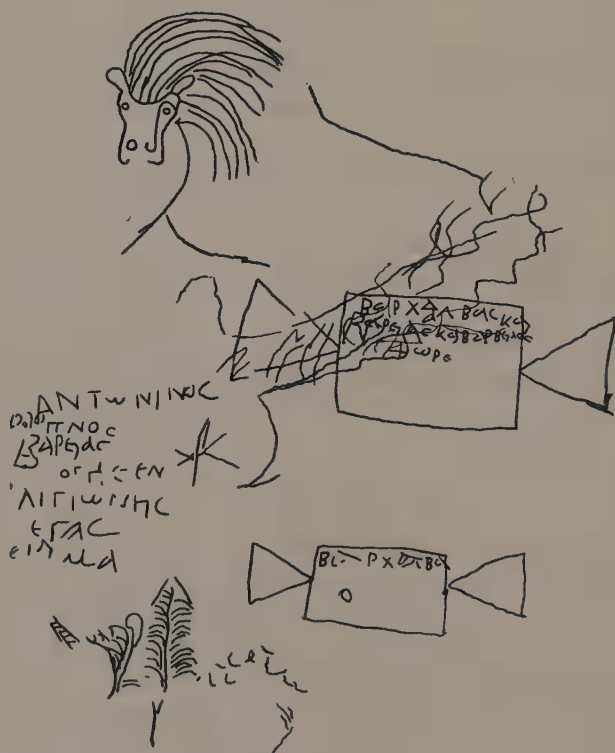
<sup>2</sup> *Rep. VI*, frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes*, p. 138 = Syria, XIV (1933), p. 374, fig. 25.

snake-demon turns its head front perhaps in fright,<sup>4</sup> but the horse on the sarcophagus recently published by Ingholt<sup>5</sup> has no excuse of terror for turning his head. A relief discovered by Schlumberger in Djebel Scha'ar, which shows the horse in profile but with head full front, confirms the view that this motive is common in third century Syria.<sup>6</sup> So strong has the convention become that even the bull on the Mithras relief found in Arsha-wa-Quiba (Syria) turns its head full front.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. The Texts (Nos. 927—930).

These graffiti are known only from copies made by Mr. Hopkins, reproduced herewith. The plaster on which they were preserved has disappeared.



<sup>4</sup> Seyrig, *Syria*, XV (1934), pl. XX, and p. 167.

<sup>5</sup> *Berytus*, II (1935), pl. XXVII, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Jahrb. d. Deut. Arch. Inst.*, L (1935), p. 626, fig. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Cumont, *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 381—384.



927. In an irregular hand, letters and lines varying in height (0.007—0.015 m.), 0.165 m.  $\times$  0.15 m. The text was incomplete, or incompletely copied. Clear are the names Ἀντωνῖνος and Βαρείας, the *centurio* sign ✱, ἐποίησεν, and λιγιῶνης (λεγιῶνις = *legionis*). The singular form of the verb shows either that the two or three names preceding must all belong to one man, the centurion, or that only one of them is the subject, the others being unaccounted for. In view of the sometimes eccentric nomenclature of the third century, such a name as Ἀντωνῖνος [Πό]πλιος (e. g.) Βαρείας does not seem beyond the range of possibility. More difficulty attaches to the last two lines, which could well contain the object of ἐποίησεν. I should rather expect the sense to have been ὁ δεῖνα ἑκατοντάρχης ἐποίησεν λεγιῶνος μέγα ἐπίσημα.

In any case, the interest in the text lies in its bearing on the interpretation of the lion, to which, whether called ἐπίσημα or not, the ἐποίησεν refers. Mr. Hopkins properly compares this lion with the emblem of the legionary *scutum* of the sixth campaign.<sup>8</sup> The graffito tends strongly to confirm the conclusion of Mr. Brown, that the lion of the *scutum*, similar to this in posture, was actually the emblem of a legion of the Dura garrison, either the *XVI Flavia Firma* or the *III Cyrenaica*.<sup>9</sup>

928. In a *tabella ansata*, 0.295 m.  $\times$  0.105 m. including the *ansae*, text 0.145 m.  $\times$  0.05 m., letters ca. 0.01 m.

Βαρχάλας καὶ  
Βαρείας καὶ Βαρβεῖλος  
ΔΩΡΕ

929. In a *tabella ansata*, 0.215 m.  $\times$  0.065 m. including the *ansae*, text 0.105 m., letters ca. 0.01 m.

Βαρχάλα(ς)

The name Βαρχάλας is common at Dura. The others are apparently new.

930. Graffito from the same room, 0.155 m.  $\times$  0.09 m., letters 0.005—0.015 m. Although the element of uncertainty is large, it may

<sup>8</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 456—466, frontispiece, pls. XXV and XXVA.

<sup>9</sup> Some doubts have been cast upon this theory by P. Thomsen, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1938, 244, but they are due rather to a misunderstanding. It is well known that a lion was the emblem of the *XVI Flavia Firma*. In the case of the *III Cyrenaica* it is only a possibility, but as both legions are recorded at Dura, either would fit.

be possible to recognize phrases, σκάφη μα' Κομ(μ)οδιανά with a reference to river boats,<sup>10</sup> and possibly ἔχε εἰς Νετάρως (e. g.) in the form of an order. *Netaras* (nom. *Netarae*?) has an Arabic look, and may

CAHNTWOL,  
CKAPH  
MAKOMONANA  
XCTIC  
NETAPAC

be a place-name, but the text is too full of uncertainties to encourage speculation. Line 1 remains obscure, and there is no assurance that lines 2, 4, and 5 are completely preserved.

### III. MINOR FINDS FROM N8 W

#### A. *The Plaque with Design of Elks.*<sup>1</sup> (Pl. XXXIX, 1; Fig. 85)

In the debris along Wall Street a few meters south of Tower 15 was recovered a bone plaque 0.065 m. × 0.072 m. carved with a representation of four elk, three of which are complete. The edge of the original plaque is preserved along the top and along part of the right side. The left side is broken but the edge extended probably only a few millimeters beyond the relief. At 0.006 m. from the top on the right side a hole two millimeters in diameter had been bored. The plaque split through the hole, but one may remark below the split a series of short oblique lines running down from the edge, a decoration

<sup>10</sup> For the designation *Commodianus* and its common use under that Emperor cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat., Onomasticon*, II, 1913, 550. Among other things, the African grain fleet organized by Commodus was called *classis Commodiana Herculeia* (*Script. Hist. Aug., Vita Commodi*, 17, 8). But the term σκάφη, "boats", would be very odd.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Class. Stud.*, V (1935), p. 222, fig. 33. The plaque is now in the Damascus museum.

which proves the original border to have been at this line. On the reverse side the plaque was cut to a rough curve until the piece was 0.003—0.004 m. thick. Obviously the piece had been attached to some circular or elliptical object. We may suppose that a second hole was bored on the left side near the top and probably two more near the bottom edge, so that the piece would be held securely. What the object was to which the plaque was attached is not clear. We know that the *gorytus* (a kind of quiver) was commonly decorated in South Russia. At Dura we see not uncommonly in the paintings and graffiti simple ornamental designs on quivers. As far as one can judge from the curve of the plaque, however, the object to which it was attached was too narrow for either *gorytus* or quiver. I suggest tentatively, therefore, that it decorated a bow case, the use of which beside the quiver is well attested at Dura.

The relief, 0.003 m. in depth, presents three horned elk facing right, and below, part of a fourth facing left. At first sight one would suppose that the three facing right were balanced below by three facing left. It will be observed, however, that in the upper three there is no attempt to portray the left hind leg and that the surface beneath the belly in each case is cut back sharply, then left perfectly smooth. In the case of the fourth, however, the haunch of the right hind leg is very carefully and accurately drawn to represent the animal walking left. I think therefore that the whole body of the fourth was given, as reconstructed in fig. 85, where the legs are portrayed in positions somewhat similar to those of an elk from a vase of the Dnieper district.<sup>2</sup>

The heads of the three stags are thrust forward and the great antlers



Fig. 85. Plaque of Elks, Restored.

<sup>2</sup> G. Borovka, *Scythian Art* (translated by V. G. Childe, 1928), pl. 3A.

laid back so that they actually rest on the backs. The top elk has a six pronged antler, the other two have antlers of five points. In each case the points are turned back except for the front one which extends slightly forward. The fore legs of the stags are completely concealed by the antlers of the stag below. Just below the antlers, the ears are represented unnaturally long and with a narrow incision in the middle. They are flat on top and not too successfully attached to the head for they are cut away sharply at the ends. The eyes are made with a single long incision in the midst of which a small circle is left for the eyeball. The muzzle is heavy and the lower lip droops slightly. A short horizontal incision marks the mouth. The bodies are very long and narrow to express the litheness and grace of the animals. At the same time the haunches are carefully rounded, as well for the decorative effect as to express power and speed. The tails are very short and stand upright. In the bottom animal one may trace the line of the back and part of the belly and one may see, in the slight projection beneath the belly of the stag above, the remains of a horn. Traces of these antlers, however, suggest either that the horn was very small, some 0.007 m. in length, or that it only slightly touched the belly of the stag above. Possibly only the ear of the lower stag was represented, but in this case the ear must have been different in shape and form from the ears of the others.

The relief has been so carefully cut and so finely polished that all tool marks have been practically obliterated. Cracks in the bone are, however, apparent just in front of the hind quarters of the three upper stags.

In the fourth campaign at Dura there was found, cut in the plaster walls of the Redoubt, a representation of a running elk.<sup>3</sup> In noting the similarities between this graffito and our plaque, one may call attention particularly to the long antlers reaching back long the neck, the very short tail and the drooping underlip. Clearly the artist knew the characteristic features of this animal. Cover up these significant features, however, and one perceives an almost exact representation of the galloping Parthian horse. There is the thick, stocky body, the broad chest, the thick heavy neck and the small sensitive head. The legs, with left fore leg above the right and left hind leg slightly in front of the right, are exactly in the form of the flying gallop. The local artist, then, knew the elk as subject of design, a fact significant enough in itself. He drew from memory and created a Parthian horse with

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. IV*, pl. XX, 4.



the horns, tail, and lip of an elk. Such is the local Dura version of the subject. The question then is, whence comes this plaque of bone?

Professor Rostovtzeff, in referring to this plaque in the article cited above, note 1, recalls the fact that such rows of stags were a favorite motive in the art of the Asiatic nomads, and compares the plaque especially to the wooden and bone plaques of the graves of the Altai region. We may, in truth, compare the Dura elk both with the elk on the vase from the Dniepr district,<sup>4</sup> and an elk of bronze in the collection of C. T. Loo.<sup>5</sup> In the latter the six pronged horn reaches back almost horizontally from the head, and beneath the horn lies the long ear with incised center. The body has the strong graceful curve and the great length evident in the Dura plaque. There are differences, however, for the bronze stag is on the point of rising, the head is thrust up so that the ear and horn are not laid immediately along the body, and there is a sharp break between the line of head and neck. It is obvious that the bronze elk and the Dura plaque belong to the same general school; it is not clear that they come from the same center.

Salmony remarks,<sup>6</sup> apropos of a small bronze depicting two elk one above the other, that the idea of placing one animal above another must be considered a special invention of the district where it was found, since nothing similar has been found at Minussinsk nor among the Scythians and Sarmatians. It is true that rows of animals one above another are common not only in the art of South Russia but almost over the whole of Asia. One might mention particularly the iron parade-axe covered with gold from Kelermes,<sup>7</sup> the rows of horsemen one above another in the sculpture of Amaravati,<sup>8</sup> and the griffons or winged horses embroidered one above another on the trousers of the wounded Persian in the Alexander mosaic.<sup>9</sup> In all these cases, however, the animals are given entire, and one does not conceal any part of another's body. Even in the bronze elks cited by Salmony, the animals are almost complete, the lower concealing not much more than the hooves of the upper. On the Dura plaque the animal below completely conceals the legs of the animal above, an artistic conception or convention quite different from the ordinary one in Asia.

<sup>4</sup> Borovka, *op. cit.*, pl. 3A.

<sup>5</sup> A. Salmony, *Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C. T. Loo* (1933), pl. IX, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Rostovtzeff, *Animal Style in South Russia and China* (1929), pls. III and IV.

<sup>8</sup> A. Foucher, *Les Bas-Reliefs Greco-bouddhiques du Gandhara* (1905), p. 179, fig. 68.

<sup>9</sup> F. Winter, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* (1909).



It is true that in a bronze hook clasp in the British Museum a series of eagles' heads are placed one above another, and in a rather similar clasp from Maikop<sup>10</sup> eagles are arranged one immediately above the other. In the first, however, it is the border of the design which cuts off the body of the birds rather than the eagle below, and in the second the wings of the birds above only touch the eagles' wings below. The fact, then, is clear that in designs of repeated animals both the South European artist and the Asiatic preferred to represent their subjects complete and avoided any suggestion that one was behind the other.

Perhaps we may assign this new conception to Hellenistic influence, for apparently the closest parallel appears in Greco-Indian art. In the lowest architrave of the west gateway of the main stupa at Sanchi<sup>11</sup> are depicted two groups of elephants, one on either side of a banyan tree. In both cases two small elephants below conceal the legs and the belly of a larger elephant, which in turn conceals the legs and lower body of a fourth elephant as if the group was standing on rising ground. In India the groups are animated and form part of a great scene. Both in India and Dura the basic conception is the same. One may recall that in the Sacrifice of the Tribune at Dura the members of the cohort are placed in rows, the lower row concealing the feet and stomachs of the row above. A similar group occurs in the Ezekiel panel in the Synagogue.<sup>12</sup> Such an arrangement of human figures is common in India under Hellenistic influence. In India, of course, there are no representations of elk similar to those at Dura. For this subject we must look to northern Asia, but for the composition as a whole we should apparently look to the regions south of the Caspian sea.

I have remarked elsewhere<sup>13</sup> that certain characteristics of the art at Dura are paralleled in South Russia and China. The plaque of stags forms another link in that chain. Its particular significance, however, lies in the fact that it suggests that the origin of this new art at Dura is to be found in the East rather than in the North, that we should look to the region of the Caspian rather than the Dnieper or the Don.

One more suggestion I should like to make. The Parthian flying gallop at Dura betrays Hellenistic influence in the position of the fore legs and the breadth of the chest, and Assyrian influence in the arran-

<sup>10</sup> Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *The Cambridge History of India* (1922), pl. XXIII, 62.

<sup>12</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 355—359.

<sup>13</sup> *Berytus*, III (1936), pp. 1—30.

gement of the off hind leg immediately in front of the near. The animals at Dura with head represented frontally and the rest of the body in profile reveal an old Sumerian scheme which survived in North Syria. The position of the elk in the plaque suggests Hellenistic motives, though the animals themselves come from northern Asia. Possibly to both Assyrians and Hellenes we owe the realistic treatment, the lack of that almost fantastic stylization so common in South Russia. The Parthians at Dura may be said to have possessed an "animal style" but that style is quite different from both that in South Russia and in Siberia. A discussion of its individual characteristics and its developments belongs, however, to a special study.

*B. The Green Glaze Altar.*  
(Pl. XL, 3)

In the debris behind the shrine of Aphlad were found several fragments of a green glaze altar. When the pieces were fitted together and returned to Yale it was found that a shallow faïence bowl on a short shaft found in a previous campaign fitted the break on the top of the altar. The altar is therefore complete except for small fragments.<sup>14</sup>

From a base 0.095 m. square and 0.022—0.028 m. high rise four twisted columns. These reach to a height of 0.175 m. from the bottom of the altar. Above is set a horned altar top 0.10 m. square. A narrow rim with horns surrounds a bowl, the lower part of which is adorned with a scalloped edge. The top has a total diameter of 0.11 m. and is 0.065 m. above the bowl of the horned altar. The depression for the burning of incense is 0.09 m. in diameter and 0.025 m. deep. The total height of the whole altar is 0.295 m. Between the base of the columns and between the horns of the altar are set eight medallion heads 0.04 m. high  $\times$  0.03 m. The heads show a wide band of hair circling the face, eyes of darker green than the rest of the face, slight modelling of the nose and a mouth made by incision in the clay beneath.

Evidently the faces were made in clay first by means of a mold and then applied to the altar when it was leather hard. This method of manufacture seems proved for one head broken off shows that the columns retained the twists but were impressed with the application of the head. We may suppose that the altar then was made in separate

<sup>14</sup> Published by Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its Art* (1938), pl. VIII, 1.

pieces in common clay. The pieces were then stuck together and the whole baked. Finally the glaze was applied and the whole baked again. A dark green band in the surface below one of the medallion faces shows where the glaze has run a bit. Some glaze dripped down in the center of the columns. On the lip of the bowl three thicker drops of glaze mark where the legs of a potter's tripod had rested, supporting another object baked in the oven above it.

In the fifth campaign<sup>15</sup> was found part of a *thymiaterion* of green glaze supported by four columns. The top was adorned with horns at the corners between which were medallion heads. In the bowl a round piece in the center marked a break devoid of glaze. Here again we may reconstruct a shaft and bowl similar to the altar described. One recalls also from the fifth campaign a *thymiaterion* with similar shaft and bowl placed on top of a faïence camel.<sup>16</sup> Several other small faïence bowls on short shafts have been found at Dura as well as individual faïence columns for small *thymiateria*.<sup>17</sup> The type therefore was common at Dura. A stone altar of the second campaign<sup>18</sup> shows the bowl of the altar rising above the representations of horns. Such an arrangement in stone was probably the prototype for the far more graceful altar of clay. The famous fire altars of the Achaemenian period consisted of a great block of stone cut almost in the form of a square and adorned at the corners with applied columns and a series of projections or horns along the top.<sup>19</sup> If a smaller column, an altar, or merely a stone bowl in the center held the sacred fire, such an altar may have served as a model for the designer of our *thymiaterion*. To Hellenistic influence probably are due the twists in the columns, and to some extent the character of the medallion heads. Since, however, twisted handles are common in green glaze pottery, and medallions are frequently used as decorations of this ware, the form of the altar was determined probably more by generally accepted methods of workmanship than by direct Greek influence. The *thymiateria* are of course of local workmanship.

<sup>15</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. XXI, 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. XX, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *Rep. VI*, pp. 176, 184.

<sup>18</sup> *Rep. II*, p. 90, fig. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Sarre, *Kunst*, p. 15, fig. 3.

*C. Drawings of Hunting Scenes (Inscr. Nos. 931—933).  
(Pl. LVI)*

Three ink sketches of hunting scenes on ostraka, now at Yale, belong together. The first (G 1967; Pl. LVI, 1) in four pieces found in M8 W<sub>4</sub> measures in maximum dimensions 0.40 m. × 0.295 m. and encloses a scene 0.19 m. × 0.11 m. The sherd is 0.011 m. thick and belonged to a pointed amphora. The scene represents a mounted bowman riding right and discharging an arrow against an animal, apparently a wolf, which attacks from the right. Just behind and above the horseman is represented a flying eagle with ribbon in its beak and above the horseman's head appear the letters ΣΦΩΡΑ (no. 931) clearly written. Most of the nose, part of the neck and all but a fraction of the left front foot of the horse are gone, as is also the head, back and right front foot of the beast.

The representation of the mounted bowman hunting is common at Dura and scarcely requires comment. Certain details however are worth remarking. As usual the off fore foot of the horse is above the near, the rider holds head and torso full front as he pulls the bow, and the off hind foot of the horse is beneath the near. More clearly than usual, however, the conventionality of this scene is exhibited in this drawing. The point of view of the artist as far as the front feet of the horse is concerned is clearly a little in front and somewhat above, but the head of the rider fully shown and facing perpendicular to the direction of the horse shows that the artist in relation to the horseman is drawing from directly beside the horse. On the other hand, though the rear legs of the horse are outstretched, the off foot is considerably in front of the near, a position which necessitates a point of view a little in front and below the level of the horse's belly. It is these radical changes in view point in the same picture that characterize the representations of mounted warriors at Dura.

The face of the horseman is not clear but the hair is arranged in the three bunches characteristic of late Parthian designs. Behind the back of the bowman is the quiver. Probably the little lines above the horse's haunches represent tassels flying up above the back. Apparently the horseman is clad in Persian jacket but the design is so rubbed that details are not distinguishable. The double lines beneath the chest of the horse apparently represent ribbons attached to the foot or ankle of the rider, a not uncommon feature of Sassanian designs. He holds



the bow with left hand and draws with the right. Possibly an extra arrow is held in the left hand. A curious feature is the eagle with ribbon. The bird is depicted with head turned right, the body front with wings outstretched. The feet are extended and seem to rest on a line which may represent the top of the horseman's *chlamys*. It will be recalled that in the relief of the sixth campaign<sup>19</sup> the horseman-god was accompanied by an eagle which perched on the flying robe.

The attacking animal is apparently not portrayed in the usual flying gallop but has the hind legs braced on the ground, apparently to spring up at its assailant. The type of animal is not clear, and a lion instead of a wolf may have been intended. In this case we could best compare the scene with the lion hunt of the fifth season (Rep. V, pl. XXXV, 3). In each case the name of the horseman seems to be written above his head.

The second of these scenes (G 1969; Pl. LVI, 2)<sup>20</sup> 0.14 m. × 0.16 m., found in N8 W8, is contained on four fragments whose maximum dimensions are 0.21 m. × 0.29 m. × 0.025 m. The jar was a *dolium* of coarse red clay.

Only a part of the horse and horseman have been recovered but many more details of design are visible than in the first scene. The horseman has his heavy hair divided into three parts and bound with a diadem, the zigzag line of which is seen flying to the left from the head. The eyes are simply outlined with a heavy line. A single line marks the nose, and another slightly curved line the mouth. As usual the huntsman faces full front, holds the bow in the left hand and draws the string back to the right shoulder with the right hand. Beside the bow in the left hand are held apparently two extra arrows. The criss-cross lacing of the Parthian jacket is clearly visible. Behind the horseman the quiver is bound unnaturally high so that the ends of the arrows project to the height of the small of the back. The tail of the horse is tied in two knots, one in the middle, one at the end. From the haunches of the horse two large tassels fly up in a manner similar to that portrayed on many Sassanian representations. The mane of the horse is represented as close clipped as so often in Parthian designs. Above the head of the horseman is written his name ἸΑΒΒΔΥ (no. 932; letters 0.01 m. high) and higher up the beginning of another name ΣΑ- (no. 933) apparently belonging to a second mounted bowman at the left, the top of whose bow alone is preserved. From immediately

<sup>19</sup> Rep. VI, p. 229.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Yale Class. Stud., V, fig. 63.



above the tail of the horse a straight line is drawn to the left. At first sight this seems to be an arrow shot from the bow of this second horseman, but the horse is not falling, nor is its rider concerned with a pursuing enemy. It is, therefore, quite possible that this line portrays a ribbon rather than an arrow. Between the archers appears the faint outline of a horned animal, apparently a mountain goat or ibex. The animal is apparently drawn rather high to be an intrinsic part of the hunting scene, but it is safer, in view of the presence of the ibex, to consider the picture as a drawing of hunters chasing wild beasts rather than as a battle scene, though the latter alternative is still possible, particularly since in the battle scene of the fourth campaign<sup>21</sup> a dog and a rabbit are also pictured.

The third drawing (G 1968; Pl. LVI, 3) from N8 W8 is contained on seven fragments whose maximum dimensions are 0.33 m.  $\times$  0.275 m. The sherds belonged to a red clay *dolium* 0.025 m. thick. The scene is 0.23 m.  $\times$  0.21 m.

The peculiarity of this scene is the fact that the horseman is shown in profile. The eye is very large and round, the top of the head very pointed, and the face apparently partly concealed with the chin band which runs across the cheek just below the eye. From the shoulder two unnaturally long lines run down to the feet. The cuff of the trousers is apparently adorned with ornaments, and a double circle at the end represents a ribbon or tassel as well as the foot. The horseman holds the Parthian bow and an extra arrow in the left hand and pulls the bow string back to the right shoulder. The long arrow projects beyond the bow and ends in a large point. Two lines descending from beneath the right elbow probably represent the ends of a diadem. Again the quiver is bound high so that the arrows reach the small of the back. The quiver is so long, however, that in spite of this it extends considerably below the horse's belly. The ornaments along the quiver represent embroidery as well as seams in the leather. As usual the horse is galloping but only the position of the off hind leg is visible. This leg is more vertical than usual in the middle Parthian style, rather than almost horizontal in the late Parthian and Sassanian designs. The mane of the horse is close clipped in the Parthian fashion as opposed to the long flowing manes favoured by the Sassanians.

A Graeco-Sacian bowl<sup>22</sup> portrays a huntsman in profile though he

<sup>21</sup> *Rep. IV*, pl. XVIII, 2.

<sup>22</sup> O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus* (1926), no. 201, pp. 53—55, pl. XXXI; Rostovtzeff, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VI (1933), pp. 181—184.

rides to the right and draws the bow. In both the earlier bowl and our own design the representation is unusually crude, a fact which proves, I believe, how unused the artists were to this representation. In both the same mistakes may be noted, an unusually long and thin body, an unnaturally large eye, and a low forehead and pointed head.

With these drawings may be taken a graffito on a fragment of plaster (0.21 m.  $\times$  0.16 m.) from M8 W5 (cut). On this fragment is



represented a lion springing against a horseman, the top of whose bow alone remains. The beast is probably represented jumping with hind feet just off the ground. The fore feet are raised to claw its attacker. The jaws of the animal are open, its ears pricked forward. The hair is represented by a series of short, irregular lines. There is no mane but the short thick head and the tail curling up around toward the back in the Persian manner<sup>23</sup> leaves no doubt that it is a lion. A straight line extending from beside the jaw to the shoulder no doubt represents the successful shot of the bowman. Above the shoulder of the animal rise two bands ending in oval balls. At first sight these seem to represent tassels similar to those portrayed above the backs of Parthian and Sassanian steeds. In reality they represent, no doubt,

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Sarre, *Kunst*, pl. 52.

the low trees or bushes in which the lion has been hiding. One recalls that in the boar hunt<sup>24</sup> the reeds in which the boar hides are represented, and on a Parthian altar of the third campaign,<sup>25</sup> a tree with losenge-shaped leaves is represented just behind the lion.

#### IV. TWO RELIEFS OF HERACLES FROM L8

Two reliefs of Heracles were found in L8. The first (G 324; Pl. XL, 4) is cut on a gypsum block 0.315 m. high  $\times$  0.16 m. wide  $\times$  0.07 m. thick with a relief 0.025 m. in depth. The relief is complete though the block has been broken along the left edge. Apparently, as on the right, the block did not extend beyond the line of the relief. The bottom of the block has been left uncut, the border thus formed furnishing a base for the feet of the god. The relief is now at Yale.

The naked god stands facing full front and resting his weight on the right leg. The left foot is given in profile and this same position is carried up the leg in quite unnatural style. Similarly the left buttock has been thrown into relief as if a side view of the hips rather than a front view were given. The hero holds the club, heavily knobbed, over the right shoulder, and grasps the end with the right hand, on the lower right side of the abdomen. The body is unnaturally flat probably due to the method of cutting in which the large surfaces are first planed down and afterwards the details are fashioned. The left arm is bent in under the fold of the lion's skin and the hand is represented as resting on the left side of the body at the waist. To accomplish this arrangement, though the elbow is not greatly extended, the artist had to shorten both forearm and upper arm so that the length of the two together is only as great as the length of the right upper arm alone, an error partly concealed by the folds of the skin. The head of the lion and one paw are given in profile, the top of the head lying along the edge of the stone. An incised line represents the mouth and a projection the ear. A depression immediately in front of the ear represents the eye. The hind legs and tail fall beneath the head and are presented full front. There is no attempt to represent claws, as there is no attempt to fashion toes on the statue. The head of Heracles, too large proportionately for the body, is adorned with a heavy line of beard and a thick fringe of hair, arranged apparently in snail curls.

<sup>24</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. XXXV.

<sup>25</sup> *Rep. III*, pl. XI, 2.

There is no indication of mustache. The forehead is low and the nose disproportionately long. The eyeballs are round discs outlined by incised lines.

The curiously crude manner of representing the left leg may be compared with the relief of the god with bull's head from N 7 described above, and the fragment of relief found in the fifth campaign.<sup>1</sup> It may be that this *naïveté* represents simply an inferior school of stone cutters at Dura, but more probably it represents work of a period before a more naturalistic pose was generally accepted.

The second relief (Pl. XL, 5) was discovered in L8 B2. It shows the lower half of a relief of a nude Heracles standing full front. The gypsum block is 0.183 m. high  $\times$  0.135 m. wide  $\times$  0.055 m. thick with a relief 0.02 m. in depth. The stone attains its maximum thickness at the base, and only the feet of the statue have a relief depth of 0.02 m. The break in the block is marked with fire. The back of the stone is roughly rounded off.

The legs, both shins and thighs, are almost flat, as if the surfaces had been merely planed down and outlined by cutting away the background. The depth of the relief for the two legs varies from 0.016 m. for the right to less than 0.01 m. for the left. Even the widths of the shins vary from 0.013 m. for the left to 0.011 m. for the right. Punch holes mark the hair about the sexual organs. The organs themselves are partly broken and scarcely modelled at all. The lion's skin forms the right edge of the block but the end is broken off and one sees only the great mass, much too long and narrow for a real lion's skin, but not straight enough for the club. Probably as in the relief described above the hero carried the club over the right shoulder.

This relief of Heracles I should date later than the previous one since the modelling of the left leg is less crude. Part of a relief from the fifth campaign<sup>2</sup> presents the god full front, the skin over the left arm, the feet front, but the club is held beside the right side, and resting on the ground.

## V. BRONZE ORNAMENTAL PLAQUE

(Pl. XXXIX, 2)

The plaque, 0.061 m. long  $\times$  0.024 m. high  $\times$  0.005 m. thick, was found in 1933—34 near the west wall; the exact place of finding is unknown. It represents two animals in profile. The composition is

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. XIX, 2, and pp. 54 f.; above, pp. 302—304.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep. V*, pl. XVII, 4.



a simplified form of interlace; the treatment of the figures is schematic. One-third of the plate is smooth and is divided from the figured part by a double ridge. Two holes cut in the upper part form a very schematic representation of two bird's heads turned inwards and divided by a tooth-shaped projection. Beside the ridge is a drilled hole used for fastening the plate to the girdle. The remaining two-thirds of the plate are filled with the figure of an animal with a strange elongated mouth sitting on its hind legs. Under the mouth is represented in profile the figure of a small animal whose form is very indefinite and obscure. The back legs of the larger animal are joined to the smaller one's legs by a wavy stripe. Still lower, a second stripe seems to frame that figure and gives a more symmetrical contour to the whole plate. On the hind quarters of the big animal is a hole, which served to fasten the plate to a girdle.

The plate was cast in a flat open mould, engraved lines on the back and on the head of the animal emphasize the drawing. The whole front of the plate is much rubbed through use.

In its general character and from the drawing of the figures the plate must belong to the so-called animal style, although in style it differs from the monuments of South Russia, Siberia, and Mongolia. First of all, the drawing is very confused. The badly understood forms of the animals, and the double stripes entangling the animals' legs with the lower framing of the scene, together with the general lack of character, force, and original realism persuade us that we are dealing with an imitation of the true nomad animal style.

A good many such secondary imitations of animal compositions are known, created in places where nomads and settled peoples intermingled. I mean the objects from Mongolia, Ordos, North Persia, and South Russia. All of them are in the first place defined by the loss of primitive character and by schematization.

In spite of its animal subject the plate has something in common with Roman-Celtic ornamental plates of a linear ornamental type. First of all they resemble it in being similarly completed by a flat part with two rudimentary heads, and in a tendency to turn the animals' legs and the plates joining them into an ornamental junction.

It is true, however, that on Celtic ornamental plates we can find no animal forms.<sup>1</sup>

An ornamental *fibula* from Szombatheli (National Museum in

<sup>1</sup> A. Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, I, pl. XIII, 2, a plate from Klausenburg; *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, VII (1906), fig. 19, a plate from Lauriacum.



Budapest, No. 19/1930/2) represents a dog and a hare in just the same position as the animals on the Dura plate. The resemblance of subject is strengthened by the same manner of modelling with sharply engraved lines on the dog's body and head.

I cannot yet indicate any precise analogies among the articles found along the Roman *limes* in Europe, but the resemblance of separate details forces the supposition that the Danube frontier is a probable place of origin for the plates of the Dura type.

In its character as a decoration at the end of a strap, probably of a belt, the bronze plate from Dura is a very interesting prototype of the later Hunno-Avaric girdle plates which have been found in such great quantities in Hungary. Its affinity with them is strengthened by the existence of two bird or beast heads on the upper part of the plate, which occur also on the Avaric strap girdles.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, III, plate 257, and plates 76, 81, 82, 95, 99, 119, 137, 139, 254, 444, 445. N. Fettich, "Die Tierkampfszene in der Nomadenkunst", *Recueil Kondakov* (1926), fig. 10.





## X.

### THE COINS

Many of the coins here published are among those cleaned by the American Numismatic Society for which acknowledgments are made in the preceding report. Mr. E. T. Newell and Miss D. H. Cox have cleaned the hoards which they are to publish, and Miss Cox also assisted me by identifying a number of the chance finds in the summer of 1935, some of which she had first to clean. The rest of the cleaning was done by Mr. H. T. McClintock, then an undergraduate of Yale College whose assistance I had the good fortune to use for two academic years. Dean Edgar S. Furniss of the Yale Graduate School has been good enough to read the analysis of Hoards VIII and IX and has given me valuable suggestions as to the economic problems involved.

#### I. ANALYSIS OF HOARDS VIII AND IX

The Eighth and Ninth Hoards were found at Dura during the campaign of 1932—33; VIII, of over 2,000 pieces in November; IX, of about 650 pieces, in January. Except for two denarii and one tetradrachm they are all bronze. They were found under the floor of the same room, one by the north wall, the other in the southeast corner, and the fact that they were not discovered at the same time is due merely to the accident that the room was not completely cleared when it was first excavated. Because of their being in the same place and because of the close parallel between their contents it is clear that they are really two parts of a single hoard, and for purposes of analysis and discussion their material is combined and treated as one. Their content is summarized in Chart I.

The first point to be determined, if possible, is the history of the hoard itself — the conditions of its assembly and burial. The room in which it was found was the courtyard of a small house the front of which was apparently used as a shop, and the probability is that the tenant was a tradesman in a small way. The fact that the bronze coins were saved instead of being changed into more convenient silver argues that the owner had occasion not only to take in but to disburse small change. As we shall see later a reasonable calculation

	EDSSA	CARRHAE	RHESAENA	NESIBI	SINGARA	SAMOSATA	ZEUGMA	CYRRHUS	HIEROPOLIS	ANTIOCH	EMESA	GABALA	LAODICEA	SELEUCIA	DAMASCUS	ARADUS	TRIPOLIS	TARSUS	AEGEAE	CYPRUS	CAESAREA	AMASIA	NEO CAESAREA	COMANA	SEBASTOPOLIS	ZELA	UNCERTAIN FORMIC	PETIAE	ANTIOCH	MEGARA	AEGIUM	PELLENE	THURIA	GYTHIUM	HERAEA	MANTINEA	THELPUSSA	ILLEGIBLE GREEK	TOTAL	
DOMITIAN 81-96										3			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																3
NERVA 96-98										0											0	0	0	0	0	0														1
TRAJAN 98-117								0	0	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0											0		
HADRIAN 117-138							0			0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0				0	0	0	0					
PIUS 138-161							0	1	2	1	1		6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0						13
MARCUS 161-180	0	0					0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					6	
COMMODUS 177-192	0	0						0	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					1		
SEVERUS 193-211	3	0					0	0			0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	8	5	13	1	17	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	10	626
CARACALLA 211-217	0	1	0				0	0	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0							1	1									11	
MACRINUS 217-218	0	0								6	1	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0																	7		
ELAGABALUS 218-222	45		0				3	1	2	110	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0										0							167		
ALEXANDER 222-235	205	0	2	508			0		1	79				1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0							0	0								799		
MAXIMINUS 235-238																		0																				475		
GORDIAN 8, AEGAR 240-242	475																																					459		
GORDIAN 242-244	167	80	58	154								0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0					0							232			
PHILIP 244-249			77				0	2	1	0	152		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0							0								17		
DECIUS 249-251	1		12							4				0	0			0																						
TOTAL	896	81	14	643	154	3	4	7	5	356	3	2	10	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	5	5	8	5	13	1	17	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	10	287

1788  
MESOPOTAMIA SYRIA PHOENICIA CYPRUS PONTUS PISIDIA PHRYGIA CILICIA CAPPADOCIA GREECE

<sup>1</sup>INCLUDING VERUS

<sup>2</sup>INCLUDING THE COINS OF DOMNA, CARACALLA AND GETA STRUCK IN SEVERUS' REIGN.

<sup>3</sup>INCLUDING SEVERUS ALEXANDER, CAESAR.

<sup>4</sup>INCLUDING JULIA MAEAEA.

<sup>5</sup>INCLUDING TRANQUILLINA.

<sup>6</sup>INCLUDING OTACILIA AND PHILIP JR.

TO TOTAL OF 2817 ADD 1 SELEUCUS III

1 AE IMITATION OF ROMAN R FROM ANTIOCH, 1ST CENT BC

2 DENARI, SEVERUS ALEXANDER

10 UNIDENTIFIED

14 ILLEGIBLE

28

2817

2847 GRAND TOTAL.

0 SIGNIFIES THAT BRONZE COINS OF THAT REIGN ARE KNOWN BUT THAT NONE OCCUR IN THIS HOARD.

Chart I. Hoards VIII and IX.



	EDESSA	CARRHAE	RHESAENA	NESIDI	SINGARA	ANTHEMUSIA	SAMOSATA	ZEUGMA	BEROEA	CYRRHUS	HIEROPOLIS	CHALCIS	ANTIOCH	EMESA	GABALA	LAODICEA	SELEUCIA	ARADUS	TRIPOLIS	TYRE	RABBATHMOMA	BOSTRA	CYPRUS	EPIPHANIA	CAESAREA	TYANA	APAMEA	NICOMEDIA	PONTIC League	SINOPE	ANGHIALUS	GREECE	ALEXANDRIA	
DOMITIAN 81-96													85			1		1																
NERVA 96-98													13																					
TRAJAN 98-117									1	5			25			3	1	5		1														
HADRIAN 117-138													9							2													1	
Pius 138-161													12	1		19				1		1												
MARCUS 161-180	1	2						4			20	3						2								8								
COMMODUS 177-192	7	34								1				1								1												
SEVERUS 193-211	73	2						2																										
CARACALLA 211-217	59	196	3				1			1		6			1						1		3											
MACRINUS 217-218	29		1									7				1							3											
ELAGABALUS 218-222	102												164			1				9					3									
ALEXANDER 222-235	266	3	3	217									77									1												
MAXIMINUS 235-238																																		
GORDIAN & ABGAR 240-242	639																																	
GORDIAN 242-244	411	146		52	146																													
PHILIP 244-249				94				2	12	1	3	144				1																		
DECIUS 249-251	2		14									4																						
TOTAL	1219	383	20	364	146	1	5	22	2	3	41	1549	2	1	26	2	8	9	4	1	2	3	1	33	2	1	1347	1	1	61	1		3263	

MESOPOTAMIA

2133

654

SYRIA

PHOENICIA

ARABIA

CYPRUS

CAPPADOCIA

BITHYNIA

PONTUS

THRACE

GREECE

EGYPT

### Chart II. Chance Finds.

would make its value somewhat over 250 denarii. This is low as Dura hoards go. Of the silver hoards, II is worth about half as much again, III and IV (which are really one) are worth about twice as much combined; VI and VII are each worth about four times as much; X nearly six times and I over eight times as much. Only V and the later bronze hoards are below it in value. Our owner was obviously a man of very moderate means. Of course he may also have had gold and silver that he carried away with him but the one is unlikely in view of the general poverty of the town and the other unlikely considering the number of people who did bury their silver. It is probably safe to conclude that these bronze coins were all that the nameless tenant of the room possessed. If so, they were evidently an accumulation of some years. Such coins are not likely to be acquired many at a time; for anything except the most trivial transactions he would have used silver in a town where silver was as common as it was at Dura. And it is certain that the owner was a resident; the weight of the hoard makes it impossible that it should have been transported.

If we are dealing with a tradesman, when did he begin to do business in this place? Here the coins themselves give us a fairly clear answer. Setting aside those from the Pontus, which constitute a separate problem to which I shall return later, it is noticeable that no Emperor is represented by any great number until Elagabalus, and that from his reign to that of Philip the numbers are high. Now it is not always easy to distinguish between the effect of wear and the effect of corrosion on coins which must be cleaned before being identified, but the quantities here are so large that it may be said that some of the coins of Gordian were certainly uncirculated, some of those of Alexander almost certainly, and some of those of Elagabalus probably. That means that our man was taking in new money in Alexander's time or before. We may reasonably conclude that the accumulation of the hoard began in the reign of Elagabalus, say 220 A. D. The coins earlier than that date are then simply old pieces still in circulation and (again excepting those from the Pontus) their number and variety are what one would expect under the circumstances. Were they all good legal tender in 220? It seems unlikely that the stray piece of Seleucus III can have been so, yet even that is not impossible. An interesting illustration of the conservatism of this very region is furnished by certain Seljuk coins of the twelfth century which bear a radiate head without any question copied from that of Gordian III

on coins of Nesibi and Singara. The only possible explanation is that third century coins were still recognized as currency in Mesopotamia nine hundred years later. Such a phenomenon might not have been possible in a Roman colony like Dura, but we may be reasonably sure that the imperial coinage, which in this case begins with Domitian, was all good.

The next step is to determine whether this hoard is of normal composition, that is, is it a normal cross-section of what was in circulation at Dura during these years, or is it higher or lower than the norm in some particular group. The only way we have of answering that question is by comparing this hoard with the chance finds, which may be assumed to reflect the actual proportions of coins in circulation, since the number of each type lost should be in proportion to the number in circulation, and the number found should be in proportion to the number lost when, as at Dura, excavation has been carried on in many different parts of the site. Of course, this is not an infallible rule, but it is all we have to go on. Taking the bronze chance finds from all seasons so far identified and selecting those which fall within the limits of this hoard — that is, from Domitian to Decius — we find that their number is 3263, from the following mints:

Edessa	Tripolis
Carrhae	Tyre
Rhesaena	Rabbathmoba
Nesibi	Epiphania
Singara	Cyprus
Anthemusia	Caesarea
Samosata	Tyana
Zeugma	Amasia
Beroea	Neo-Caesarea
Cyrrhus	Comana
Hieropolis	Sebastopolis
Chalcis	Zela
Antioch	Sinope
Emesa	Nicomedia
Gabala	Apamea in Phrygia
Laodicea	Anchialus
Seleucia	Megara
Bostra	Corinth
Aradus	Phlius

Sicyon	Boeae
Aegira	Gythium
Pellene	Las
Asine	Argos
Colone	Cleonae
Cyparissia	Mantineia
Mothone	Orchomenus
Pylus	Alexandria
Thuria	

Their distribution is represented by Chart II (above, p. 393).

The general similarity of these two groups is at once apparent, but a few comments may be useful. The total number of mints in the hoard is 36; the total number in the chance finds is 55 (of these 19 are in Greece, which, for convenience, I have combined in one column); 28 mints are common to the two lists; 8 appear in the hoard but not in the chance finds (3 of them from Greece); 27 appear in the chance finds but not in the hoard (14 of them from Greece). There are two reasons why the mints of Greece may reasonably be disregarded; first, the output of each mint was very small; second, the proportion of coins whose mint is uncertain is high (10 unidentified as against 11 identified from the hoard; 14 unidentified as against 47 identified from the chance finds) so that the possibility of further correspondence is large. If we eliminate the Greek mints, then, we have 28 mints in the hoard, 23 of which are represented in the chance finds; and 31 mints in the chance finds, 23 of which are represented in the hoard. Of the 13 mints which are not common Tyre contributes 6 coins; no other has more than 2. As the 6 coins are less than 3/10ths of 1% of the hoard, I think we may conclude that the correspondence in distribution is as close as we could possibly expect.

But the matter of proportions deserves further consideration. For one thing it will be noticed that the chance finds are more frequent relatively for the period before Elagabalus. This is quite in accordance with the theory that the assembly of the hoard began at that time, but it requires some adjustment before the proportions are compared. Adopting the simple though not perfectly accurate system of subtracting all the pieces before Elagabalus, we have for the hoard a total of 2185; for the chance finds a total of 2153. Taking the percentages of the leading mints we obtain the following result.

<i>Hoard</i>		<i>Chance Finds</i>	
Edessa	41.5%	Edessa	48.7% +
Nesibi	29.9% +	Antioch	18 % +
Antioch	16.0% +	Nesibi	17 % —
Singara	7.1% +	Carrhae	7 %
Carrhae	3.7% +	Singara	7 %
	<hr/> 98.2%		<hr/> 97.7%

These lists are not identical, but they are close enough for our purpose, and though there are factors that would modify the discrepancies, there is no need to refine the matter further. The parallel is as close as could be expected and we may safely assume this hoard to be an accurate representation of the money current at Dura from 220 to 251.<sup>1</sup>

## II. THE MINTS

### *A The Mesopotamian Mints*

#### 1. Edessa.

Seleucus Nicator, continuing in part the policy of Alexander the Great, strengthened his control of the East by settling here and there colonies of veterans to whom would be given the form and constitution of a Greek city state. In such cases he was wont to change the local name of the place to one which had a particular connection with him, though we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (XIV, viii, 6) that the non-Greek name ordinarily persisted in spite of official titles. So it was that Dura became Europos for formal purposes, but remained Dura in familiar speech. So it was that Orrhoe, the capital of Osrhoene, became Edessa, though after the departure of the westerners it returned to its old name.

Edessa, which has furnished much the largest number of coins in these hoards, is the most northerly of the Mesopotamian mints and

<sup>1</sup> It may seem that all this is useless labor; that such an assumption could be made for any hoard without this excess of statistics, but in fact it is not so. How dangerous such an easy conclusion would be is clearly shown by the composition of the Eleventh Hoard which contains 7 coins of Cyrrhus, 14 of Hieropolis, and 25 of Zeugma. Antioch is represented by a single tetradrachm, Edessa by one bronze, no other Mesopotamian mint at all. If this had been discovered first and assumed to be typical, to what peculiar conclusions we should have been led!



the farthest west, with the exception of Anthemusia, which is not here represented. Osrhoene passed from Greek to Parthian control and thence to Roman, for the most part as a client kingdom under local rulers, with varying degrees of independence. Twice it lapsed (or rose) into the condition of a Roman colony. Its numismatic history, in Seleucid and Roman times, is discussed by E. Babelon<sup>2</sup> whose conclusions are followed by G. F. Hill.<sup>3</sup> To the discussion of the earlier issues there is little which I can add, but the fortunate discovery at Dura of a document written at Edessa in 243 has necessitated a revision of the latter part of its history in the Roman period. This has already appeared in another place.<sup>4</sup> I will reproduce here merely that part of the revised chronology which affects the limits of these hoards.

Abgar VIII, the Great . . .	177—211	with Septimius Severus from 195
„ VIII, „ „ . . .	211—212	„ Caracalla
Abgar IX, Severus . . .	212—214	„ „
Manu IX, Edessa a Roman colony . . . . .	214—217	under „
Manu IX, Edessa a Roman colony . . . . .	217—218	„ Macrinus
Manu IX, Edessa a Roman colony . . . . .	218—222	„ Elagabalus
Manu IX, Edessa a Roman colony . . . . .	222—235	„ Severus Alexander
Manu IX, Condition of Edessa uncertain . . .	235—238	„ Maximinus
Manu IX, Condition of Edessa uncertain . . .	238—240	„ Gordian I—Gordian III
Abgar X . . . . .	240—242	with Gordian III
Edessa a Roman colony . . . . .	242—244	under „ III
Edessa a Roman colony? . . . . .	244—249	„ Philip (no coins)
Edessa a Roman colony . . . . .	249—251	„ Trajan Decius

<sup>2</sup> "Numismatique d'Édesse en Mésopotamie." *Mélanges Numismatiques*, II (1893), pp. 209—296.

<sup>3</sup> *B. M. C.*, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia (1922), pp. xciv—cvii.

<sup>4</sup> Bellinger and Welles, "A Third-Century Contract of Sale from Edessa in Osrhoene," *Yale Class. Stud.*, V, pp. 95—154.

The coins of Septimius Severus and Abgar VIII cannot antedate the first Mesopotamian campaign of 195. To be sure the people of Osrhoene maintained that they were acting in Severus' behalf when they besieged Nesibi, but he did not believe them and neither do we<sup>5</sup>. It is pretty clear what happened. Abgar, from conviction or policy, had maintained alliance with the house of the Antonines, but when the death of Commodus was followed by the swift transit of Pertinax and Julianus, and the hostile pretensions of Severus and Niger seemed to augur the collapse of Roman power in the East, the natives of Mesopotamia felt that the time had come to regain their independence, and attacked Nesibi, destroying a force of Niger's partisans. Their hopes mislead them: they could not take the city and they became involved in a losing war with Severus. Abgar is not named in the account but it is hardly doubtful that the enterprise was commanded by him. We do not know the terms of the peace, but since Severus boasted that he had added a large country and made it a buffer for Syria,<sup>6</sup> he must have organized the country as well as conquering it. Yet since the conquest was not easy<sup>7</sup> he may well have made concessions for the sake of peace. It is after this campaign in 195 that I should put the first joint issue of coins<sup>8</sup>. The fabric of these coins is like that of the issue of Wael<sup>9</sup> which was doubtless still in circulation. But during the war of Severus against Albinus the Parthians invaded Mesopotamia and conquered it, though Nesibi held out.<sup>10</sup> Severus accordingly set out for the east in 197 and in August of that year<sup>11</sup> began the campaign which was to lead him to Ctesiphon. We do not know what Abgar had been doing in the meantime, but the fact that he delivered himself into the Emperor's hands and gave him his sons as hostages shows that he was not hostile but not entirely trusted. It is probably after the campaign, in 201 or thereabouts, that the second joint issue of coins was struck.<sup>12</sup> It is smaller than the previous one and does not show the scepter before Abgar's face, though his title makes it clear that there was no derogation involved. There

<sup>5</sup> Dio, LXXV 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Dio, LXXV, 3, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Dio, *l. c.*

<sup>8</sup> *B. M. C., Arabia*, pp. 94f., nos. 14ff., pl. XIII, 15, 16, pl. XIV, 1—5.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 91f., nos. 1—3, pl. XII, 6—8.

<sup>10</sup> Dio, LXXV, 9, 1.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (1921), p. 192.

<sup>12</sup> *B. M. C., Arabia*, pp. 95f., nos. 30 bis—35, pl. XIV, 6, 7.

are two sizes<sup>13</sup> which probably represent a difference in value. The larger size is that of the colonial coins of Caracalla,<sup>14</sup> the smaller, that of the rare pieces of Caracalla with Abgar VIII<sup>15</sup> and Abgar IX.<sup>16</sup> The visit of Abgar to Rome must have been after the Emperor's return in 204, and it may be that the second series (particularly the pieces on which Abgar bears the names Lucius Aelius Aurelius Septimius<sup>17</sup>) should be dated after that time. Or perhaps only these last named coins date from 204, the rest of the series from 201. An alternative is to date the first series from 201, the second from 204, but it seems likely that the Emperor would have provided bronze for Mesopotamia as soon as he organized it to replace the issues of Waël, the ally of the Parthians.

The issues of Septimius from Carrhae fall in the same period as those from Edessa but it is to be noted that their quantity was less and that Edessa is distinctly the more important mint.

If the coinage of Severus and Abgar begins in or after 195 it seems clear that we should assign to the preceding years the little pieces of Abgar and his son Manu<sup>18</sup> which are of the same fabric as those of Commodus and Abgar.<sup>19</sup> Commodus died in 192, and these coins of the father and son undoubtedly belong to the brief period when the troubles of the Roman empire tempted Osrhoene to assume an independence she could not maintain.

Abgar IX can hardly have been named Severus at birth, for that compliment would not have been paid the Emperor until after his Mesopotamian campaign of 195, in which case Abgar IX would have been only seventeen on his accession in 212. Could he have had an heir to succeed him one year and seven months later? It is possible but unlikely. It is much more reasonable to suppose that the heir apparent was one of those sons whom Abgar VIII delivered as hostages to Severus in 197,<sup>20</sup> that he was at that time more than an infant and that the assumption of the name Severus, like that of Lucius Aelius Aurelius Septimius by his father, was a diplomatic

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 6, 7.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 11, 12.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. L, 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 10.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. L, 10, 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 96, nos. 36f., pl. XIV, 8, 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Herodian, III, 9, 2.

celebration of the return of cordial relations after the Mesopotamian campaign of 197—198.

Now that we know that the city became a Roman colony in 214, we may assign to Caracalla the small bronzes bearing the colonial title which Hill had attributed to Elagabalus.<sup>21</sup> They are of the same fabric as the pieces of similar type generally attributed to him<sup>22</sup> and as the coins certainly struck by Elagabalus are of a larger size, it seems better to put all the ones of the same standard with the Tyche head under Caracalla, leaving for Elagabalus the larger pieces with Tyche seated.

The most extensive change to be made in the British Museum arrangement is to place the issues of Gordian III and Abgar X in 240—242 before instead of after the colonial issues of Gordian III and Tranquillina. This is made certain by the document from Dura, already referred to, which was written during the time when Edessa was a colony and was dated in 243. It will be seen when we come to discuss Mesopotamia as a whole that this rearrangement is in entire accord with the general conditions.

Without going too far into the difficult question of values, we may conclude that there were four denominations of bronze whose diameters are (1) about 30 mm., (2) 25 mm., (3) 20 mm., and (4) 15 mm. respectively, though the variation is great, and the distinction by no means always certain.

The following table will show the occasions of issue of the denominations:

	1	2	3	4
Commodus and Abgar 180—192				*
Abgar and Manu 193—195				*
Severus and Abgar 195—211		*	*	*
Caracalla and Abgar 211—214				*
Caracalla 214—217			*	
Macrinus 217—218			*	
Elagabalus 218—222		*	*	
Severus Alexander 222—235	*	*	*	
Maximinus 235—238				
Abgar and Gordian III 240—242	*	*	*	*
Gordian III 242—244	*			
Philip 244—249				
Decius 249—251			*	

<sup>21</sup> *B. M. C.*, Arabia, p. 102, nos. 72ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 97f., nos. 39ff.

The mint was as nearly continuously active, therefore, as those of provincial cities generally were, the only noticeable periods of idleness being during the reign of Maximinus and the two years thereafter, and during the reign of Philip. The periods of greatest output were those of Severus Alexander and Gordian.

## 2. Carrhae.

Carrhae is also said to have been a Macedonian colony, but it never abandoned the use of its Semitic name Harran, in the Hellenized form. It lies a couple of dozen miles southeast of Edessa, close enough so that the fortunes of the two cities were certain to be closely associated. The British Museum Catalogue<sup>23</sup> gives an exhaustive discussion of the earliest coinage, which appears to begin with Marcus Aurelius. It is only necessary to remark that facts already considered in connection with Edessa make possible more exact dating in two cases: the coins of Septimius Severus do not begin before 195, and those of Gordian III are contemporary with the strikingly similar colonial issue of Edessa, 242—244. Here also there are four denominations, struck as follows:

	I	2	3	4
Commodus 180—192				*
Septimius Severus 195—211		*	*	
Caracalla 211—217			*	*
Macrinus 217—218				
Elagabalus 218—222				
Severus Alexander 222—235		*	*	
Maximinus 235—238				
Gordian III 242—244	*	*		

It has already been remarked that under Septimius Severus Edessa was the more important mint. This seems to have been generally true except under Caracalla when the output of Carrhae is greater. This may be due to the fact that some of his coins were struck at Carrhae in 211—214 while Edessa was still nominally under Abgar VIII and IX and was issuing very little. Why there is no bronze from the brief reign of Macrinus we cannot tell; he used the mint for silver<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Pp. lxxxvii ff.

<sup>24</sup> Bellinger, *Two Roman Hoards from Dura Europos* (*Numismatic Notes and Mono-*



More remarkable is the idleness of the mint under Elagabalus. It is a temptation to attribute to him some of the pieces generally given to Caracalla, but there are really none available for such a transfer, and the fact that only a single specimen appears in these hoards is strong evidence against the possibility. We can only conclude that Elagabalus found the output at Edessa sufficient for the needs of the region or that his issues from Carrhae were so small that none of them has survived.

The British Museum lists five coins of Severus Alexander from Carrhae, the Yale University collection has one more sure example, and Mr. Newell another, but they are very rare. These hoards contain none and there are only three altogether from Dura (and those doubtful) though, of course, some of the obscure pieces attributed to Edessa may in fact have been from Carrhae. It appears that with Alexander as with his predecessor, Edessa was looked upon as the regular mint for the district with Carrhae operating little and spasmodically.

The absence of Maximinus' coinage in this case is explained by the capture of Carrhae by the Parthians attested by George Syncellus.<sup>25</sup> It was not until 242 that Gordian recovered the city which for the first time struck coins of the first denomination as companions to the issues from Edessa, and also pieces of the second denomination which Edessa did not supply. With Gordian the activity of the mint ceases.

### 3. Rhesaena.

Almost due east of Carrhae, forty miles away, is a town whose Greek name is an obvious transliteration of the Arabic Ras el'Ain. Whatever the origin of the settlement it becomes of historical importance only under Septimius Severus who gave it the rank of a Roman colony and made it the headquarters for the newly created Third Parthian Legion, presumably about 200 A. D. No coins of his are known but Caracalla, Elagabalus, and Severus Alexander all used the mint, none of them extensively. After complete idleness during the reigns of Maximinus, Gordian, and Philip, striking was resumed under Trajan Decius who issued bronze of second and third and fourth denominations, the first of these in an abundance much greater than the number in these

*graphs*, 49, 1931), pp. 13f., nos. 10, 11; H. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes* (1934), pp. 66f. = *Syria*, XIII (1932), pp. 365f.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Bellinger and Welles, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

hoards would indicate. He used no other Mesopotamian mint except Edessa, and that for third denomination only. It is worthy of remark that whenever the reverse inscription can be read it contains the letters **LIIP**, standing for **Legio III Parthica**. It may well be that the location of legionary headquarters in the town gave it a particular importance in the years following the reign of Philip, the only years when it is a mint of prominence.

#### 4. Nesibi.

Another sixty miles to the east and somewhat to the north of Rhe-saena lies a city which under the Macedonians was named Antioch in Mygdonia but which had reverted to the Semitic title of Nesibi (or Nisibis as the literary sources call it) by the time that Septimius Severus made it a Roman colony. The earliest known coin is a piece of the third denomination doubtfully attributed to Caracalla.<sup>26</sup> The British Museum has three of the fourth denomination struck by Macrinus. Here again there is no record of Elagabalus but under Severus Alexander there appears a very large issue of the second denomination. Like Carrhae, Nesibi was captured by the Parthians in the reign of Maximinus and not recovered until the expedition of Gordian in 242. Here, as in Carrhae and Edessa, he struck bronze of the first denomination bearing, in this case, his portrait and that of Tranquillina, while the single portrait is used on the second denomination. From Nesibi alone of the Mesopotamian cities coins were issued (commonly of the second denomination, rarely of the third) with the portraits of Philip and his family.

#### 5. Singara.

Singara is the easternmost of the mints (some seventy five miles southeast of Nesibi) and the one with the shortest history. Though the titles of the town show that its colonial status goes back to Septimius Severus at least, its coinage is entirely confined to the last two years of Gordian, 242—244.<sup>27</sup> That coinage exactly parallels that of Nesibi not

<sup>26</sup> G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow*, III (1905), p. 315, no. 1.

<sup>27</sup> I am convinced that none of the other pieces to which Hill refers (*B. M. C., Arabia*, p. cxii) with a laudable inclusiveness, is authentic.

only in denomination and general type but in style, and that to so marked a degree that when one is confronted with a mule on which two obverse dies have been used, it is impossible to say from which mint it is supposed to have come. The only conclusion to which anyone studying these coins can come is that they were all struck in one set of workshops in one town. We have independent evidence that such a procedure was sometimes followed in the appearance of the same obverse die on a coin of Philip Jr. for Zeugma and another for Samosata.<sup>28</sup> In the present case there can be no question as to which city was the actual mint. Nesibi being already well established in the business certainly supplied the coins, part of which she used herself, exporting part to Singara from which their inscriptions announced that they had issued.

#### 6. Conclusion.

The separate discussion of these five mints has not much to add to what was already known, but the habit of numismatists of treating such mints as independent entities conceals their real relation. Whatever may have been the attitude of the imperial government to the issuing cities in the early years of the empire, by the third century the provincial and colonial coinage was no longer left to chance or the whim of civic magistrates, but was to some extent directed by central authority, so that the territories should have sufficient small money. We have no means of determining who wielded that authority, whether the officials of the mint, one of the established bureaus, or a special delegate of the Emperor. But the facts bear clear testimony to the existence of a plan dealing with groups of cities. Since this is by no means the generally accepted view it will be necessary to consider the question at some length.

The history of bronze money in the Near East goes back to Greek practice quite unaffected by the early bronze standard of Rome. From the first it was intended to circulate at a higher valuation than its bullion value. In effect it was a means of raising a forced loan for the issuing authority without interest. The city or ruler must buy the bronze and pay for its striking; it was then put out as an artificial equivalent of silver or gold and the difference between its real value, plus the cost of striking, and its nominal value was the immediate profit of the issuer. Of course in theory it was ultimately redeemable

<sup>28</sup> *B. M. C.*, Galatia etc., pp. 123, 129, nos. 59, 43.

in silver or gold again, and it must have been so in practice to an extent sufficient to maintain the credit of the issuer. If it was all redeemed the profit would be cancelled and the issuer would have lost the cost of striking plus the loss of bullion value due to wear. But even in this case the expense would certainly be much less than the interest on a formal loan and, in practice, a large part of the bronze was never redeemed at all but continued in circulation until it was lost or worn out. Whether or not the originators of the system so intended, it became a valuable monopoly of the state and one which the autonomous Greek cities enjoyed without any restriction except their own estimate of how much token money the community could absorb. The bronze was certainly expected to circulate only within the territory of the power which struck it, though convenience undoubtedly gave it an early unofficial value just over the border. But there is no evidence of any monetary convention between neighbours or any attempt to combine for the supply of larger economic districts with a resultant sharing of the profits.

On this basis of autonomous municipal bronze coinage Alexander and his successors both in Europe and Asia imposed bronze of their own which seems to have been designed to circulate wherever their gold and silver did. It must have had a certain success or the experiment would not have been continued, but it seems clear that it never had the same advantage over local issues as did the gold and silver, for gold becomes royal monopoly and the cities minting silver are much fewer than in the pre-Alexandrine days, but the output of the local bronze is as brisk as ever. For this there are a number of reasons. Gold and silver, being bullion currency, would circulate everywhere irrespective of the local standard, for their value could always be determined by weighing the pieces. But bronze bore no marks of value and its relation to the standard might be very complicated. The farther it went from its place of origin the greater the inconvenience of its use, so that in practice it seems to have been most serviceable in territory where there was no competing local bronze (as in the case of Seleucid bronze from Antioch at Dura). On the other hand the striking of gold had long been regarded as a royal prerogative so that there is nothing surprising in finding that metal used only by the Hellenistic kings and not by the cities. The kings may also have imposed some restrictions as to the coining of silver, though we have no record of such action. But it is not likely that the limitation on the precious metals was much regretted by the cities, for instead of the



coining of them being a source of income it was an expense. The cost of striking must be borne by the issuer and the coin was worth no more than its bullion value. It may be asked, then, why the sovereign retained the privilege at all. The answer is undoubtedly that he was swayed by sentimental and political considerations rather than economic. The striking of gold was in itself an act of sovereignty and, as such, one for which the sovereign was as willing to pay as for any other perquisite of royalty. Moreover, the appearance of the ruler's portrait on the coinage was probably felt to have a certain value as propaganda in making his appearance familiar to his subjects. Then, too, the monarch must have regarded coinage as a public duty. Money must be had, and whose duty should it be to supply it if not the ruler's? It may be that the bronze coined was intended to bring in enough income to balance the loss in silver and gold, but, in any case, by the time the Romans appeared as a power in the East it was an established tradition that the sovereign alone should strike gold, that silver should be restricted either by decree or the more compelling considerations of financial ability, but that a great number of towns might still exercise the valuable right of issuing bronze as they had in the days of their independence.

The material is not yet in hand for an exhaustive treatment of the relation of Rome to the mints in the East, but what is generally known of her policy of expansion makes it clear that she did not proceed according to any predetermined plan, but met each situation as it arose. There was, for example, no attempt to impose the Roman monetary standard on her expanding territory, nor, under the Republic, does there seem to have been any attempt to give Roman coinage a favored position. One immediate effect of the establishment of the Empire was that the Emperor inherited the exclusive right to strike gold which had been that of his royal predecessors in that region. In the West he was also the only authority for issuing silver, which bore his portrait in consequence, but in the East there were exceptions to that rule, such as the cistophori of Asia Minor.<sup>29</sup> But most of the silver coined in the East (of which the tetradrachms of Egypt and Syria and the drachms and didrachms of Cappadocia formed the largest part) bore, like the imperial denarii, the name and portrait of the Emperor.

Local issues of bronze, however, were still continued and in many

<sup>29</sup> For indications that even the cistophori were controlled by the government at Rome see T. R. S. Broughton, "A Significant Break in the Cistophoric Coinage of Asia," *Am. Journ. Arch.*, XLI (1937), pp. 248f.



instances they bear no sign of the Roman denomination. It is natural to suppose that these were cases in which the city still enjoyed the full profit. But alongside these there appeared bronze coins which bore the imperial portrait and, as time went on, the latter issues became much commoner than the former. Now we have no direct testimony as to the authority by which they were struck, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that they were issues specifically permitted if not commanded by the imperial government and that the Emperor whose name appeared on the coins shared with the city in the profit of striking them. If this was so — if the government had a financial interest in the bronze coinage — it is easy to see why sooner or later there should have come to be some kind of central control. For the profit was not of a kind that could be indefinitely increased. Since silver was available and since government obligations such as soldiers' pay were undoubtedly discharged in silver, there was no reason for the populace to use more bronze than convenience dictated. Therefore if neighbouring cities, competing for the profit of supplying the region with small change, struck an excessive amount the result would not be profit but loss, since the district would not absorb it. It was obviously to everyone's interest to avoid such a condition and therefore the right of minting seems to have been limited not only by the needs of the city but by those of the neighboring territory. How early any supervision is to be found I am not prepared to say, but the material in these hoards shows that it is discernible in the period with which we are dealing. A consolidated table of the Mesopotamian mints will illustrate this contention. The numerals stand for the denominations struck whether they appear in the hoards or not.

	Edessa	Carrhae	Rhesaena	Nesibi	Singara
Commodus 180—192	4	4			
Abgar and Manu 193—195	4				
Septimius 195—211	2,3,4	2,3			
Caracalla 211—217	3,4	3,4	3,4	3	
Macrinus 217—218	3			4	
Elagabalus 218—222	2,3		2		
Alexander 222—235	1,2,3	2,3	2,3	2	
Maximinus 235—238					
Gordian and Abgar 240—242	1,2,3,4				
Gordian 242—244	1	1,2		1,2	1,2
Philip 244—249				2,3	
Decius 249—251	3		2,3,4		

There are a number of features of this table that deserve special comment. In the first place, it is not until Alexander Severus that the first denomination appears. This does not mean, of course, that the first denomination was not used in the region (the number of big bronzes of Claudius and Domitian from Antioch found at Dura disproves that) but either that the cities had not sufficient capital to buy enough metal for their issue or that their right to strike was limited to the lower denominations. We shall see reason to believe that the latter is the likelier explanation.

The idleness of all the mints under Maximinus is explained in some cases, as already remarked, by the fact that the towns were in the Persian hands. But we have no notice as to Edessa and Rhesaena and the whole question of Maximinus' position in the East is a complicated one which cannot be profitably discussed here, and may not be capable of solution at all with our present information. It is not in the least surprising that there are no coins of the first two Gordians, Pupienus, or Balbinus from Edessa, even if the town was in Roman hands, for those disturbed years 238—240 are so rarely represented by coins outside of Rome that I have ignored them throughout.

The coinage of Gordian and Abgar has already been discussed, but it is worth emphasizing that after 242 it is evident that a general plan was followed. It was doubtless natural, in any case, that Carrhae, Nesibi, and Singara should desire to resume striking as soon as they were reunited to the empire but there are three reasons for believing that their activity was regulated by a central authority: first, if they had all been left to their own devices, it is hard to see why Rhesaena also did not coin; second, the very striking likeness of type and style already discussed shows a close connection between Edessa and Carrhae, Nesibi and Singara; third, the total output of the four mints seems to have been equivalent to that of Edessa alone under Gordian and Abgar which would mean that the duty and privilege of supplying the district, first the function of Edessa alone, was then divided among four cities.

The use of Nesibi alone under Philip and Rhesaena chiefly under Decius is due to causes that we cannot now recover, but, considering the large size of the issues, it certainly seems more likely that it was a matter of choice on someone's part rather than mere inadvertence of the cities which were idle.

It is obvious that all these questions might have been decided by cooperation of the cities involved or by the Roman governor of the

district, but consideration of the evidence from Antioch and the Pontus will show that monetary questions might involve more than a single province and might be beyond the competence of the cities themselves.

### *B. Antioch.*

Everything testifies to the close connection between Dura and Antioch on the Orontes. From the time of the founding of Dura, Antioch was the great city on which she most relied in artistic matters as well as in practical affairs. The road from the coast to the Euphrates and then down the river must have been the most important highway of that region, and it is obvious that not only the frontier city but all of northern Mesopotamia must have regarded Antioch as the metropolis. Before the Mesopotamian mints were in operation the great majority of bronze coins in circulation were from Antioch, if Dura is typical of that territory.

With the earlier years of Antioch we are not here concerned. E. T. Newell has dealt with the Seleucid and the first Roman series.<sup>30</sup> The coinage struck at Antioch but intended for the whole province of Syria down to the time of Trajan is discussed by Waldemar Wruck in a volume entitled *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung* (1931); he intends to deal with the later period in a succeeding volume. An important supplement to this is offered by an article of G. Macdonald, "The Pseudo-Autonomous Coinage of Antioch".<sup>31</sup> This shows excellently the relation between imperial and civic interests in local bronze coinage, though there were special conditions which prevent Antioch from being entirely typical. Finally, the British Museum Catalogue<sup>32</sup> while old and in some respects out of date, deals with the whole Roman period.

The time of importance for us begins with Septimius Severus. Antioch had sided with Pescennius Niger in the civil wars and, in retaliation, Severus took away her civic rights. These were presently restored, and some silver was struck at the reopened mint. But the only bronze of the reign was a small issue of the fourth denomination

<sup>30</sup> "The Seleucid Mint of Antioch," *American Journal of Numismatics*, LII (1917), pp. 1—151; "The Pre-Imperial Coinage of Roman Antioch," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., XIX (1919), pp. 69—113.

<sup>31</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Ser., IV (1904), pp. 105—135.

<sup>32</sup> Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria, W. Wroth (1899).

which belonged not to the imperial or provincial series but to the pseudo-autonomous; it was, indeed, the very last of that series.<sup>33</sup> In the time of Severus, therefore, Antioch could not be expected to supply anything beyond her own needs, and not all of those. Caracalla and Macrinus put out bronze of the third denomination on which, for the first time, the senatorial and imperial authorities were combined, for they bear not only the SC (for *Senatus Consulto*) which was the regular device on the bronze, but also the Δ Ε (for Δημαρχικῆς Ἐξουσίας) heretofore characteristic of the silver alone. But no attempt was made to resume the striking of the large coins which had been standard for Antioch in the early empire. Perhaps Caracalla's policy of minting silver in quantity from a number of places had an effect on this.

At any rate, it is not until Elagabalus that the larger pieces reappear and he struck an abundance of the first denomination, as well as an abundance of the third and a lesser quantity of the second. The first and third but apparently not the second were continued by Severus Alexander, and then comes, in Antioch as in the Mesopotamian mints, an entire blank during the reign of Maximinus and his immediate successors. When striking was resumed under Gordian III is still an unsettled question but one which does not affect us at present since Gordian issued nothing but silver from Antioch.<sup>34</sup> Philip, however, resumed the issues of the first denomination in great quantity, with rare pieces of the second.<sup>35</sup> Trajan Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, and Valerian continued the first denomination only in much smaller quantities, and with the last named the activity of the mint of Antioch came to an end.

A summary will be useful for comparison with the table for Mesopotamia.

Septimius	195—211	4
Caracalla	211—217	3
Macrinus	217—218	3
Elagabalus	218—222	1,2,3
Alexander	222—235	1 3
Maximinus	235—238	

<sup>33</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

<sup>34</sup> To discuss the problems of the province of Syria would be to go too far afield, but it is a striking fact that while in Mesopotamia there is such a profusion of bronze with the name and portrait of Gordian, the only Syrian mint at which he appears is Leucas on the Chrysoroas.

<sup>35</sup> *B. M. C.*, Galatia etc., p. 215, no. 534.



Gordian	238—244	
Philip	244—249	1,2
Decius	249—251	1
Gallus	251—253	1
Valerian	253—260	1

It is apparent that Antioch complements the Mesopotamian table by supplying the first denomination under Elagabalus, and from Philip onward; we must await analysis of the coins found at Antioch before we can venture to say whether the relation was in fact reciprocal, Mesopotamia supplying the metropolis with small money. But before Elagabalus neither area produces the first denomination in the period under consideration. Now all these mints struck intermittently, and it may sometimes have happened that the supply of a certain denomination was great enough to last from one reign into another. It is possible, for instance, that the abundance of bronze struck under Elagabalus and Severus Alexander is sufficient explanation for the lack of it at Antioch under Gordian. But the last large issue of the first denomination before Elagabalus at Antioch was under Antoninus Pius, and that does not seem large enough to have supplied the district for fifty seven years. What happened in the city itself we cannot say, but in Mesopotamia the deficiency was supplied from an unexpected quarter.

### *C. The Pontic Mints.*

The five Pontic mints so unexpectedly represented at Dura lie in a group in the interior of the province. Amasia, Zela, and Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis are on the great road whose northern extremity is Amisus, which runs south to Sebasteia and thence to Melitene. Comana and Neo-Caesarea, the former in the valley of the Iris, the latter in that of the Lycus, are on alternative branches of the trunk road that runs through Amasia to the east and west. Their relation is discussed by J. A. R. Munro in an article entitled "Roads in Pontus, Royal and Roman".<sup>36</sup> Though the towns must have been closely connected at all times, and the existence of a Pontic League is attested by the inscription on coins of Neo-Caesarea, yet their annexation to Roman territory came at different periods. In 3/2 B. C. Augustus restricted the kingdom of Polemo I by taking over Amasia, Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis and

<sup>36</sup> *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XXI (1901), pp. 52—66.



probably Sebasteia, and by installing an independent princeling at Comana. Tiberius annexed Comana in 34 A. D., and thirty years later, in 64, Polemo II ceded what was left of the kingdom of Pontus to Nero. This included Neo-Caesarea and, strangely enough, Zela, which had been separated from Neo-Caesarea by Comana, and on the other hand, had separated Amasia and Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis.

It is for this reason that three different eras are used on the coins, each city celebrating the date of its inclusion in the empire. For the first two centuries Amasia struck coins frequently, the other towns rarely, and there is no evidence of concerted action between them. But in 205/6 all five issued money, and in the next year Amasia and Zela struck again. This coincidence cannot have been accidental and is the more remarkable since none of the other Pontic mints — Amisus, Cerasus, Trapezus — were active in the same years.<sup>37</sup>

It is the issues of these years alone which occur at Dura. Only one of the earlier coins has so far been found and none of those of Severus Alexander from Amasia and Neo-Caesarea dated 225 and thereafter. It is evident, to be sure, that the output of 205/6 and 206/7 was more abundant than any before or after, but Alexander's coins are not rare, nor are those of Commodus, and the fact that they are unknown at Dura while the coins of Septimius and his family are so common, forces us to the conclusion that special circumstances in Septimius'

<sup>37</sup> Babelon and Reinach, in the second edition of Waddington's *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure* (Vol. I, 1, 1925) so far from considering these issues simultaneous, date those of Amasia in 208 and 209, those of Comana in 195/6, and those of Neo-Caesarea in 205/6 and 209/10. The reasons for these discrepancies are: 1. They hold that the era of Amasia begins October 1 A. D. instead of October 2 B. C. This is because Geta appears as *Sebastos* on coins with the date 208. Since he became Augustus in 209 A. D. this would fix the beginning of the era at 1 A. D. But Dessau (*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXVII, 1906, pp. 335ff.) has pointed to other instances of the appearance of the title on inscriptions of Geta in the East before it was actually conferred on him, and both Dessau and Imhoof-Blumer maintain that the era of Amasia was the same as that of its neighbor Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis — that is October, 2 B. C., the year of their inclusion in the Roman empire. 2. The case of Comana is a mere oversight. The date BOP has been read 162 = 195/6 A. D. instead of 172 = 205/6 A. D. 3. Some of the coins of Neo-Caesarea are dated PMB, 142 = 205/6 A. D. But, on most of them, the last letter of the date has the form R which the editors declare to be a form of *digamma*, though they cite no parallel. Hence PMR, 146 = 209/10. But R is actually merely an alternative B as attested by many instances from this period (e. g., D. G. Hogarth and J. A. R. Munro "Modern and Ancient Roads in Eastern Asia Minor", *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers*, III, pt. V, 1890, p. 704, and a coin from Cyprus, in this very hoard). The issue of 209/10 therefore disappears.

reign gave Dura a connection with the north which she lacked earlier and later. Had there been only a few of the coins from the excavations their presence might have been due to a small group of soldiers, perhaps a contingent sent from Pontic garrisons to the Parthian wars, but the numbers are so large that we cannot suppose them imported by any single body of men. On the contrary we must search for some such connection as that which existed with Antioch.

Now it has already been pointed out that neither in Mesopotamia nor in Antioch was bronze of the first denomination struck under Septimius or until Elagabalus. The facts before us make it evident that Dura certainly, and without the least doubt, all of upper Mesopotamia, relied at this time on the cities of the Pontus for what Antioch had ceased to supply. The sudden activity of those mints, so much in excess of their normal output, is only comprehensible on the assumption that they were called upon to serve a territory greater than normal. And here is a further instance of control from higher authority. The Pontic League might, and very likely did, decide within its own membership what proportion of the necessary bronze should be issued from each city, but the League could hardly have decided that it would strike bronze that was to be used in Mesopotamia. If that had been left to individual initiative surely a mint like Edessa or Samosata would have competed for the Mesopotamian market. Conversely, if the Pontic towns enjoyed the valuable privilege of supplying Mesopotamia with bronze would they not, if left to themselves, have attempted to continue it? Yet under Elagabalus, when Antioch resumed striking the first denomination, they were not in operation at all, and though they issued again under Alexander it was in much smaller quantity and they neither succeeded, nor apparently intended to enter the Mesopotamian field again. This is explicable only on the theory that the imperial government (not merely a provincial government) decided which mints should supply the area.

But why was the Pontus selected rather than a nearer city? The answer is that the problem was one concerning the whole eastern frontier. Now it is clear that the frontier was reorganized by Septimius Severus. Our information is fragmentary, but F. Cumont in the *Studia Pontica* (II, 1906, III, 1910), Hogarth and Munro, *op. cit.*, and V. W. Yorke, "A Journey in the Valley of the Upper Euphrates" (*Geographical Journal*, VIII, 1896, pp. 317—335, 453—472) give enough material so that we can be sure that Septimius, beside connecting Melitene with Caesarea, initiated or completed the lines of defense which now

crossed the Euphrates and included his new province of Mesopotamia. On those lines there were three military stations of importance which were not mint towns: Satala, headquarters of *Legio XV Apollinaris*; Dascusa, headquarters of *Ala II Ulpia Auriana*; and Melitene, headquarters of *Legio XII Fulminata*. Since these would certainly all need money and coined none for themselves it was very reasonable that bronze should be provided in the Pontus whence it might go south by the military road and into Mesopotamia.

But what was the means of transportation? Are we to suppose that Dura received official shipments from the mint cities? Everything that we know of the period is against such a supposition. It is most unlikely that the municipality of Dura, as such, took any steps for the convenience of its citizens in money matters, and doubtful whether there was any individual or combination in the town capable of maintaining a central supply of coined money. The chances are that every individual had to arrange matters for himself and that he arranged them in the simplest way. A tradesman needs a supply of bronze and, since none is coined at Dura, he sends a messenger to the nearest mint town with silver to be changed. Or perhaps a messenger is going to Antioch on other business and will bring back the change from there. Obviously the merchant will send no farther afield than he can avoid, and therefore the vast majority of the bronze found at Dura comes from Antioch (to which the road was undoubtedly so much used that the metropolis was as convenient a source of change as nearer cities) or from the mint cities of Mesopotamia. This is true of the period with which we are concerned at the moment, for in 205 the Mesopotamian cities were not yet minting and what the messenger would have found in Nesibi or Singara was bronze from the Pontus. There is no reason to suppose that a citizen of Dura had to send all the way to Amasia for small change. He simply changed his silver, in this period as in all others, for the money current in the larger cities to the north of him. If he wanted smaller denominations he could get the pieces of Septimius and Abgar from Edessa, but if he wanted big bronze there was nothing available but the Pontic coins.

We have still to explain the fact that these big bronzes of the Pontus are commoner at Dura than the later ones from Antioch or Edessa. Of the total 1282 of the first denomination, the Pontus contributes 608 and the proportions in the chance finds are similar. If the hoard was not begun until about 220 — and in view of the scarcity of Caracalla, the great excess of Alexander over Elagabalus and the

evident wear of the Pontic coins I do not see how we can escape that conclusion — they were nearly 20 years old. Why had they not been replaced in circulation by newer pieces? There are several possible explanations. They may have been minted in larger numbers than the Antiochene and Mesopotamian ones. This is a sheer guess and I do not see how it could ever be proved. They may have been less easy to withdraw from circulation because they were farther from home. That is, the city of Edessa might change its own bronze back into silver but refuse to do as much for Pontic bronze, and since it was a long way to Amasia, the northern coins would have to stay in circulation until they were worn out or lost. There is one item which adds to the plausibility of this suggestion. Undoubtedly coins returned to the mint were melted up and used for a new issue. But the Pontic coins are of quite different metallic content, and the Mesopotamian moneyers may well have been reluctant to take them. Then again the Pontic coins may have been more durable and more popular because they were of better metal. Any of these circumstances or all of them together may account for the fact that for half a century Dura used more of these coins than of any others of the same denomination.

### III. THE CIRCULATION OF BRONZE AT DURA

Certain interesting principles emerge from these considerations. It is important to realize that coins from the excavation of a city which is not a mint have a significance quite different from those from a mint town; I must confess that I did not at first understand the difference. In a mint town the bulk of the bronze will, of course, be struck on the spot; when one finds bronze from a neighbouring town the obvious explanation is that someone from that town came with his own local money in his purse and spent it. If the number of such coins is large it means that many people came to buy things and it is therefore an index to the town's foreign trade, so to speak, though it must be borne in mind that all the important business between cities will be done in silver and gold. But if there is no mint in your town you must send elsewhere to get money, and coins of other cities in most cases do not mean foreigners come to town at all, but citizens sending out to get change. Their value as an indication of foreign trade, therefore, is by no means what it is in the other case. They do have their value, however, as an indication of the town's



internal economics. People will not send for more bronze unless there is a demand for it. Loss, wear, and hoarding may withdraw a certain amount from circulation, but doubtless the chief reason for such a demand will be that an increasing number of people want money — that is, that the tempo of business activity of the community at large is accelerated. Assuming this to be an index of the general wealth in periods of prosperity, then, much money will circulate and new money will constantly be brought into town; in periods of depression, the old stock will suffice. It must be remembered that to apply this rule we should have to know about the supply in all metals. If the importation of bronze increased while that of silver decreased, obviously the wealth of the community would not be rising so fast as the bronze alone would indicate, and might not be rising at all. This makes the matter more complicated in the case of Dura, since silver money for the troops came regularly and we have no way of knowing whether any of what we find would have been there except for them. It would be perilous, therefore, to conclude that the town was prosperous in 240—242 because we have great numbers of coins of Edessa from those years.

On the other hand, I believe that we can with entire safety conclude that the years when little or no bronze was brought to town were years of depression. One such period comes within the limits of these hoards: the period after 249. It has already been remarked that under Trajan Decius Rhesaena was the chief Mesopotamian mint in operation. Its output was large, as the number of pieces preserved in collections shows, but its representation at Dura in these hoards and in the chance finds is surprisingly small. Silver of Decius and his successors is found in considerably quantity but bronze very seldom. Now we have no reason to suspect that communications between Dura and Rhesaena were difficult. It should have been still perfectly simple for the merchant's messengers to ride north and change that silver for bronze. But they evidently did not do so. Without doubt the reason is that with the rise of the Persians to the South and the general weakness of the empire in the East conditions were so unsettled that business was coming to a standstill. It may be that people were turning their bronze back into silver which was easier to hide or carry away with them. At any rate the old supply was apparently sufficient, with rare and trifling additions from Rhesaena or Antioch.

I must take this opportunity for recantation of an erroneous conclusion of mine in *Rep. III* (p. 141) that "the numismatic evidence shows little contact with the west through Palmyra". That was written



on the false assumption that the evidence was what it would have been were Dura a mint town. It is true that there are very few coins from Palmyra and very few from Damascus and the cities beyond, but considering that the great mass of bronze coins came to Dura not in exchange for commodities but for silver, it is perfectly clear why this should be so. The miserable little pieces of Palmyra can never have had any great circulation outside the town; no one would send across the desert to get them when he could have sound bronze from Antioch, and even if the coins of other Roman mints were current in Palmyra (which is yet to be proved) it would have been much less convenient to carry them by the desert road than to go to the towns of Mesopotamia. The numismatic evidence shows that people did occasionally come to Dura from Palmyra with local money about them, and it shows nothing more.

#### IV. THE GREEK MINTS

If most of the bronze coins were brought to Dura by the inhabitants there were some which could not have been so, and of these the most remarkable group is that which came from the cities of Greece itself. These all belong to the brief period — very likely no more than a single year — between the creation of Geta Caesar and the divorce of Plautilla when towns all over the Peloponnesus, many of which had not issued coins for centuries, suddenly struck again. This is another phenomenon which points clearly to imperial control, for it is incredible that all these places, some of them now insignificant hamlets, should have embarked simultaneously on an enterprise of this kind without suggestion from some central authority. Whatever the reason for this suggestion it produced a small issue — obviously the country had little need of money beyond what the regular mints such as Corinth could supply — and an issue that was never repeated.

But what are they doing so far from home? We may be sure that no citizen of Dura sent to get them. The true explanation is undoubtedly the one already offered by M. Henri Seyrig (*Syria*, XVII, 1936, pp. 174 ff.). Caracalla on his way to the East organized from the Peloponnesus special companies modelled after the Spartan *morae*, as is recorded by Herodian (IV, 8, 3), and the course of those troops is traceable not only by inscriptions (CIG 1253 and 1495) but also by the money from home which they left behind them not only in Dura, where Seyrig thinks they may

have been stationed, but in Jerash in Transjordan<sup>1</sup> and in Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

Representatives of other mints in these hoards hardly require comment. Some of them, such as the pieces from Cyprus, have travelled a long way, but none is so remarkable as to demand an explanation beyond the natural tendency of coins to travel either with their original owners or by successive exchanges.

## V. THE DENOMINATIONS

I have spoken of four denominations, approximately 30 mm., 25 mm., 20 mm., and 15 mm. in diameter. Their total numbers in the hoard are: 1st, 1270; 2nd, 1493; 3rd, 52; 4th, 0.<sup>3</sup> In the forthcoming catalogue they stand without further definition. But it is not unlikely that by the third century the civic coinages had been brought into relation with the imperial system and that these four sizes were actually intended for *dupondii*, *asses*, *semes*, and *quadrantes*. There are a number of reasons supporting this suggestion. In the case of Antioch the mint was used for the coining of imperial silver and it seems clear that the tetradrachms which had a long history in Hellenistic times had come to be equated to four denarii. Even while civic bronze was being issued bronze coins were struck in Antioch intended to circulate in Syria at large, and much the most logical proceeding would have been to make both series fit into the system of the silver. Wruck is convinced that this was done and in his table of average weights<sup>4</sup> he classifies the Syrian provincial bronze from Augustus to Trajan under the headings *dupondius*, *as*, *semis*,  $\frac{1}{12}$  *dupondius*.

Since the Roman coinages of Mesopotamia were modelled on that of Antioch they should follow the same system. It is true that the earliest of them are apparently connected with the Parthian system which they replaced and it may be that it was not until after Macrinus that the Mesopotamian and Syrian standards were integrated, but there is no apparent reason why the coins before Elagabalus should not have passed as *as*, *semis*, and *quadrans*.

Still stronger is the probability in regard to the Pontic coins. If our theory is correct, Septimius' issue from the Pontic mints was

<sup>1</sup> Bellinger, "The Coins from Jerash" (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, 81, 1938), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Newell informs me that he has seen such Peloponnesian coins in a collection formed in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> One tetradrachm and one sestertius make up the total 2817.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

intended to be used in important military stations where the standard would be the soldiers' pay, that is, Roman silver. Would not the bronze provided for them be of a standard already familiar? If it was intended to circulate through several districts it ought to belong to a system equally applicable to all.

Finally there is the case of the coins from Greece which appear in surprising numbers considering their distance from home and which obviously continued to circulate in a foreign land. Single strays are to be found everywhere, but when coins occur repeatedly like this it argues that they had become a recognized part of the currency. Now if in Greece, as in Syria, the bronze coinage had been brought into the Roman system, this would be perfectly easy. It would explain why a soldier leaving home might take his local small change without question, knowing that it would pass elsewhere in the empire.

These arguments from probability are far from conclusive. They are supported by the general assumption by numismatists that some system governed the relation of local bronze to the Roman standard, but it is quite another matter to hold that it was the same system in all cases. Any such generalization as that must explain some difficult discrepancies.<sup>5</sup> My present suggestion goes no farther than the connection of Syria, Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Greece, and even so I put it forward fully conscious of its uncertainty. It is so easy to decide on simple explanations when the evidence is scanty, and so often the more data we accumulate the more complicated the facts become.

But even assuming that these denominations correspond with the Roman ones, are we right in our identification of them? We may take as a basis the coinage of Gordian and Abgar, where all four denominations are found (though we have not the fourth here) and are clearly distinguishable.<sup>6</sup> If these are in the Roman system they ought to be *dupondius*, *as*, *semis*, and *quadrans*, or *sestertius*, *dupondius*, *as*, and

<sup>5</sup> E. g., the five denomination system of the cities of Moesia in the third century.

<sup>6</sup> At Rome the distinction between *dupondius* and *as* was sometimes marked only by the fact that the portrait on the *dupondius* was radiate. Was there a distinction in value on that basis in the eastern coinages? I believe that we may reject the possibility for a number of reasons. The system in Rome was the result of a deterioration in the size of the *dupondius*, but the distinction of bust having been originally associated with a difference in size the former continued to be significant when the latter had disappeared. This is a very different thing from introducing the convention *de novo* into a foreign country. Radiate and laureate heads occur indiscriminately on the Antiochene tetradrachms where they cannot have indicated difference in value since value in the silver coins theoretically depended on weight. Finally,

*semis*. The former would agree with Wruck's values for Antioch, E. A. Sydenham's for Caesarea<sup>7</sup> and with Kubitschek's statement,<sup>8</sup> "Mir erscheint es zweifellos, daß die griechischen Gemeinden der Kaiserzeit den Sesterz niemals ausgebracht haben". Before the question can be settled with any assurance much more investigation is necessary, and to that I hope to return at a later time. It will be noticed that I have nowhere referred to the matter of weight. That is only because the weighing of a large number of coins has not yet led me to any conclusion in which I can feel confidence, and it is better to postpone the matter altogether than to confuse it by premature statement.

Accepting provisionally, therefore, the theory that the denominations are distinguishable by size alone and assuming that similar sizes from different mints are of the same denomination throughout (which includes so small a proportion of doubtful cases as to make the error negligible) we find that the 1270 *dupondii*, 1493 *asses* and 52 *semes* would have a total value of 254 *denarii*<sup>9</sup>. Some idea of what such a capital stock would amount to at that time may be gained from comparison with the accounts of Nebuchelus published by Welles.<sup>10</sup> With cloaks from 23 to 90 *denarii* apiece, blankets 36, boots 22 a pair and trousers 33, 250 *denarii* would represent a very small amount of clothing. Unfortunately we have little information as to food prices or trivial merchandize (cf. above, pp. 124—126, and references) so that we cannot guess what may have been our dealer's stock in trade.

## VI. HOARDS X—XVII

The seventh and eighth campaigns produced eight hoards, of which the first and last were of silver, the others of bronze. Hoard X has already been published in detail in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (no. 69, American Numismatic Society, 1935). Its chief importance lies in the fact that it was found buried in the embankment by the city wall and, since it contains pieces of Valerian and Gallienus of

if the distinction is to be made for the bronze we shall have two values for the first denomination, two for the second and sometimes two for the third. This seems in the highest degree unlikely.

<sup>7</sup> *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia* (1933), pp. 14f.

<sup>8</sup> "Zur Geschichte von Städten des römischen Kaiserreiches", *SB. Ak. Wien*, 177, 1914), p. 67, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> This omits the illegible coins and a larger piece from Aegeae which I think, *pace* Dr. Kubitschek, may have been higher than a *dupondius*.

<sup>10</sup> *Rep. IV*, pp. 79—145, especially p. 141.



the year 256, it proves that the embankment cannot have been constructed until that year. In composition it is much like the earlier silver hoards, as the following summary will show.

HOARD X			
	Tetradrachms		Antoniniani
	Antioch	Other Mints	
Julia Domna		Emesa	1
Caracalla	3	Carrhae	1
		Emesa	2
		Gadara	1
		Caesarea in Palestine	2
		Salamis in Cypress	1
		Sidon	1
		Tyre	1
		Uncertain	1
Macrinus		Carrhae	4
		Cyrrhus	
		(or Seleucia-Pieria)	1
		Edessa	1
		Emesa	2
		Gadara	1
		Tyre	1
		Uncertain Mint	1
Diadumenian		Mopsus	1
Elagabalus	42		
Gordian III	23		18
Philip	120		3
Trajan Decius	111		
Trebonianus Gallus	31		31
Valerian			99
	330		151
Total		23	504

Hoard XI is altogether unlike the much larger bronze hoards, VIII and IX. With two exceptions the coins in it come from the three closely associated mints of Cyrrhus, Hieropolis, and Zeugma. The list of chance finds will show that the usual representation of those mints is trivial compared to the numbers found from Antioch and the Mesopotamian cities. Since this is a small group, we may safely assume



that it was brought to town as a unit by some traveller from the west and buried before he had enough dealings in Dura to make the composition of his little fortune more like the normal currency of the town.

## HOARD XI

Elagabalus	6	Zeugma	25
Gordian	1	Hieropolis	14
Philip, Sr.	1	Cyrrhus	7
Philip Jr.	27	Antioch	1
Philip Sr. and Jr.	13	Edessa	1
	<u>48</u>		<u>48</u>

The next hoard (XII) was studied and is to be published by Miss D. H. Cox. The summary here given will show that it is, in the main, parallel on a smaller scale to Hoard VIII and IX.

## HOARD XII

First Revolt of the Jews	1	Edessa	105
Domitian	1	Nesibi	48
Septimius Severus	20	Antioch	41
Caracalla	9	Singara	31
Geta	1	Carrhae	9
Macrinus	2	Amasia	7
Diadumenian	4	Neo-Caesarea	6
Elagabalus	17	Comana	4
Severus Alexander	15	Rhesaena	2
Mamaea	3	Zela	2
Alexander and Mamaea	1	Caesaera	1
Gordian and Abgar	73	Cyrrhus	1
Gordian	18	Palestine	1
Tranquillina	1		<u>258</u>
Gordian and Tranquillina	32		
Philip Sr.	14		
Otacilia	5		
Philip Jr.	26		
Philip Sr. and Jr.	2		
Trajan Decius	2		
Trebonianus Gallus	1		
	<u>258</u>		

In the Roman quarter of the city a common ware jug was found resting in a depression in the bed rock. It proved to be full of little coins whose fabric was evidently Seleucid. Mr. Newell agreed to undertake their cleaning and publication. Unhappily the treatment was long and laborious and the result scarcely worth the attention of so eminent a specialist. From the point of view of the history of the city, however, it is extremely interesting to find this evidence from Seleucid times. The coins are all of the lowest denomination, which, on the evidence of the chance finds, was the one in common use. Mr. Newell provides the following summary.

## HOARD XIII

Antiochus III, Antioch	204
Antiochus III, Tyre	I
Earlier Seleucid, Seleucia on the Tigris?	I
Early Parthian?	I
	<hr/> 207

The 14th, 15th, and 16th hoards are of normal distribution and so similar that they may best be shown in parallel tables.

	HOARD XIV	HOARD XV	HOARD XVI
Nerva			I
Trajan	I		
Septimius Severus	14	13	6
Caracalla	47	35	17
Domna			I
Geta	I		
Elagabalus	5	I	4
Severus Alexander	27	38	10
Mamaea	5		
Alexander and Mamaea	4	7	2
Gordian and Abgar	30	28	13
Gordian	37	8	9

# THE COINS

425

Tranquillina			I
Gordian and Tranquillina	I	4	
Philip Sr.	10	10	3
Philip Sr. and Philip Jr.	I		
Philip Jr.	16	13	5
Otacilia	2		2
Herennia Etruscilla	I		
	<hr/> 202	<hr/> 157	<hr/> 74
Edessa	58	38	22
Amasia	52	37	20
Nesibi	36	46	17
Antioch	24	14	5
Carrhae	13	3	6
Neo-Caesarea	10	10	4
Singara	8	5	
Samosata		2	
Comana		I	
Rhesaena	I		
Zeugma		I	
	<hr/> 202	<hr/> 157	<hr/> 74

The last hoard is a small group of Antoniniani, found, like Hoard X, buried in the embankment and duplicating the evidence for the date of that work.

## HOARD XVII

	Rome	Antioch
Trebonianus Gallus		3
Volusian		2
Valerian	4	33
Gallienus	<hr/> 3	<hr/> 3
	7	41
Total		48

## XI.

### PARCHMENTS AND PAPYRI

The last discoveries of parchments and papyri at Dura were made in the season of 1933/34, and like the texts reported upon in *Rep. VI* they were buried in the fill of the desert wall, on the inside, between Blocks L8 and J8. Thus all of this material found at Dura has occurred in the area of the wall south from the Temple of Azzanathkona to the Main Gate, doubtless because of the fact that the archives of which they are the *disjecta membra* were situated in the northwest part of the city.<sup>1</sup> If we had to do merely with scattered papers from private houses, it would be hard to explain their absence from other areas, especially from the fill of the southern half of the desert wall, between the Main Gate and the Southwest Angle.

These discoveries were not numerous, and they consisted mainly of scraps. One tantalizing piece was the right edge of a rolled papyrus, complete from top to bottom, but supplying only a word or so in each line. It was clearly from a contract, and concerned Roman soldiery, like almost all of the Dura papyri. Still more tantalizing were two complete papyrus rolls which had become water-soaked. An appeal to Dr. Ibscher in Berlin was answered with his customary kindness, but even under his skilful and experienced hands the material was only punk. Bits of writing are visible, but the nature of the texts will probably never be known. On the other hand, among the finds were the best preserved papyrus found at Dura and a parchment containing the third contract from the city which antedates the second century. It belongs to the same year as Parchment 21<sup>2</sup> and is preceded in date only by Parchment 1.<sup>3</sup> These two texts are presented here *in extenso*, the parchment for the first time, the papyrus on the basis of the *princeps* in the *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* (Bruxelles), I, 1937, pp. 261—288.

<sup>1</sup> The military papyri of the Temple of Azzanathkona constituted an archive found *in situ*. For the other finds I have postulated two centers of dispersion, one in the neighbourhood of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods and the other in Blocks L7 and 8; cf. *Arch. Hist. du Droit Orient.*, I, 1937, p. 264. Parchment 40, however, was found almost equidistant from these two centers of dispersion.

<sup>2</sup> *Savigny Zeitschrift*, LVI (1936), pp. 99—135; *Rep. VI*, pp. 419—424.

<sup>3</sup> Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 286—296.

(Pl. XLVIII, 2)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, XIX, 1934, p. 381.





reckons, according to the former reckoning 398, on the — — day of the month — —, in Europos] in Parapotamia. There have voluntarily made a division with one another Demetrius also called Nabusamaus, Seleucus [also called — —, Antiochus also called — —, and Nicanor] also called Zabduas, the sons of Polemocrates son of — —aeus and grandson of Polemocrates, citizens of Europos, the [houses] belonging [to them — — —, of which they say the one] Polemocrates [their] already mentioned [father] drew as his portion according to a [division] with his brother Apollonides effected [through the same court in the] year [of the former reckoning] 364, [on the — — day] of the month Audinaeus, while [the other] he bought from Nicanor the son of Alexander [— — — by a transaction effected] through the same court in [the year ... according to the former reckoning, on the second [of the month] Dystrus, and they have drawn as their portions by casting lots, Demetrius [— — —, Nicanor — — the] storechamber in [— —, Antiochus — — — and] the upper rooms above it and above the common entrance and exit [— — Seleucus the court and the room to] the north and the upper room above it [and another] room collapsed in part (*erasure*) [— — — —] to them in common the same [court and entrance] and exit and balcony (?), which they shall use in common. Nicanor shall block up the same (?) [door leading from] the [room which] fell [to him into the *andron* which] fell to Demetrius [and] he shall take the doors and the frame to himself and shall construct for himself a corridor [and in] it another door [— — —]. Antiochus also shall close (read ἐ[κ]κλᾶσαι?) the door of his upper room which opens into the upper room of Nicanor and shall open for himself another door [— — —] Seleucus [shall open] a door from his room into the common court, and they shall all construct in common the [corridor? (supplying μεσότοιχον)] between the same court and another court (i. e., that of Seleucus?) [— — —], and they shall furnish to one another access to the same corridor [and?] to the wall of the room which fell to Seleucus, putting upon the [— — — —] of the stoa through which they shall make their ascent — — — — Demetrius shall give to Seleucus for the relinquishing of his other claims (or rights) [— —] of silver [— — —] and the doors and all the other property and rights thereto appertaining, and each shall be master of his dwelling, as far as his own share goes, and they have all agreed [— — that they neither] do nor shall raise a complaint against one another relative to the same division nor to any property which each of them has or shall acquire individually nor to [— — — — — and if one does not]

abide (by the settlement) but raises a complaint, he shall pay to those who have lived up to the agreement without argument or (the requirement of) a legal decision as penalty one thousand drachmae of silver and the same amount to the crown, and [this division shall remain even so in force; it contains] a duplicate copy also (i. e., the 'inner text' of the double document, to which reference might be had in case of dispute). Witnesses: Seleucus, Adaeus, (and) Danymus, royal judges and members of the order of first and chief-honored friends and bodyguards, [Pausanias president of the court and collector of fines] and a member of the bodyguards, Damonius son of Marias, Democrates son of Damonius, (and) Apollogenes son of Ptolemaeus."

The transaction is of a familiar type. Agreements among heirs concerning the division of property acquired by inheritance are well known from Roman Egypt,<sup>5</sup> though for some reason none has been found dating from the Ptolemaic period.<sup>6</sup> The present text contains the same provisions and reflects the same legal requirements. Like the Egyptian διαίρέσεις, it consists of an identification of the contracting parties, a statement of the property to be divided, a list of the portions of each heir drawn by lot, certain general conditions applicable to all, and at the end a statement of title (κυριεία clause) and the penalties for breach of contract (refusing to abide by the settlement). Title guarantees are regularly lacking.<sup>7</sup> The Dura text differs only in matters affected by local practice. It employs the 'protocol' form (διείλοντο ἑκόντες) which was used also in Ptolemaic times in Egypt, but which gave way later to a variety of other types, most commonly for the διαίρέσεις the 'homology' (ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις... διηρῆσθαι). The closing phrase, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἀντισύγγραφον, also, is a Dura peculiarity, the precise significance of which is unknown. The translation represents my best opinion as to its meaning.<sup>8</sup> At the end are named the

<sup>5</sup> Listed by H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der graeco-ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden* (1919), pp. 79—87, additions by R. Taubenschlag, *Arch. für Papyrusforschung*, VIII (1927), pp. 25—33; V. Arangio-Ruiz, *P. Milan*, I (1937), p. 193, n. 1 and *ib.*, no. 23. Add also *P. Mich.*, 186/187 (= *SB* 7031/7032; *A. D.* 72 and 75); *P. Oslo.*, 31 (Antonius Pius).

<sup>6</sup> That such must have existed is shown by the mention of property divisions in *P. Enteuxeis*, 13, 65, and 66 (3rd cent. B. C.) and in *BGU* 1849 (48—46 B. C.). [One is now published by M. Hombert and Mlle. C. Préaux, *Chron. d'Égypte*, 25, Jan. 1938, pp. 139—151.]

<sup>7</sup> Cf. L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde* (1912), pp. 270f.; Kreller, *op. cit.*, pp. 87—97.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the discussion and the summary of the evidence (I know of nothing more) in *Savigny-Zeitschrift*, LVI (1936), pp. 117f.

witnesses, the same throughout as in Parchment 21 (which however omits the third judge, Danymus). In conformity with Dura practice there are listed first the officials of the office where the document was drawn and recorded, here the Royal Court. The three private witnesses follow. As they are the same as in *D. Pg. 21*, although none of the principals of the two transactions is the same and although the two may have been separated by a substantial interval of time, it is clear that at Dura, as elsewhere, witnesses might stand in no personal relation with the contractants and might be chosen from persons conveniently at hand, registry office clerks, for example.

In spite of the fragmentary nature of the text, the main features of the transaction can be recovered with some measure of certainty. The contracting parties are citizens of Dura with the popular and conventional nomenclature, but they all have also Semitic names. This is a new phenomenon for Εὐρωπαῖοι, and should cause us to modify in some degree our conception of the meaning of this double nomenclature. It is the usual practice to assume in such cases that we have to do with natives who have in one way or another acquired a name belonging to the privileged class. Here I think we have the reverse situation which may well have been common in such a bilingual society, where the descendents of the old Macedonians, the old ruling class which at Dura held fast to its ancient traditions, found it nevertheless convenient to have names comprehensible in the other tongue. It may be that the second names were of no great importance; Polemocrates and his ancestors are given no aliases. On the other hand, there must have been a certain plethora of *Seleuci* and *Nicanores* at Dura, and the Semitic name helped to identify the individual.

The property up for division consisted of two houses, one acquired by the father through a division with his brother thirty four years before, the other bought by him from a certain Nicanor son of Alexander. In each case reference is made to the registered deeds by which the conveyance had taken place. The mention of the day of the month indicates that the books were kept at Dura as in the γραφεῖα in Egypt on a chronological basis. If there was a cadastre or grand list, that was not cited to prove title, and there was clearly nothing corresponding to the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων. The two houses were contiguous in the same block, the one purchased lying to the north. None of the excavated blocks of the city correspond to the indications of the text, but one thinks naturally of the House of the Scribes in Block L7, with its acquisition of the little house to the north (*Rep. VI*, Chap. IX), and



there are others. The two had not been made into one, apparently. Seleucus, to whose lot this (smaller) house fell, got permission to open a door into the court of the other; the absence of the definite article with *θύραν* in line 12 shows that the door was not hitherto in existence. This second house was likewise in some disrepair (line 8), and may have been unoccupied. Like the other, however, it had some sort of a second story apartment, a somewhat unusual luxury at Dura.

Not all of the details of the division can be recovered. Clearly the holdings of the four ran around the main court, beginning with Demetrius in the southeast. Probably he got the *diwan*. His contact with Nicanor, who drew the southwest, was on the first floor, between rooms (*οἶκοι*). Nicanor received permission to block the connecting doorway and to remove the wooden doors (*θυρώματα*) and the stone doorframe (*πλινθεῖον*; cf. above, p. 169, on no. 872), and to make another door in a dividing corridor (*μεσότοιχον*); the location and function of this is obscure. Nicanor's part included an upper room, through which access was had to the rooms<sup>9</sup> on the north (lines 7/8) allotted to Antiochus. Antiochus received permission to close the connecting door and to open another. The portion of Seleucus adjoined those of Antiochus and of Demetrius. To the latter he ceded some claims in return for a sum of money,<sup>10</sup> but otherwise his relations with his neighbors were with them all in common. He was to use their court and their entrance passage and the balcony, if that is the meaning of *ἔκρια* in line 9. A second 'servitude' of a more obscure sort, however, applied to his side. Access to a *μεσότοιχον* and to the wall of his room was to be common, and certain constructions were to be carried out at common expense. The expression in line 13, *πρὸς τῷ αὐτῷ μεσοτόχῳ*, requires the assumption that *μεσότοιχον* is the noun to be supplied with the article *τό* in line 12, and the meaning of this rare word is clearly "corridor", as Mr. Brown and Mr. Rostovtzeff agree. Apparently the proposal in lines 13/14 related to the construction of a stair leading to the roof and the upper apartments; possibly the *στοά* through which this was reached supported the *ἔκρια* mentioned above. An understanding of this passage, however, has not yet been attained.

<sup>9</sup> I should prefer to restore in line 7 *ὑπερῶν* [ον rather than *ὑπερῶν*[α, but the *alpha* of the article *τῶν* is clear.

<sup>10</sup> It would be pleasant to restore in line 14 the reference to the Tyrian *komma* which occurs in the second century texts from Dura (cf. below, Chap. XII, sect. II), but the space seems inadequate. The beginning of line 15 requires a preceding verb and apparently also a second noun to balance *θυρώμασι*.



## II. PAPYRUS 101

*A. The Text.**(Pls. XLVII, XLVIII, 1)*

The papyrus, 0.24 m.  $\times$  0.30 m., was found on November 11, 1933, in the fill by the wall back of Block L8 near Tower 18, a little to the south of the Synagogue. It was found rolled up, the head of the sheet with the upper of the two texts being tied with a light string but not sealed. It is worm-eaten and progressively more tattered toward the bottom, but is complete in its outside dimensions. The recto contains an abbreviated followed by a full text of the sale, with an acknowledgment of the seller at the bottom. The verso contains the signatures of five witnesses, written in a direction at right angles to the writing on the recto, from the top toward the bottom,<sup>1</sup> each beginning immediately below one of the five loops or knots in the string, where this passes through a little hole in the papyrus around the upper part of the roll and is then tucked through the loop again before passing on to form the next one, making a kind of half-hitch. The ends of the string were decorated with small tassels, a device which prevented it from being drawn back through the little holes again. Thus the upper text, even without being sealed, was secure. It could be unrolled only by cutting the string or tearing the papyrus.

I am inclined to think that both the upper and the lower text were written by the same person, though the former is, as usual, smaller and more cursive. The hand is a somewhat more cursive form of the 'Roman' script at Dura, a rather erect and elegantly ornamented writing which has its counterpart in official texts in third century Egypt, and which seems to have been influenced by Latin. Of the other writers, the writers of the Latin signatures on the verso, especially the centurion, were easy and skillful penmen, but the *cornicularius* curiously enough in view of his clerical duties prints in childish Greek letters and Aurelius Salmanes the writer of the seller's subscription is almost illiterate.

I give here only the lower text of the double document, the upper being a summary without essential variants.

<sup>1</sup> On this feature cf. H. Wolff, *Aegyptus*, XVII (1937), pp. 472 f.; U. Wilcken, *Arch. f. Papyr.*, XIII, 1 (1938), pp. 144 f.

## RECTO

- Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Νουμμίου Ἀλβεΐνου καὶ Λαιλίου Μαξίμου πρὸ ἐπτὰ  
 Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουνίων (May 26, A. D. 227)  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων καὶ ἐσφραγισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐν Σαχάρῃ  
 παραχειμασίᾳ  
 [σ]πείρ(ης) γ' Σεβ(αστῆς) Θρακῶν. ἐπρίατο Ἰούλιος Δημήτριος  
 πάλαι σ[τ]ρ[α]τιώτης σ[π]είρης  
 τῆ[ς] προγεγρ(αμμένης)], οἰκῶν ἐν Ῥακουκεΐθα, παρὰ Ὀταρναίου  
 Ἀβαδάβου κώμης Σαχ[α-]  
 5 ρηδαουαράῃ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ χώραν κειμένην) ἐν ὀρίοις  
 τῆς αὐτῆς  
 κώμης, ὅσου ἐστὶν μέτρον, ἣν ἔνωται (*sic!*) παρὰ Ἀββειβᾶ Βω-  
 ζάνου συνκωμή-  
 τ[ο]ν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ζαιραδασαχαράῃ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπικαλουμένῳ Καρκαφθά,  
 σὺν εἰσόδ[ω]  
 καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐνοῦσι δένδρ[οι]ς καρποφόροις τε καὶ ἀκάρποι[ς]  
 καὶ παντὶ δικαίῳ τῆ[ς]  
 αὐ[τ]ῆς χ[ώ]ρας, τειμῆς ἀργυρίου δηναρίων ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντ[α]  
 10 πέντε, ἣν τειμὴν ἀπέσχευεν ὁ πεπρακὼς παρὰ τοῦ ἐωνημένου καὶ τὴν  
 χώραν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸ ἔχειν αὐτὸν κυρίως καὶ βεβαίως εἰς τὸν  
 ἅπαντα χρό-  
 νον κτᾶσθαι χρᾶσθαι πωλεῖν δι[οι]κεῖν τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν αἰρήται·  
 γείτονες τῆς αὐτῆς  
 χώρας ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν κανάλιν ὕδατος καὶ Ἀβούρα ποταμός,  
 δυσμῶν ἄμ-  
 πελος τοῦ ἡγορακότος, νότου Ἀβδελάθ, βορρᾶ . . . . . τοῦ ἡγο-  
 ρα[κ]ότ[ος]  
 15 κ. [ . . . . . ]α, εἰ δέ τις λήθῃ ἡ . . . νη ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς γειτνίαις οὐκ  
 ἔσ[τ]αι [ . . . ]  
 ἡμα· ἣν δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ στελέχη ἀμπέλων ἐξα-  
 κόσια·  
 τοῦ πεπρακότος παρεχομένου τῷ ἡγορακότι τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγόρασμα  
 ἀνέπαφον  
 κ[α]! ἀνεπιδάνειστον καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον πάσης ἀμφισβητήσεω[ς]  
 κ[αὶ] κα-  
 θαρὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀντιπροιομένου, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παράσχηται  
 ἀκ[ολούθως?]  
 20 ἐνποιηθεῖς δέ τις ἐγνικῆται τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγόρασμα ἢ μέρ[ος] αὐτ[οῦ],  
 ὁ πεπρα-

- κ[ώ]ς δ[ι]αδ[ι]κήσει καὶ καθάρ[ο]ποιήσει τῷ ἐωνημένῳ, εἰ δ(ἐ μ)ή,  
 ἐκτείσει [αὐτῷ τήν]  
 τ[ε]ιμήν διπλήν καὶ τὸ βλάβος ὁμοίως· τοῦ ἡγορακός τοις δειδοῦντος  
 (sic!) τὸ αὐτ[ὸ]  
 ἐπιβάλλ[ο]ν τῇ αὐτῇ χώρᾳ εἰς λόγ[ο]ν κυριακ[ὸ]ν καὶ κωμητικὰς  
 ὑπηρεσίας·  
 κυρίας οὔσης τῆσδε τῆς ὠνῆς πανταχοῦ προφερομένης· πίστει  
 ἐπηρώτησ[εν]  
 25 ὁ ἡγορακός[ς] κα[ὶ] πίστει ὡμολόγησεν Ὁταρναῖος ὁ πεπρ[α]κός·  
 (2<sup>nd</sup> H.) Αὐρηλῖς Σαλμάνες οὐετ[ρ]ανὸς ἐρωτηθὶς ἐγγράψα ὑπὲρ  
 Ὁταρναίου Ἀβα-]  
 δάβου ΑΠΑΤΑ..Ν..[...].Α..[...]....[— — 10 — —]...[— —]  
 ΒΑ.Κ....ΟΚΕΚΕ.ΕΥ[— — 10 — —]..[— — 8 — —].Κ..ΤΑ...[.].[...]  
 .....ΑΙΟΒΕΩΣ τὰ προγεγραμμένα (sic!).

## VERSO

- (3<sup>rd</sup> H.) *Flavius* .....*onustius* (*centurio*)  
*signauit.*  
 (4<sup>th</sup> H.) Ἰύλιος Δειογένης κορ(νικουλάριος)  
 μ(α)ρ(τυρῶ).  
 5 (5<sup>th</sup> H.) *Claudius Theodorus op(tio)*  
*signauit.*  
 (6<sup>th</sup> H.) *Iul(ius) Monimus tess(erarius)*  
*signauit.*  
 (7<sup>th</sup> H.) *Uepo Flavianus t[u]b(icen)*  
 10 *signauit.*

“In the consulship of Nummius Albinus and Laelius Maximus, on the seventh day before the Calends of June, before the persons who have signed and sealed below, in Sachare the winterquarters of the Third Augustan Cohort of Thracians. Julius Demetrius, a veteran of the above Cohort, resident in Rhacucitha, has bought from Otarnaeus son of Abadabus of the village Sachare-da-avaraë, the parcel of land, however large it may be, within the limits of the same village, which the latter bought from Abbibas son of Bozanes his fellow-villager, situated in Zaira-da-sacharaë in a place called Carcaphtha, with the rights of ingress and egress and the trees in it fruit-bearing and otherwise and with every (other) right pertaining to the same land, at a price

of one hundred and seventy five denarii of silver. This price the seller has received from the purchaser and he has given the land over to him to have forever the assured right of acquiring, using, selling, and administering it in any way he wishes. The neighbours of the same parcel are as follows: on the east a canal and the Chabur river, on the west a vineyard belonging to the purchaser, on the south Abdelath (i. e., land belonging to the person Abdelath), on the north..... of the purchaser ..... If any oversight has occurred in this list of neighbours there will not be on that account any invalidation of the transaction (?). Previously there were in this parcel six hundred grape vines. The seller will furnish to the buyer this purchase unencumbered, unmortgaged, with uncontested title and free of all claims. If he does not so furnish it and any one lays claim to and recovers this purchase or any part of it, then the seller will contest the action and clear the title for the buyer, or if not, he will pay him as penalty double the amount of the price and damages likewise. The buyer will meet the obligations falling on the same land (in the form of taxes) to the imperial treasury and as village services (liturgies). This deed shall be valid wherever produced (as evidence of the sale). In good faith the buyer put the formal question and in good faith the seller gave his assent. (*Second hand*) I, Aurelius Salmanes, a veteran, upon request have written [for Otarnaeus son of Aba]dabus... (*Signatures*) I, Flavius ....onustius, centurion, have signed. I, Julius Diogenes, *cornicularius*, am witness. I, Claudius Theodorus, *optio*, have signed. I, Julius Monimus, *tesserarius*, have signed. I, Vepo Flavianus, *tubicen*, have signed."

Only one of the place-names mentioned in the text is identifiable, but this is sufficient to locate the rest. The Ἀβούρα ποταμός of l. 13 is the Chabur, which joins the Euphrates from the east some forty miles above Dura. It lay to the east of Demetrius' land, which must then be located at some point beyond the bend which the Chabur soon makes to the north. There lay Καρκαφθά, the "Barren Hill", and Ζαιραδάσσα-χαράη, "Zaira of the Dam-Workers (?)." Near by must have been the seller's village, Σαχαρηδασουαράη, (below, p. 441), and so also, undoubtedly, Σαχάρη, the "Dam", the winter-quarters of the *Cohors Tertia Augusta Thracum*. All of these names refer clearly to irrigation works on the Chabur, designed probably to cause its waters to flow into the κανάλιν ὕδατος, likewise to the east of Demetrius' land and so more or less parallel to the river. This would have been a storage canal, from which water was subsequently run into channels serving the rich alluvial lands by the river. Their character is apparently reflected in the name of the village



which was Demetrius' residence, 'Ρακουκείθρα the "Swampy" or "Alluvial".

The rich agricultural and viticultural district along the right bank of the Chabur and the left of the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of their confluence, whose numerous villages the army of Cyrus the Younger had found well stocked with grain and wine (*Anab.*, I, 4, 19), must always have been in close contact with the Greek city Dura, probably the only "city" in the Greek sense until one came to Nicephorium. Perforce, its peasants looked to the Dura bankers for financial support in time of need, mortgaging their vineyards as security. In Parchment 32, of A. D. 134, the banker was a μέτοικος or πάροικος in the city (τῶν ἀπ' Εὐρωποῦ), but even citizens of ancient lineage might acquire property there, by foreclosure or otherwise. So Lysias the son of Lysias, the seller of Dura Parchment 23 (A. D. 180), a citizen of Dura (Εὐρωπαῖος) and thus a person of some consequence, lived in Nabagath-Circesium (οἰκῶν δὲ ἐν Ναβαγάτοις κώμῃ) just north of the junction of the Chabur and the Euphrates, and owned with his brother a vineyard in the neighborhood. Fifty years later we find the merchant Nebuchelus importing wine from Banabel,<sup>1</sup> and sending consignments of garments made from the wool of Dura sheep to the garrison town Appadana. Under the Seleucids, we must suppose that the Macedonian colony of Dura-Europos was the administrative center of a rather extensive district up and down the Euphrates, whether or not the Chabur villages lay in its territory proper. Under the Parthians, with whom our evidence begins, Dura was clearly the center of the civil administration. Garrison-commanders and arcapats there were at Paliga and doubtless also elsewhere, but nevertheless even the Parthian nobility, just as the peasants, recognized the authority of the registry office and the Royal Judges at Dura, and Phraates εὐνοῦχος ἀρκαπότης filed his claims for enforcement through the civil judiciary although he was

<sup>1</sup> For the archives of Nebuchelus cf. *Rep. IV*, pp. 79—145 (*SEG VII*, 381—430). I believe that the Banabel text is to be interpreted otherwise than in *Report IV* (no. 245 = *SEG VII*, 401); ἔχω ἐγὼ, ἄγωγα κὲ ὥδε εἰς Δούρα(ν) οἶνου παλεοῦ δάνας ξῖ'... ἔχω πάλιν ... εἰς Βαναβῆλα δάνας ς' must mean "I own, and have brought here to Dura, 69 jars of aged wine, and I have also in Banabel 200 jars" (taking εἰς for ἐν as commonly in Hellenistic Greek). Banabel (assuming a nominative Βαναβῆλ from the accusative Βαναβῆλα, but of course the word may not have been declined) was one of the villages on the bank of the Euphrates, north of the Chabur, an area noted for its vineyards (for the location cf. *Report IV*, p. 123), while Dura can never have produced much wine, its product being primarily wool (*Report IV*, 140), with some grain grown in the low land by the river (*Report IV*, no. 258 = *SEG VII*, 394).



one of the staff of Manesus, the "Warden of the Western Marches, one of the four great March-Wardens of the empire". Whether or not the "Generals and Governors" of Dura had authority reaching so far, the earliest of them whom we know, Seleucus the son of Lysias of 33/32 B. C. (*Report VI*, 41 ff.), had the title γενεάρχης, or "Chief of the (Arab) Tribes" and their power was by no means co-terminous with the city's walls.

This situation seems not to have been essentially altered with the Roman conquest, though the city itself lost much of its former independence, and was in the last period, as the latest discoveries show (campaign of 1935—36), the seat of the Roman Dux Ripae, while the Chabur area lay in a different province, Mesopotamia, after Septimius Severus. In A. D. 204 the divorce Parchment 22 from the village Ossa was brought to the Dura registry, and later there followed the present text and Papyrus 74, a marriage contract between a soldier and a soldier's widow, drawn up in A. D. 232 in the canabae by the winter-quarters of the Twelfth Cohort of Palaestiniens. The dedication in Dura in the same year of a silver libation bowl to "Zeus of Adatha" by a peasant (τῶν] ἀπὸ Ἀδαθᾶ) resident in Bethzena shows that the city was important to natives of the region in religious matters also.<sup>2</sup>

The *Cohors Tertia Augusta Thracum (Equitata)* was apparently at this time in station on the Mesopotamian *limes*. The purchaser, Julius Demetrius, was a veteran, πάλαι στρατιώτης, technically "missus honesta missione stipendiis emeritis". We may regard him as recently discharged, and in the process of settling down as a landed proprietor. He had already acquired a vineyard (ll. 13/14) and the other property described in ll. 14/15, and by this purchase filled in the angle between his other holdings and acquired a frontage on the irrigation canal by the river, with the attendant water rights (cf. παντὶ δικαίῳ, l. 8).

His close connection with his old unit is shown by the witnesses. They were all *principales* of the cohort, the *cornicularius* belonging to the *Officium Praefecti* (headquarters), the rest to a century. Their signatures are written in the order of their rank.

### B. The Aramaic Names.

The discussion of these names is much facilitated by the recent work in Palmyrene, the Aramaic dialect which for geographic as well as cultural reasons must be considered their source. Almost simultan-

<sup>2</sup> *Rep. V*, pp. 307—310.

cously two grammars of Palmyrene have been published: F. Rosenthal, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XLI, 1, 1936) and J. Cantineau, *Grammaire du Palmyrénien Épigraphique* (Thèse compl. pour le doctorat ès lettres, Université de Paris, 1935).

### 1. Personal Names.

Οταρναϊος (l. 4): The name no doubt belongs together with Βαρναϊος (frequent, e. g. Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 127, cf. p. 447; *Rep. VI*, nos. 646, 647); Παχειμναϊος (*Rep. V*, no. 418), Πεχειμναϊος (*Rep. V*, no. 504);<sup>3</sup> תימנא (Cantineau, *Inv. des Inscr. de Palmyre*, VIII, no. 23). The list suggests seeing in נא, נ, נאϊος a theophoric element.<sup>4</sup>

In the examples I have just quoted the first part is nominal. Hence, one will be inclined to explain οταρ in an analogous way. From a merely formal point of view οταρ may very well be either the construct or the indeterminate state of *hutrā*<sup>5</sup> "rod, staff" (compare χομαρ *CIS II*, no. 3915). If the assumption is made that this noun is used here in the sense of "spring, offspring", as it is indeed used in Is. 11, 1, a satisfactory interpretation of the name, namely "offspring of god X," is obtained.

Αβαδαβος (l. 4): At first glance one may think that the name contains the construct state of the word 'ab $\bar{d}$ a "servant". A more thorough investigation reveals, however, the fact that this form appears as αβδ, αβεδ, and αβιδ, but never as αβαδ. The αβαδ of our name must, therefore, be taken as the equivalent of the perfect 'abad, "he made, created". The Shwa is regularly given by α in these transliterations; other examples will be found presently. This practice is also

<sup>3</sup> Note also Πεχειμναϊα (*Rep. V*, no. 504) and — with assimilation of the two nasals — Παχιμναϊος (*Rep. VI*, no. 617).

<sup>4</sup> This is perhaps a shortening of *Nanai* whose name had survived as that of the Venus star (H. Zimmern, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed. 1902, p. 425; J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, 1913, p. 238). A structural parallel is the final element of Αββισαϊος, Αββισσεος, אבבסא, תימנא. It is also possible to interpret the quoted names as hypocoristics of names containing *Nabū* as the second element (cf. *Rep. II*, p. 116).

<sup>5</sup> The τ, in these transliterations is consistently for Semitic *t*, ʾ being reserved for Semitic *t*.

<sup>6</sup> A semantic parallel would be offered by Phen. *bod(i)*, if it originally meant "branch" (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 134, n. 4; but cf. Z. S. Harris, *Phen. Grammar*, 1936, p. 35, n. 33).

followed by Jerome and supported by the statement of Jewish grammarians. For analogous transcribed names compare Ζαβαδατης (*Rep. IV*, no. 177), and with inverted word order Νεβουζαβαδος (*CIS II*, no. 3929).

The second element αβος is theophoric. Although identical with the appellative "father", the lack of the article shows that it must be taken as the name of a deity.

Αββειβος (l. 6) reflects Aram. *habbībā* "the beloved one", as has long since been pointed out (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 20). The correct rendering of the double *b* is noteworthy; ει, of course, serves as a means of expressing long *ī*, compare e. g. ραβ ασειρη for רב אסירה.

Βωζανης (l. 6) is apparently of Iranian origin. Its Middle Persian equivalent is *bōzān*, a *nomen agentis* of the well known verb *bōxtan*, "save, redeem". Βωζανης is a hypocoristic, the name of a deity being omitted. Cf. בוזני, second part of a fuller name in Ezra 5,3 etc.; Justi, *Altiranisches Namenbuch*, lists Μαιβουζανης (p. 188) and Μιθροβουζανης (p. 209).

Αβδελαθ (l. 14): The components are Aram. *ʿabd*, construct state of *ʿabā*, "servant" and *ʿilat*, the name of a deity. The name occurs in Palmyra as עבדלת, and as Αβδελαθος in Nabataean (Wuthnow, *Die Semitischen Eigennamen*, p. 7).

## 2. Geographical Names.

Ρακουκειθα (l. 4) seems to represent Aram. *raqūqītā*. This is a feminine of the type of Syr. *debbōrītā*, "bee" or *ṣanūnītā*, "swallow". The basic *\*raqūqa*,<sup>7</sup> as far as I can see from the dictionaries, is not attested in any of the Aramaic dialects, but according to its formation it must mean "shallow" or "swampy". Compare e. g. Syr. *raqāqā*, "shallow" (also name of a city, Arab. *Raqqaḥ*) and Talm. *raqqəṭā*, "alluvial ground".

Καρκαφθα (l. 7): The underlying Aramaic word is *qarqāṭā*, well known as the rendering of Golgatha; its meaning is "skull" or "barren hill".

Σαχαρηδαουαραη (ll. 4/5) should be analyzed as σαχαρη-δα-αουαραη. The middle part is the particle *da*, "of", which here appears for the first time in Greek transliteration. The Shwa is again rendered by α.

Σαχαρη equals Aram. *sakārā*, "dam in a river, barrage". The context shows that the villages in question were situated on the northwest bank

<sup>7</sup> Greek κ indicates Semitic *q*, while Semitic *k* is rendered by Greek χ.

of the river Khabur which occurs as Αβουρα in l. 13. It is a fair assumption that their existence depended on artificial irrigation.<sup>8</sup>

The form in η is probably not due to mere Hellenizing. It seems to be the emphatic state of the plural. If so, it is distinctly Palmyrene; the plural in -ē is one of the characteristics of Palmyrene Aramaic (cf. Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 76).

The Shwa has been treated as indicated above.

The final η causes difficulties; it cannot be the Greek suffix of the feminine since it remains uninflected in the Greek context of the deed. It seems to indicate an Aramaic ending -ā'e or -āyē which is appropriate in the plural of a *nisbe* in -āyā in Palestinian Aramaic of all periods (Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 49). One has, therefore to posit a *nisbe* \*'awārāyā or ḥawārāyā the meaning of which is uncertain but which is possibly based on a *nomen loci*.

Ζαῖραδασαχαράη (l. 7) contains in its final σαχαράη a formation of the same kind as αουαράη, i. e. the plural of the *nisbe* sākārāyā, "the one belonging to the dam," perhaps "dam builder" or "dam worker".

As to the initial ζαῖρα, I must admit that I have not a satisfactory explanation. The name is perhaps not Palmyrene, but continued from an older period. One could think of East Aram. (Mandean) זירא, "seed". But perhaps it is not Aramaic at all.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. Waschow, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Kassitenzeit* (*Mitteilungen der Alt-orientalischen Gesellschaft*, X, 1, 1936) pp. 44ff.

<sup>9</sup> One could think also of זעירא "small"; but the ז should be expressed by a repeated vowel (\*Ζααῖρα or the like).

## XII.

### NOTES ON TEXTS PUBLISHED IN *REPORT VI*

#### I. THE RELIEF OF AŠADŪ AND ŠA'DAI

A word of explanation may be permitted in regard to the quite erroneous interpretation of the Palmyrene inscription published in *Rep. VI*, pp. 238—240. It illustrates the danger of relying on a photograph. As may be seen in Pl. XXX, 1, of that *Report*, the middle of the bottom line of the inscription shows clearly and unmistakably the word בתי, "houses"; and since the next following word is שכמתא, "sycamore", the work of divine beings seemed to be absolutely excluded. The fact that a portion of the little monument has been broken off and smoothed away at the left (as anyone can see who looks at the facsimile) made the conjectured restoration possible.

I now learn from Professor Ingholt, who has seen the original in Damascus, that the letter is not ת but ג. So those who made the sculpture in honor of the two *Genneae* were "the Sons of the Sycamore" (?), if this is the true interpretation of the name of the clan. [C. C. T.]

#### II. NOTE ON THE TYRIAN *KOMMA* OF THE PARCHMENTS

In three of the Dura parchments of the second century, *Pg.* 10 of A. D. 121, *Pg.* 32 of A. D. 134, and *Pg.* 23 of A. D. 180, the currency is described as "good silver of the Tyrian *komma*", ἀργύριον καλὸν Τυρίου κόμματος. This expression has called forth some discussion; cf. most recently *Rep. VI*, p. 425, n. 27. The original explanation of Mr. C. T. Seltman (*Yale Class. Stud.*, II, 1931, pp. 60—62) has been corrected by Professor Bellinger (*Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos* [*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 49, 1931], pp. 2—4; *Rep. III*, pp. 146—148), who explained correctly that the currency in question was certainly the Roman issues from Antioch. In compiling a corpus of the Gerasene inscriptions for Professor Kraeling's forthcoming volume *Gerasa* I had occasion again to deal with the term, for "Tyrian silver" (ἀργύριον Τύριον) is mentioned in three first century texts from that city (nos. 3, 4, and 5 of my corpus, A. D. 42—70). Père F. M. Abel had already, in dealing with these texts,



called attention to the specification of Tyrian currency in Jewish sources (*Rev. Bibl.*, XVIII, 1909, pp. 451—453). I applied, therefore, to Mr. Edward T. Newell of the American Numismatic Society for a statement which would cover all of these occurrences, and he replied with his usual kindness. I publish, with his permission, his letter here in full, as this, while substantiating the opinion of Mr. Bellinger, presents a fuller statement of the question than has yet been given. [C. B. W.]

“It seems to me that the popularity and good repute of the Tyrian coins was established in the second century B. C. Under Alexander I Bala, with the backing and no doubt at the suggestion of Egypt, there was produced at the mint of Tyre an enormous ‘new’ coinage with the king’s head on one side and the Ptolemaic eagle on the other. This coinage continued, in ever increasing quantities, under Demetrius II (first reign), Antiochus VII, and Demetrius II (second reign), until the city was given its freedom by Cleopatra Thea on the death of Demetrius II. Thereupon Tyre commenced coining its own money on the same standard and with similar types, eagle on the reverse, Heracles replacing the king’s portrait on the obverse. This coinage was brought out in enormous quantities from 124 B. C. to 59 A. D. without a break, and evidently enjoyed a wide reputation. Specimens are found buried all over Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, and farther east. There were quite a number in a huge Parthian hoard found in the environs of Teheran, and I have seen other specimens brought from Persia. The coinage was composed principally of tetradrachms (called shekels) with a diminishing sprinkling of didrachms or half-shekels and a few, very rare, drachms or quarter-shekels. The quality remained excellent throughout, though towards the end the weights seem not to be quite so exact. The Romans finally put an end to this coinage, probably because they were issuing from Antioch their own tetradrachms of roughly similar types (Emperor’s head on the obverse, eagle on the reverse) and weight. I suspect that their alloy was not so good, as these coins frequently turn up spotted with verdigris, showing that there were certain amounts of copper in the alloy. I do not remember ever having seen this on Tyrian coins.

“The Romans continued their own coinage at Antioch, issuing large quantities under Nero, Vespasian, Nerva, and Trajan, less under Galba, Otho, Titus, Domitian, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, etc. There were a few contemporaneous issues at Tyre, similar pieces appearing under Vespasian, Titus, and possibly Trajan. But I believe the entire

coinage, though struck at Antioch, was still under the radiance cast by the actual Tyrian shekels of the period 124 B. C. — 59 A. D. Certainly the Romans were careful to retain a semblance of the old types, head on obverse, eagle on reverse. Trajan did issue, in addition to the eagle reverses, others with the Tyche of Antioch or the Heracles head of the earlier shekels. But this occurred only under Trajan, and I suspect that he was doing in the East what he did at Rome, that he was withdrawing all the old money of previous reigns and issuing a series of 'commemorative' pieces with the old types which he was replacing. In the East, he probably called in the old coins of Augustus with the seated Antioch reverse and the old genuine Tyrian shekels with the Heracles obverse (together with other obsolete coins of minor importance, of Seleucia and Laodicea, etc.), and re-coined them, perpetuating the famous seated Tyche of Antioch and the Tyrian Heracles head.

"It seems to me that all the Roman money, mainly struck at Antioch, probably still circulated under the radiance cast by the old Tyrian shekels, and in popular parlance was still called ἀργύριον Τύριον.

"One point which militates against translating *komma* as 'standard' is that these Roman coins are not up to the true Tyrian shekel, either in alloy or in weight. If the sense of 'standard' was strictly adhered to, the people would have had to pay an agio in the second century to bring the current coin up to the old Tyrian standard. So far as the Dura parchments are concerned, I believe that the Antioch imperial issues are meant. These supplanted the true Tyrian coins, but were of better alloy and truer weight than any tetradrachms at that time being issued in Parthia. They still continued the old Tyrian types, male head (now the Emperor instead of Heracles) on the obverse, eagle on the reverse. It is to be noted that whenever the reverse type of the eagle is replaced by the seated Tyche of Antioch or the head of Heracles (as under Trajan), the eagle still continues to appear, now on the obverse beneath the Emperor's bust. Evidently the eagle is still an important, possibly even a necessary portion of the type, as it was on the old, true Tyrian coins."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Cf. also E. T. Newell, *Miscellanea Numismatica: Cyrene to Egypt* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 82, 1938), pp. 37—42. The explanation of F. Heichelheim in Tenney Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (1938), pp. 213 f. is confused and hard to understand, but it may be, as on p. 213, n. 14, that he approaches the view here expressed. C.B.W.]

### XIII.

#### NOTES ON THE SEMITIC PROPER NAMES

The following is a list of the Semitic personal names occurring in the inscriptions published in this *Report* which are either new, previously unexplained, or seeming to invite some comment. A few Iranian names are included. Hypocoristica are numerous, and in interpreting these there is likely to be room for conjecture, where a syllable or even a single letter may represent more than one possible element.

Αβαβουις (no. 915, pp. 308 f.), אבבוי in the Palmyrene bilingual inscription. Another form of the Greek name is Βαβουιος (no. 876, p. 172). Apparently the Iranian name Bābōi, Bābouya; see the text.

Αβεμμηλος (no. 871, p. 168). This name in the form Αβιμμηλος appears in *Rep. IV*, no. 244, pp. 121 f., and as Αμιμμηλος in *Rep. V*, p. 293 (no. 601). It does not appear to have been found elsewhere. It can hardly be separated from the frequently occurring Αβεμμη, which is plainly its abbreviation; examples from Dura are *Rep. V*, nos. 402 (p. 48), 418 (pp. 114 f.), 601 (p. 293); *Rep. VI*, nos. 617 (pp. 37 f.; Αβεμμος), 642 (p. 115). See also Cumont, *Fouilles*, no. 98, where other examples aside from those at Dura are given and the name is discussed. The longer form now appearing shows that the supposed connection with the Jewish name meaning "father of the mother" is not to be maintained. Another abbreviation is probably to be recognized in Βιμηλ, recorded in *Rep. IV*, no. 241, p. 120.

The original name is to be explained as אבבוי, for the phonetic dissimilation in Αβεμμηλος, for Αβεδβηλος, Αβεββηλος, is quite typical. Compare the case of Βουβαιος and Βουβαιος, below. In Αμιμμηλος there is another phonetic change, this time assimilation.

Αβιδνηρ (no. 871, p. 168). Abbreviation of אבדנר, "servant of Nergal". See the longer form Αβιδνηριγλος in *Rep. III*, no. 63, pp. 63 f., and the note there.

Αμμαιος (no. 868, p. 130). Hardly the (very rare) Greek name; Pape-Benseler, *Die griechischen Eigennamen*, I, p. 73. An Aramaic abbreviation אַמַּי is theoretically possible, but no name or name-element thus far known suggests a probable origin. On the other hand, there is good reason to believe that this is the Semitic hypocor., אַמַּי, of Greek Ἀμμώνιος, in view of the wide popularity of this name in Western Asia, found

nineteen times at Dura, common in Syriac, while also an occurrence in Nabataean territory has been noted (*Ephem.*, I, p. 328). The Aramaic form might also be עֲמִי, under the influence of עֲמֹן.

The name is plainly distinct from אַמְמִיָּה, Ἀμμιάς, *Rep.* VI, no. 806, p. 485, the feminine Ἀμμία appearing also in *Rep.* V, no. 513, p. 182, and in *Ephem.*, II, p. 95 (as Hebrew).

Ανεῖρις (no. 872, pp. 169 f.). Palm. עֲנִינִי, 'Anīnī, a name found on a Palmyrene bust in the gallery of the School of Fine Arts of Yale University. I do not know that it has been found elsewhere. The Greek equivalent appears (twice) in *Rep.* IV, no. 245, pp. 122 f., but it is not in the Index of the volume.

Βααθαιος (no. 871, p. 168). This is from ברעתי, *Bar-<sup>c</sup>Athē*; see Lidzbarski in *Ephem.*, I, pp. 213 f.; II, p. 16.

Βαζαῖος (no. 876, pp. 172 f.). The name appears here for the first time. It may possibly be of Iranian origin, see Cumont on Βαζεις, *Fouilles*, no. 79, but a hypocor. בִּזִּי could be explained as Aramaic in more than one plausible way. It could represent בּוֹלְחַזִּי, Βω-λαζαῖος; see Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs from Palmyra", *Berytus* II (1935), p. 110; or it might come from ברעזיו, "Son of 'Azīzū" (Palm. and Nab.), or from בִּלְעִזִּי, "Bēl is mighty".

Βαργάτης, (no. 895, p. 216). A name familiar at Dura. The pronunciation with -γᾶτης, -γᾶτος, instead of the more usual -αῖη is a good illustration of the very widespread reproduction of the guttural 'ain by Greek *gamma*, as in the name Ἀταργάτος or Ἀταργάτης; see *Rep.* II, p. 146, and *Rep.* III, pp. 45, 48. Notice also the form Βαράτης in Cumont's no. 21, and the abbreviation Βαργᾶς, *Rep.* V, no. 502, p. 169, and Cumont, no. 125.

Βαροβονναῖος (no. 892, p. 216). Also in Cumont, no. 79. This appears to be ברבונא, since the second element is transcribed Βωννεους (gen.) in the Palmyrene bilingual, Vog. 3. Another form of the abbreviation, apparently, is בּוֹלְנִי, and both are very probably derived from בּוֹלְנוּרְעֵתָה, *Bol-nur-<sup>c</sup>Athē*; see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 500; Cooke, *North Sem. Inscr.*, pp. 268, 309.

Βαρσοχχαμας (no. 918, pp. 320—322). The beginning of the name is marked as uncertain, the initial letter wanting and the two following letters not clear, but the correctness of the restoration, *Bar-Ochchamas*, can hardly be questioned. This is an interesting name, the principal element best known from its occurrence in the legend of the founding of the Church in Edessa under the patronage of the king Abgar 'Ukkāmā, "Abgar the black". The epithet is especially applied to men



of dark complexion, and it is otherwise known as a proper name, see Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*, s. v. It seems very probable that Οχχά-  
νος, *Rep. V*, no. 418, (pp. 113—116), is the same name incorrectly  
written.

Βαρναδαθ (no. 852, p. 98). Not found elsewhere. This may be  
explained as a telescoping of ברנבחדת, *Bar-Nabu-haddeth*, the latter  
compound name meaning "Nabu has restored".

Βαφαλαδαδος (no. 871, p. 168). Also in *Rep. V*, no. 439, p. 125 (appar-  
ently, for the writing is uncertain), and in Cumont, no. 79, where the  
name is discussed without any definite conclusion. The new text has  
now given the explanation, this is Bar-"Aphlad" (*apil-Adad*).

Βερας (no. 879, p. 174). Probably it is the abbreviation, B<sup>e</sup>rā, of  
one of the Bar- names; see Lidzbarski's note on ברא in a Palmyrene  
inscription, *Ephem.*, II, 272. This may well be a further shortening  
of ברעא, abbreviation of the very frequently occurring Bar-<sup>e</sup>Athē.

Βηταιος (no. 878, p. 173). Probably בִּיטַי from אביטב *Abi-tāb*, *CIS* II,  
no. 123, *Ephem.*, II, p. 98; cf. also Heb. אביטב, Assyr. *Abi-tābu*, and  
Arabic *Abū al-Ṭayyib*. The Βιταιος of the Princeton Expedition (see  
the note in the text on Βιδδαιος) is the same name.

Βιδδαιος (nos. 889, 894, pp. 215, 216). This בְּדַי, which does not  
appear to have been found hitherto, probably comes from some one  
of the numerous Αβιδ- names. Of these, *Abid-Adad*, עבדהדר, a name  
well known, is much the most likely.

Βουβαιος (no. 875, pp. 171 f.). Other examples of the name, which  
thus far has been found only at Dura, are Βουβεος (also Βου[β]εος?  
no. 904, p. 276) and Βουβεας (no. 879, p. 174). It seems evident  
also that Βουμαιο, *Rep. V*, no. 504, pp. 177 f., is merely a variant  
form. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 319, has also the abbreviation Βουβας. The  
geographical names Βουββα and Βουβία (see Cumont, *ibid.*) can hardly  
give help, for the supposition of a personal name derived from the  
gentilic adjective is too improbable. Cf. possibly *Ephem.*, I, p. 218,  
where a form חבוב, Αβουβ, is postulated? More probably, the Dura  
name is merely an irregular hypocor., with the favorite -ai ending,  
derived from the name Bābouis (see above).

Γορναιος (no. 875, pp. 171 f.). Found also in *Rep. II*, no. 131, pp.  
142 f. Gray is probably right in supposing the name to be Iranian,  
*ibid.*, p. 143. Cf. also the names Γοργένης, etc., in Justi, *Namenbuch*,  
p. 355; *Gornai* may well be an abbreviation. Γορος (no. 871, p. 168)  
is no doubt the same name as Γορας; Cumont, nos. 50 and 121a; also  
*Rep. V*, no. 378, p. 18.



ΕΘΠΑΝΕΙ (no. 845, p. 83). The name is familiar from Palmyrene inscriptions, but the Greek transcription, and therefore the true pronunciation, are now known for the first time; see the text.

Εισειβας ὁ καὶ Ζηνόβιος (no. 846, p. 84). The Palmyrene name ܐܝܬܝܒܐ, otherwise well known.

Εκλαπας (no. 873, pp. 169 f.). More correctly written Εκλοπας if, as seems very probable, this is the name ܐܠܦܐ, ܐܠܦܐ, found in Palmyrene inscriptions. See Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 363; *Ephem.*, I, 79. The name is originally Greek, familiar in the New Testament (Luke 24, 18; John, 19, 25) in the forms Κλεόπας and Κλωπᾶς, as Lidzbarski and others have remarked.

Ζιχραιοβ (no. 879, p. 174). The name, not found elsewhere, is obviously Semitic, but hard to explain as Aramaic. The second element might well be יהב, "he (the god) gave"; but the first element, with זכר instead of דכר (with the probable meaning "male child") is very puzzling. Perhaps a survival from Assyrian *zikru*.

Θακος (no. 882, pp. 174 f.). An unknown name, of uncertain origin. If Aramaic, it is probably from a compound name beginning with the verb ܐܬܩܢ meaning "prepare, put in order, confirm", and the like. A name ܐܬܩܢܝ transliterated *Taqūnī*, is known from the Aramaic-Assyrian bilingual inscription *CIS* II, no. 40, as is noted in Lidzbarski's glossary.

Σαλαμγ(α) (no. 871, p. 168), with the variation Σιλαμγα (no. 882, pp. 174 f.). This is ܫܠܡܥܬܐ, "the peace given by 'Athē". That the ending -ga is abbreviation of 'Athē (Γᾱθη, Γᾱτις) is evident from the Palmyrene forms ܒܪܥܐ (cf. ܒܪܥܐ) and ܒܬܥܐ; see above. Similar examples are *Amath-gā* and *Ba'alath-gā*, recorded in Lidzbarski's glossary. The component elements of these hybrid names are sometimes surprisingly clipped; cf. ܐܡܪܫܐ equated with Ἀμρισαμος in a bilingual inscription (Lidzbarski, p. 221), as well as ܐܠܗܫܐ, *ibid.*, p. 217.

Σαμιφα (no. 879, p. 174). The first part of the compound evidently represents the name of the god Shamash. Perhaps ܫܡܫܫܐ, *Shamash-parnes*, "Shamash has provided".

Σητταβος (no. 871, p. 168). The name is found also in *Rep. V*, no. 610, p. 308. There is no obvious explanation of the form, but the Aramaic original may well have been ܫܡܬܒ, *Shēm-tāb*, "good name".

Φιξας (no. 879, p. 174). This has not been found elsewhere, nor does it appear to be Semitic. A possible explanation may be the Graecising of the Iranian name *Phisak* (Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 100), properly an

adjective, "spotted, pock-marked", etc., taken over into Syriac in the form *paiskai*.

Φριαβης (no. 882, p. 176). This appears to be פריהב, *P<sup>e</sup>rī-yahab*, "he (the god) has given offspring". The name does not seem to occur elsewhere, but it has many familiar analogies.



## INDICES OF THE GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS





## INDICES OF THE GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS<sup>1</sup>

### A. DIVINITIES<sup>2</sup>

Ἄδωνις Θεός, no. 873, p. 169; Ἄδωνις,  
no. 875, p. 171.

Θεὸς Απόλλων, no. 876, p. 172.

Ἀτάργατις, no. 870, p. 168.

Βῆλος Θεός, no. 917, p. 320; Βῆλος,  
no. 918, p. 321.

Ζεὺς, no. 915, p. 307; no. 887, p. 213;

Ζεὺς Θεός, no. 888, p. 214; Ζεὺς κύριος,  
no. 915, p. 309.

Θεὸς Ἰέραβλος, no. 901, p. 275.

Θεὸς Μίθρας, no. 846, p. 84; no. 848,  
p. 87.

*deus Sol Invictus Mithra*, no. 847, p. 85.

Ἀγαθή Τύχη, no. 869, p. 130.

### B. RULERS

Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης εὐεργέτης  
δίκαιος ἐπιφανὴς καὶ φιλέλλην, Pg. 40.

Κομοδιανός (?), no. 930, p. 376.

*D(omini) n(ostri) imp(eratores) L. Sep(ti-*

*mius) Severus pius Pert(inax) et M.*

*Aurel(ius) Antoninus* [[*et L. Sept(imius)*

*Geta*]] *Aug(usti)*, no. 847, p. 85.

Κύριος Αὐτοκράτωρ, no. 848, p. 87.

### C. MEN AND WOMEN

Ἀ[, cf. Θαισάμσος.

Ἀβαβοῦις (Σελεύκου τοῦ Λευκίου), no.  
915, p. 309.

Ἀβαδάβος, cf. Ὀταρναίος.

Ἀββεΐβας Βωζάνου, P. 101.

Ἀββούη, no. 879, p. 174.

Ἀβδυ[, no. 932, p. 384.

Ἀβδελάθ, P. 101.

Ἀβεμῆλος Σαλαμγ, no. 871, p. 168.

Ἀβιδάθην, no. 905, p. 276.

Ἀβιδνηρ, cf. Μηαρναίος.

Ἀδαίος, Pg. 40.

Ἀδδεός, no. 882, p. 175.

Ἀδεός, no. 900, p. 217.

—α[ίος, cf. Πολεμοκράτης.

Αἰράνης Μαλίχου τοῦ [Νασῶρ], nos.  
902, 903, p. 275.

Ἀκίβα Λυσανίου, no. 905, p. 276.

Ἄ. οὐετρανός, no. 905, p. 276.

Ἀλβεΐνος Νούμμιος, P. 101.

Ἀλέξανδρος Ἐπινίκου, no. 868, p. 129;  
869, p. 130; cf. Ἀμμαΐος; Νικάνωρ.

Ἀμμαΐος ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος, no. 868,  
p. 130.

Ἀνεΐνις Μηαραίου, no. 872, p. 169.

Ἀντίοχος, cf. Σέλευκος; Ἄ. ὁ ἐπικαλού-  
μενος—, Pg. 40.

Ἀντωνεῖνος, no. 855, p. 119; no. 858,  
p. 120.

Ἀντωνῖνος Πόπλιος Βαρείας?, no. 927,  
p. 375.

Ἀπολλογένης Πτολεμαίου, Pg. 40.

Ἀπολλωνίδης, Pg. 40.

—αρηνός, no. 880, p. 174.

Ἀρχέλαος, p. 90.

Αὐρήλιος Βαζεός, no. 876, p. 172.

Αὐρήλιος Βαβούιος, no. 876, p. 172.

Αὐρήλιος Βαρλάας, no. 876, p. 172.

Σεπτίμιος Αὐρήλιος Ἡλιδώωρος Λυσα-  
νίου, no. 876, p. 172.

<sup>1</sup> The text of Parchment (Pg.) 40 is given on pp. 427 f., that of Papyrus (P.)  
101 on pp. 434 f.

<sup>2</sup> For Θεός alone cf. § J below.

Αὐρήλιος Ναβουχῆλος, no. 876, p. 172.  
 Αὐρήλιος Σαλμάνες, p. 101.  
 Ἀχῆος, cf. Βαρνεός.

Βααθαῖος, cf. Βαρναῖος.  
 Βαβουῖος cf. Ἀυρήλιος.  
 Βαζζῆος cf. Ἀυρήλιος.  
 Βαρα[, no. 898, p. 375.  
 Βαρβεῖλος, no. 928, p. 375.  
 Βαργάτης Ζαβίνου, no. 890, pp. 215, 216;  
 no. 897, p. 217; cf. Βαρλάας, Ῥονναῖος,  
 Σήτταβος, -ναος, Σωσειπέτρας.

Βαργι[νναῖος], no. 904, p. 276.  
 Βαρείας, no. 928, p. 375; cf. Ἀντωνῖνος.  
 Βαριβονναῖα, no. 892, p. 216.  
 Βαριοχάμας, no. 918, p. 321.  
 Βαρλάας, no. 879, p. 174; no. 884, p.  
 175; no. 894, p. 216; ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος  
 [Λυ?]σίας Βαργάτους, no. 874, p.  
 170; cf. Αὐρήλιος.

Βαρναάδαθ, no. 852, p. 98.  
 Βαρναῖος Βααθαίου, no. 871, p. 168;  
 Β. Βηλακάβου, no. 871, p. 168.

Βαρναναῖος Βαφαλαδάδου, no. 871, p. 168.  
 Βαρνεός Ἀχέου, no. 904, p. 276.  
 Βαρύσατις, no. 924, p. 356.

Βαρχάλβας, nos. 928, 929, p. 375.  
 Βαφαλάδαδος, no. 871, p. 168.

Βαφιλ[, no. 918, p. 321.

Βερᾶς, no. 879, p. 174.

Βηλακάβης, cf. Βαρναῖος.

Βηλᾶς, no. 882, p. 175.

Βητῆος, cf. Μηκαννέα.

Βιδδαῖος Λυσίου, no. 889, p. 215; no.  
 894, p. 216.

Βουβαῖος, cf. Σολαίας.

Βουβῆας, no. 879, p. 174; (-ος) Σαμ[, no.  
 904, p. 276.

Βουῖος, no. 904, p. 276.

Βωζάνης, cf. Ἀββεῖβας.

Γερμανός, no. 879, p. 174.

Γορναῖος Μημαραίου, no. 875, p. 171.

Γόρος, cf. Δάδδας.

Δάββους Μαριβήλου, no. 918, p. 321.

Δάδδας Γόρου, no. 871, p. 168.

Δάνυμος, Pg. 40.

Δα[μόν]ικος Μαρίου, Pg. 40; cf. Δημο-  
 κράτης.

Δειογένης, cf. Ἰύλιος.

Δημήτριος, no. 877, p. 173; Δ. Διο-  
 δώρου, no. 887, p. 213; Δημήτριος  
 ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ναβουσαμάς, Pg.  
 40; Ἰούλιος Δημήτριος, P. 101.

Δημοκράτης Δαμονίκου, Pg. 40.

Δημοφών, no. 923, p. 355.

Δι-μ-, no. 921, p. 355.

Διόδωρος, cf. Δημήτριος.

Διοσπε[ (Διο{σ}πε[ίθης?]), no. 925, p. 356.

Ἐθπανει, no. 845, p. 83.

Εἰαιβᾶς, cf. Ζηνόβιος.

Ἐκλαπᾶς, no. 873, p. 169.

Ἐπίνικος, nos. 867, 868, p. 129; no. 869,  
 p. 130.

Ζαβδούας, cf. Νικάνωρ.

Ζαβιδάδος, cf. Θαισάμσος.

Ζαβῖνος, cf. Βαργάτης.

Ζηνόβιος ὁ καὶ Εἰαιβᾶς Ἰαριβωλέους, no.  
 846, p. 84; no. 850, p. 97.

Ζιχραιαβ, no. 879, p. 174.

Ἡλιόδωρος cf. Αὐρήλιος.

Θαίμη, no. 913, p. 283.

Θαισάμσος Ἰαβσύμσου ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς  
 Ἀ[...] Ζαβιδάδου, no. 873, p. 169.

Θεόδωρος, no. 848, p. 87.

Θάκος, no. 882, p. 175.

Θεόμνηστος, cf. Σέλευκος.

Ἰαβσύμσος, cf. Θαισάμσος.

Ἰαραῖος, no. 915, p. 309.

Ἰαριβωλῆς, no. 846, p. 84; no. 851, p. 97.

ΙΠΠΟ-ΤΗ- (Ἰππο[λύ]τη?), no. 926, p. 356.

Ἰούλιος Δημήτριος, P. 101.

Ἰύλιος Δειογένης, P. 101.

Καμέριος, no. 857, p. 120.

Καπιτωλείνος, no. 855, p. 119.

ΚΗΒΡΙΟΘΗΣ (Κεβριόνης?), no. 919, p. 334.

Λαίλιος Μάξιμος, P. 101.

Λεύκιος, cf. Σελεύκος.

Λιβειανός, no. 848, p. 87; no. 855, p. 119 (?).

Λυσανίας, cf. Ἀκίβα, Αὐρήλιος.

Λυσίας, no. 884, p. 175; cf. Βαρλάας, Βιδδαῖος, Ὀλυμπος.

Λωριάτος, no. 855, p. 119.

Μάλιχος, no. 918, p. 321; cf. Αἰράνης.

Μάξιμος, cf. Λάϊλιος.

Μαρεῖνος, no. 848, p. 87.

Μαρῆος, no. 853, p. 104.

Μαρίας, cf. Δαμόνικος.

Μαριβήλος, no. 918, p. 321.

Μαρρῖνος, no. 881, p. 174.

Μηκανναία, no. 896, p. 217.

Μηκαννέα Βητέου, no. 878, p. 173.

Μημαρναῖος Ἀβιδνηρ, no. 871, p. 168.

Μημαραῖος, cf. Ἀνεινις, Γορναῖος.

Μιττολβαείσα Μην(ᾱ?), no. 905, p. 276.

Ναβουσαμάς, cf. Δημήτριος.

Ναβουχῆλος, cf. Αὐρήλιος.

-ναος Βαργάτους, no. 891, p. 216.

Νασῶρ, cf. Αἰράνης.

Νεῖλος, no. 855, p. 119.

Νικάνωρ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Pg. 40; N. ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Ζαβδούας, Pg. 40.

Νούμμιος, cf. Ἀλβεῖνος.

Ὀλυμπος Λυσίου [τοῦ Ὀλύμ]που, no. 893, p. 216.

Ὀταρναῖος Ἀβαδάβος, P. 101.

[Παυσανίας], Pg. 40.

Πολεμοκράτης, Pg. 40.

Πόπλιος, cf. Ἀντωνῖνος.

Πτολεμαῖος, cf. Ἀπολλογένης.

Ῥονναῖος Βαργάτους, no. 871, p. 168.

Ῥούμης, no. 914, p. 307.

Σα[ , no. 933, p. 384.

Σαλαμγ, cf. Ἀβεμμήλος.

Σαλμάνες, cf. Αὐρήλις.

Σαμ[ cf. Βουβῆος.

Σαμίφα, no. 879, p. 174.

Σατορνείλος, no. 855, p. 119.

Σέλευκος Θεομνήστου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου, no. 886, p. 213; no. 888, p. 214; Σελ.

Λευκίου, no. 915, pp. 307, 309; Σέλ. [ὁ] ἐπικαλούμενος—, Pg. 40.

Σεπτίμιος, cf. Αὐρήλιος.

Σήτταβος Βαργάτους, no. 871, p. 168.

Σίλαμγα, no. 882, p. 175.

Σολαῖας Βουβαίου, no. 875, p. 171.

ΣΦΩΡΑ[ , no. 931, p. 383.

Σωσειπέτρης Βαργάτους, no. 895, p. 216.

ΤΙΣΙ-ΠΟ (Κ)Τ(ή)σι[π]πο[ς], no. 922, p. 355.

Φαραάτ, no. 882, p. 175.

Φιξᾶς, no. 879, p. 174.

Φριαάβης, no. 882, p. 175.

*Ant(oni)us Valentinus*, no. 847, p. 85.

*Archelaus*, no. 849, p. 90.

*Claudius Theodorus*, P. 101.

*Flavius* ..... *onustius*, P. 101.

*Jul(ius) Monimus*, P. 101.

*Kamerius*, no. 864, p. 126.

*Maximus*, no. 859, p. 120; no. 860, p. 121.

*Minicius Martialis*, no. 847, p. 85.

*Plotianus*, no. 885, p. 177.

*Stertinius Cedrinus*, no. 885, p. 177.

*Uepo Flavianus*, P. 101.

#### D. GEOGRAPHY

Ἀβούρα ποταμός, P. 101.

Εὐρωπὸς ἡ ἐν τῇ Παραποταμίᾳ, Pg. 40; Εὐρωπαϊός, no. 888, p. 214; Pg. 40.

Ζαιραδασαχαράη, P. 101.

Καρκαφθά, P. 101.

Νετάραι ?, no. 930, p. 376.

Πέρσης, no. 856, p. 120.

Ῥακουκείθα, P. 101.

Ῥωμαῖος, no. 868, p. 129.

Σαχάρη, P. 101.

Σαχαρηδασουαράη, P. 101.

## E. MONTHS

Ἀπελλαῖος, no. 915, p. 309.

Αὐδι[ναῖος, Pg. 40.

Γορπιαῖος, no. 873, p. 169; no. 886,  
p. 213.

Δαΐσιος, no. 918, p. 321.

Δύστρος, Pg. 40.

Κάλανδα Ἰούνια, P. 101.

Πάνημος, nos. 870, 871, p. 168; no. 874,  
p. 170.

Ὑπερβερεταῖος, no. 855, p. 119.

## F. MILITARY UNITS

*Coh(ors) XX Palmyrenorum*, no. 906,  
p. 277.

*Legio III Scythica*, no. 847, p. 85; no.  
860, p. 121.

*Legio XVI F(lavia) F(irma) p(ia) f(ide-  
lis)*, no. 847, p. 85.

σκάφη μὰ Κομμοδιανά(?), no. 930, p. 376.  
σπεῖρα γ' Σεβαστή Θρακῶν, P. 101.

G. RELIGIOUS TITLES AND TERMS<sup>3</sup>

ἀντίπατρος, ἀρχιερεὺς, γαζοφύλαξ, δε-  
σμοφύλαξ, εὐσεβής, ἱερεὺς, λέων ἄβ-  
ρός, Μάγος, νάμα, πατήρ, πατήρ πα-

τέρων, Πέρσης, πετίτωρ, στερεώτης  
ἀγαθός, στρατιώτης ἀκέριος, συνδέ-  
ξιος, *Magus*, *pater*.

H. CIVIL TITLES AND TERMS<sup>3</sup>

βασιλικοὶ δικασταί, εἰσαγωγεὺς, ζωγ-  
ράφος, κήρυξ (τῆς πόλεως), κωμητικαὶ  
ὑπηρεσίαι, λόγος κυριακός, ὀρθογράφ-

φος, πετίτωρ, πράκτωρ, πρῶτοι, πρῶ-  
τοι καὶ προτιμωμένοι φίλοι, σωματο-  
φύλακες, ὑπάτος, *procurator Augusti*.

I. MILITARY TITLES AND TERMS<sup>3</sup>

ἑκατοντάρχης, ἐπίσημα, κορνικουλάριος,  
λεγιῶν, οὐετρανός, παραχειρασία,  
στρατηγός, στρατιώτης, τοξότης,

*centuria*, *centurio*, *centurio princeps prae-  
positus vexillatione*, *miles*, *optio*, *scenicus*,  
*tesserarius*, *tribunus*, *tubicen*.

## J. GREEK WORDS

ἄβρος, no. 856, p. 120.

ἀγαθός, no. 858, p. 120; no. 869, p. 130.

ἀγοράζω, Pg. 40; P. 101.

ἀγόρασμα, P. 101.

ἀδελφός, no. 917, p. 320; Pg. 40.

αἰρέω, P. 101.

αἰών (ἑών), no. 875, p. 171.

ἄκαρπος, P. 101.

ἀκέριος, no. 857, p. 120.

ἀκ[ολουθῶς ?], P. 101.

ἄλκιμο[, no. 866, p. 127.

ἄλλά, Pg. 40.

ἄλλήλων, Pg. 40.

ἄλλος, no. 868, p. 129; no. 918, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> For references cf. §§ J and K below.

ἄμπελος, P. 101.  
 ἀμφισβήτησις, P. 101.  
 ἀναβαίνω, Pg. 40.  
 ἀναδείκνυμι, Pg. 40.  
 ἀνακαινίζω, no. 868, p. 129.  
 ἀναμφισβήτητος, P. 101.  
 ἀνατολή, P. 101.  
 ἀνδριάς, no. 915, p. 309.  
 ἀνεγείρω, no. 867, p. 129; no. 869,  
 p. 130; no. 871, p. 168; nos. 872, 873,  
 p. 169; no. 877, p. 173; no. 886,  
 p. 213; no. 888, p. 214; no. 901,  
 p. 275; no. 918, p. 321.  
 ἀνέπαφος, P. 101.  
 ἀνεπιδάνιστος, P. 101.  
 ἄνευ, Pg. 40.  
 ἀνήλωμα, no. 875, p. 171.  
 ἀνήρ, P. 101.  
 ἀνοικοδομέω, Pg. 40.  
 ἀντιποιέω, P. 101.  
 ἀντί, no. 918, p. 321.  
 ἀντίπατρος, no. 855, p. 119.  
 ἀντισύγγραφον, Pg. 40.  
 ἄπας, no. 871, p. 168; P. 101.  
 ἀπέχω, P. 101.  
 ἀπό, no. 868, p. 129; Pg. 40; P. 101.  
 ἀποχώρησις, no. 868, p. 129.  
 ἀργύρεος, no. 918, p. 321.  
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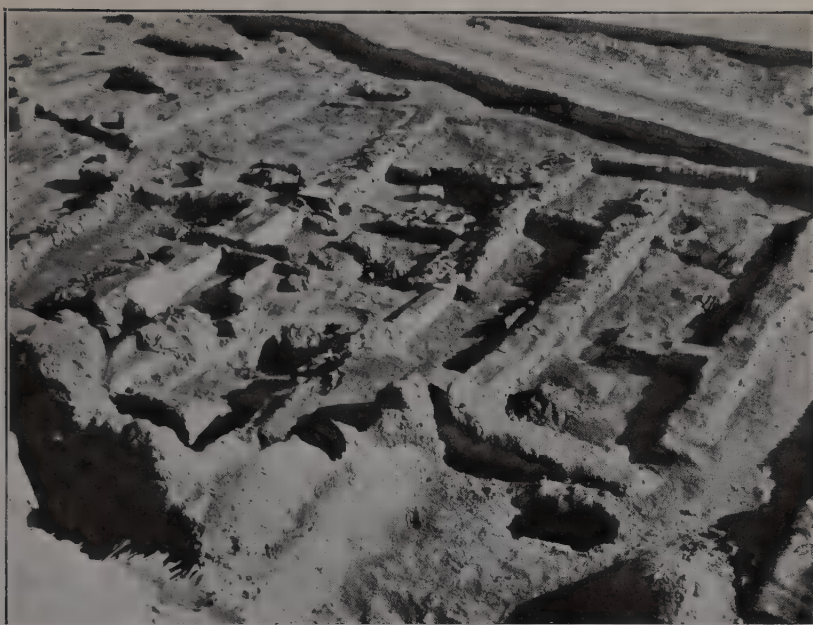
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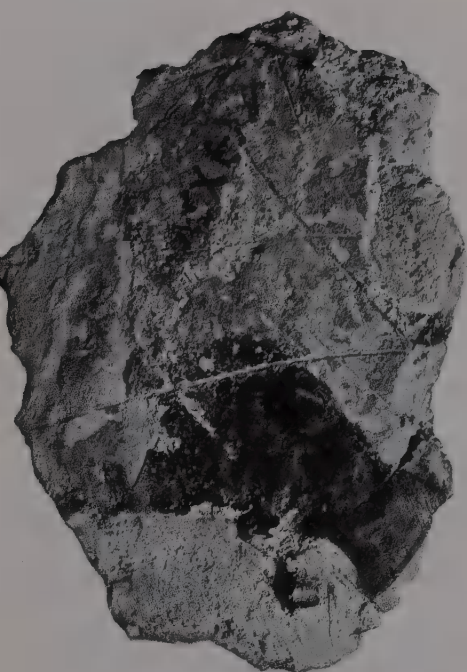


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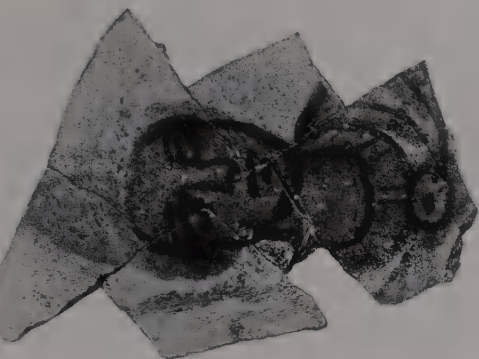


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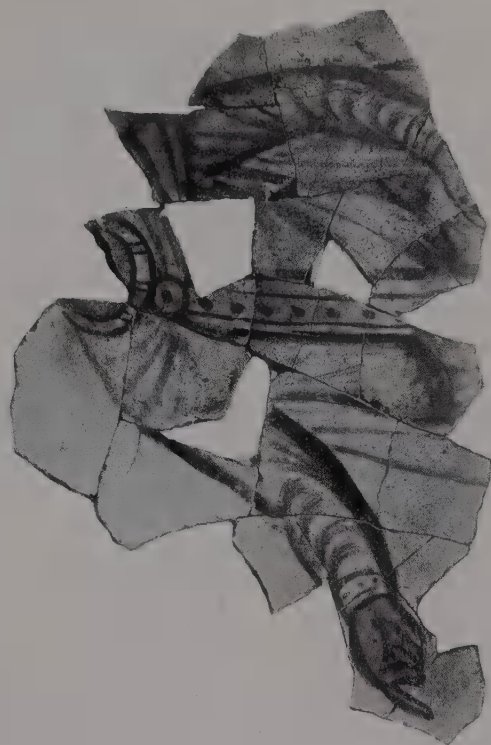
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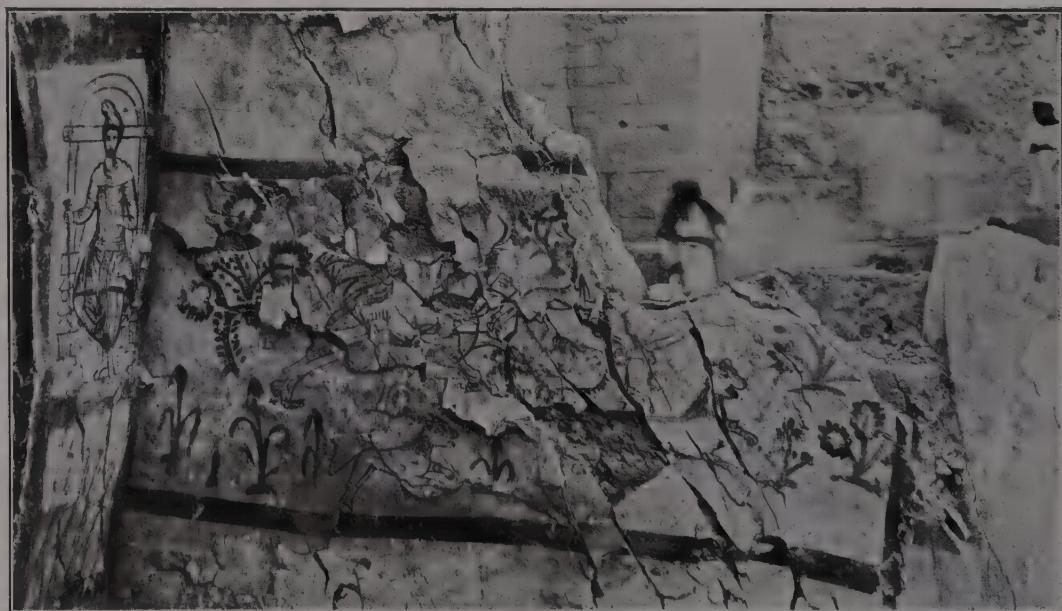


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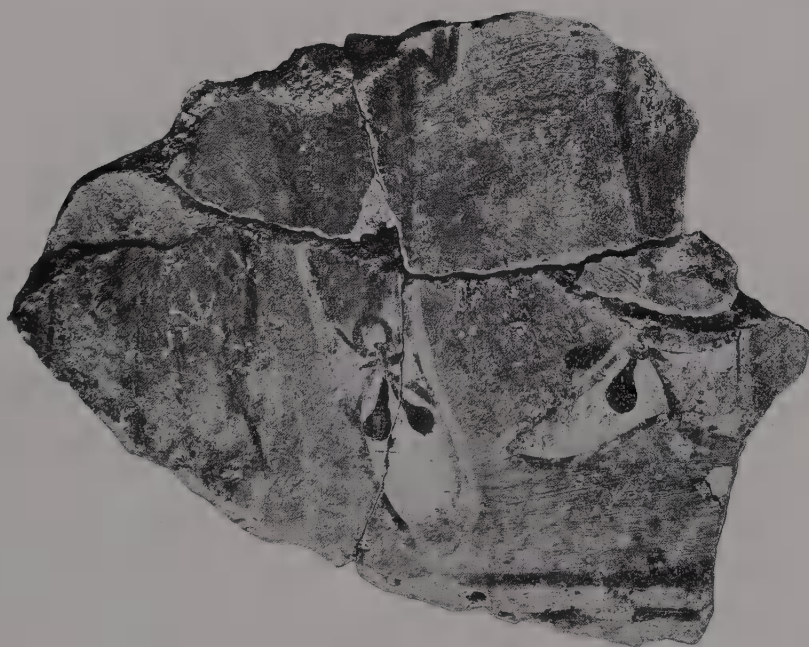


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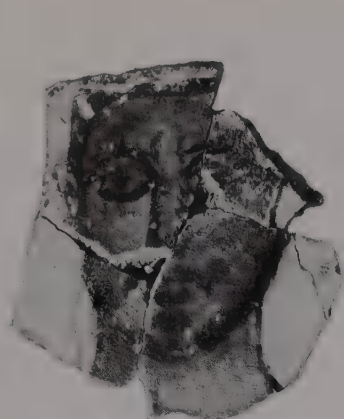




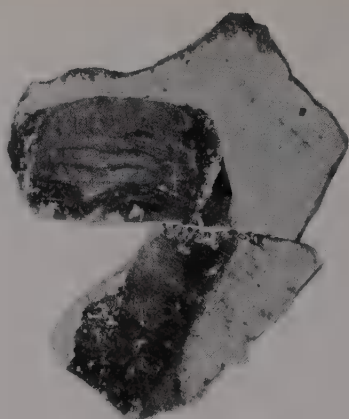
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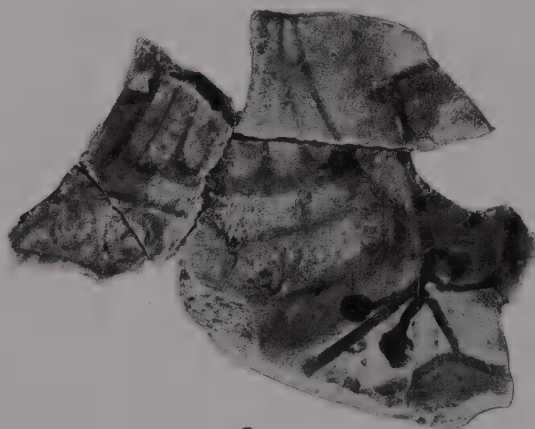
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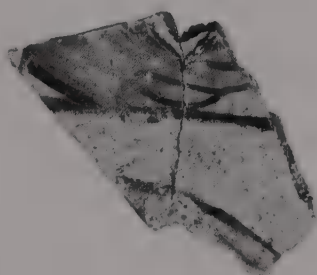
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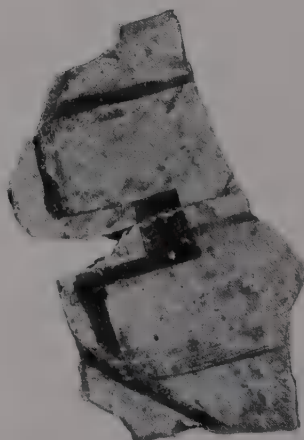
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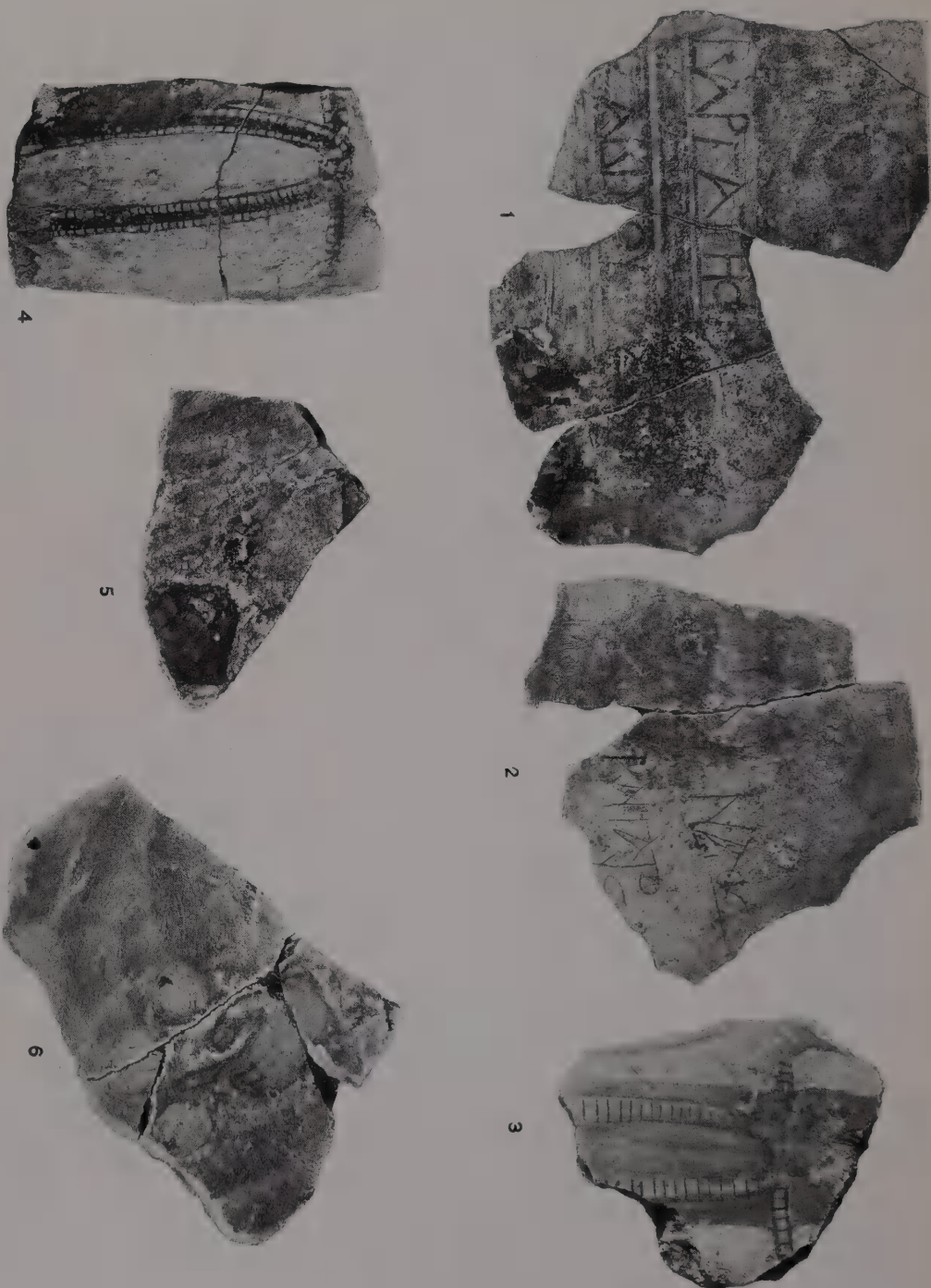
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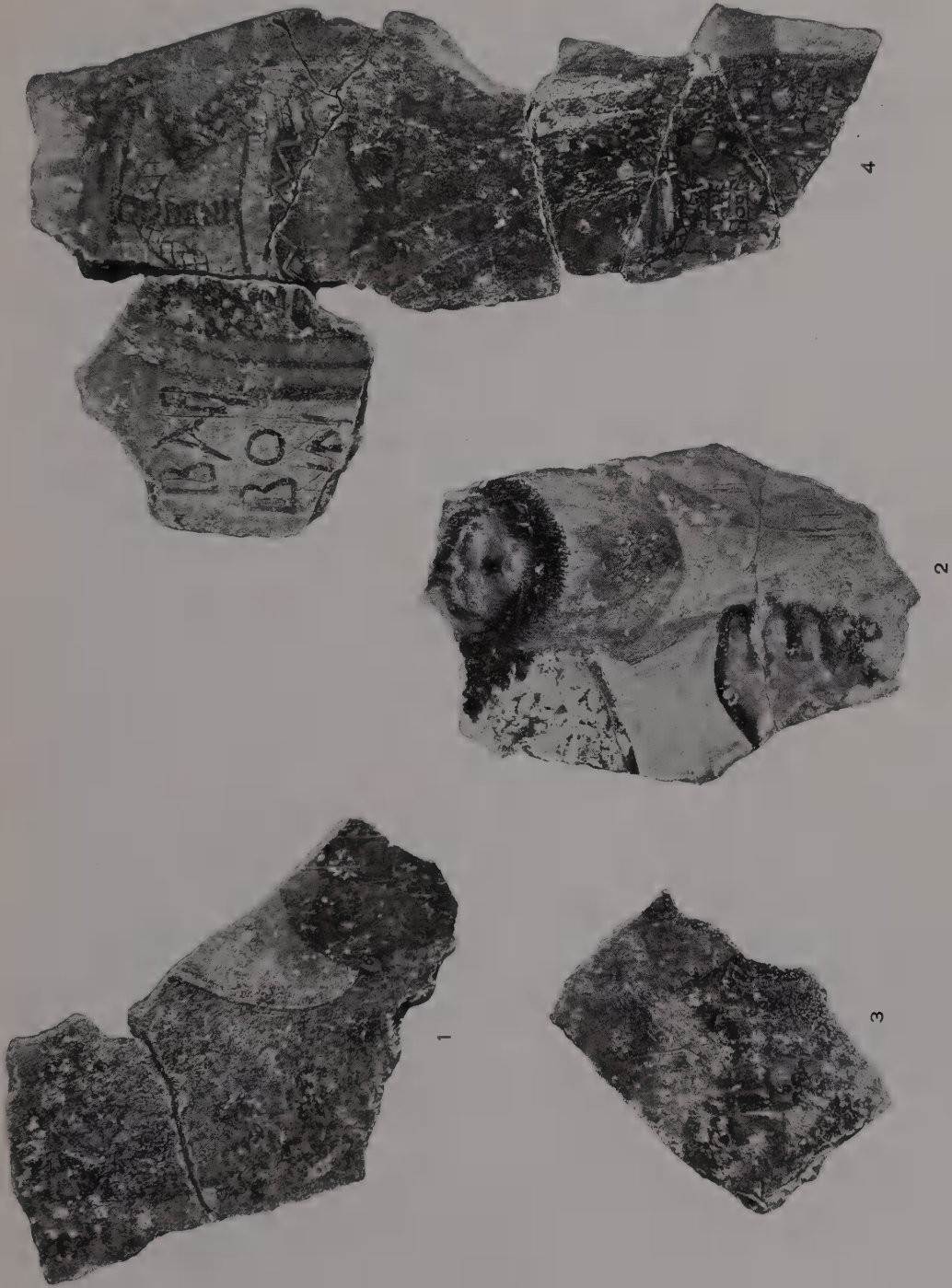


TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS, PAINTINGS OF THE NAOS, WEST WALL (pp. 198–202)





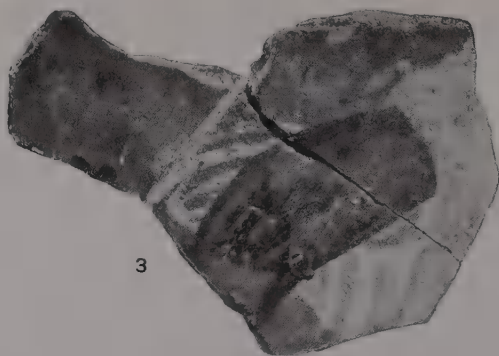
TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS, PAINTINGS OF THE NAOS, SIDE WALLS, LOWER REGISTER (pp. 202-204)



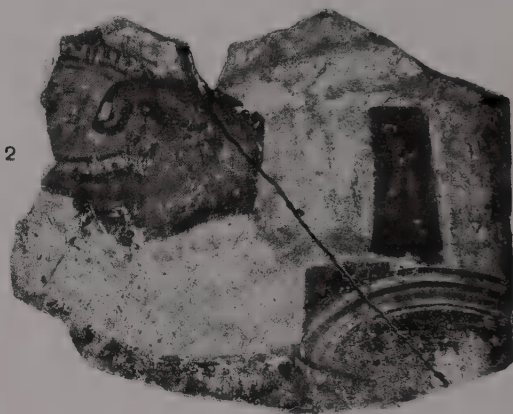
TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS, PAINTINGS OF THE NAOOS, SIDE WALLS, SECOND REGISTER (pp. 204—206)



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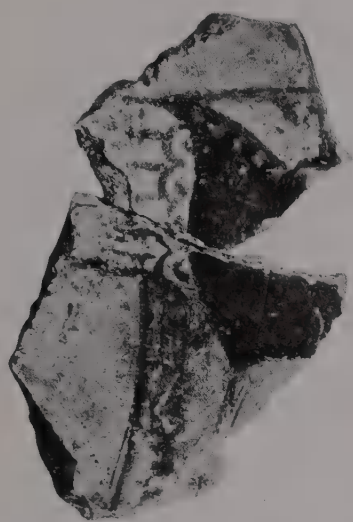




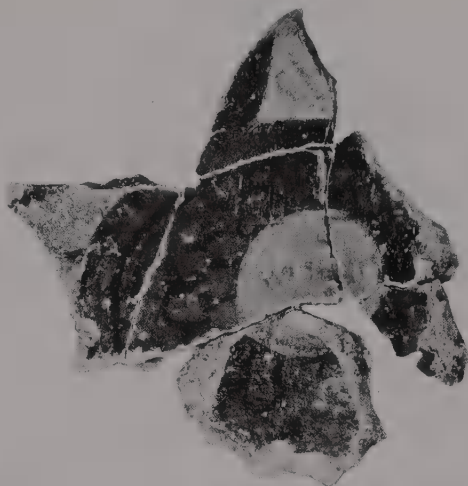
TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS, PAINTINGS OF THE NAOS (PAINTED BY HERBERT J. GUTE)



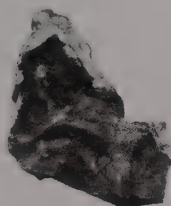




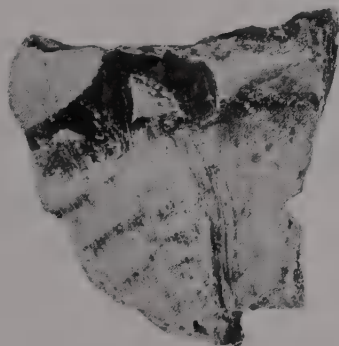
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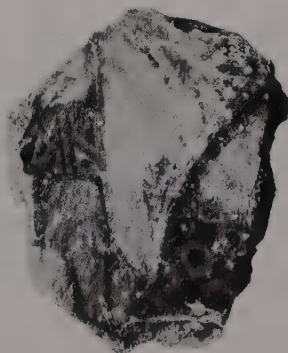
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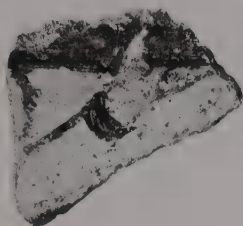


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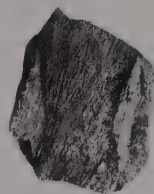




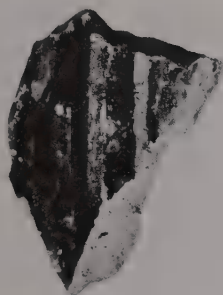
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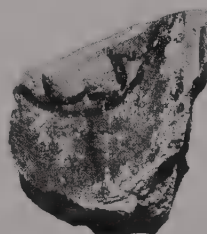
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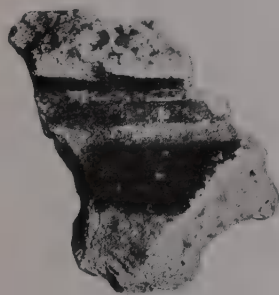
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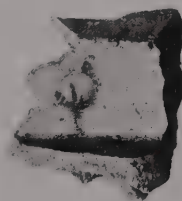
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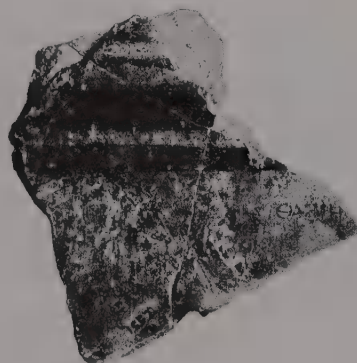
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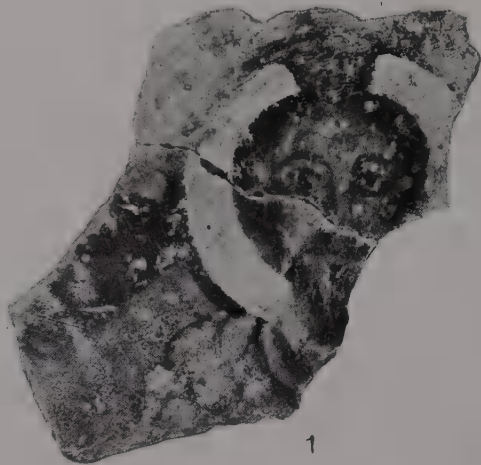
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MITHRAEUM, LARGER BAS—RELIEF (pp. 95–100). (PAINTED BY HERBERT J. GUTE)





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2

## TEMPLE OF ADONIS

1. RELIEF OF ATARGATIS (pp. 163–165). 2. THE DROMEDARY GOD (pp. 165–167)





1



2



TEMPLE OF ZEUS THEOS. 1. RELIEF FROM CHAPEL 12. 2. RELIEF FROM CHAPEL 14 (pp. 211 f.)





TEMPLE OF THE GADDÉ, RELIEF I, THE GAD OF DURA (pp. 258–260)



TEMPLE OF THE GADDE, RELIEF II, THE GAD OF PALMYRA (pp. 260–262)



1

TEMPLE OF THE GADDÉ. 1. RELIEF III, FRAGMENTS (pp. 262—264). 2. RELIEF IV, IARHIBOL (pp. 264 f.)



2





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3

TEMPLE OF THE GADDE. 1. RELIEF V, NEBO (p. 266). 2. LION (p. 267). 3. PLASTER HEAD (pp. 267 f.)



TEMPLE OF ZEUS KYRIOS, THE CULT RELIEF (pp. 292—302)





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1. TEMPLE OF ZEUS KYRIOS, RELIEF OF HERACLES (pp. 302 f.). 2. G5 10, RELIEF OF HERACLES (pp. 303 f.).  
3. NECROPOLIS TEMPLE, BASE OF STATUETTE FROM NAOS 1 (p. 316). 4. RELIEF OF HERACLES  
FROM NAOS 1 (p. 316). 5. ALTAR FROM NAOS 12 (pp. 315 f.)



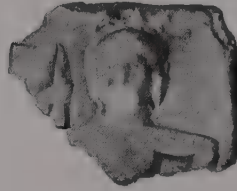
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1. N7 W, RELIEF OF HERACLES (p. 370). 2. N7 W, BUST OF WARRIOR (p. 371). 3. N8 W, GREEN GLAZE ALTAR (pp. 381 f.). 4. L8 W, RELIEF OF HERACLES (pp. 387 f.). 5. L8 B2, RELIEF OF HERACLES (p. 388)





SHIELD I (pp. 331—349)







SHIELD I (pp. 331—349). (PAINTED BY HERBERT J. GUTE)











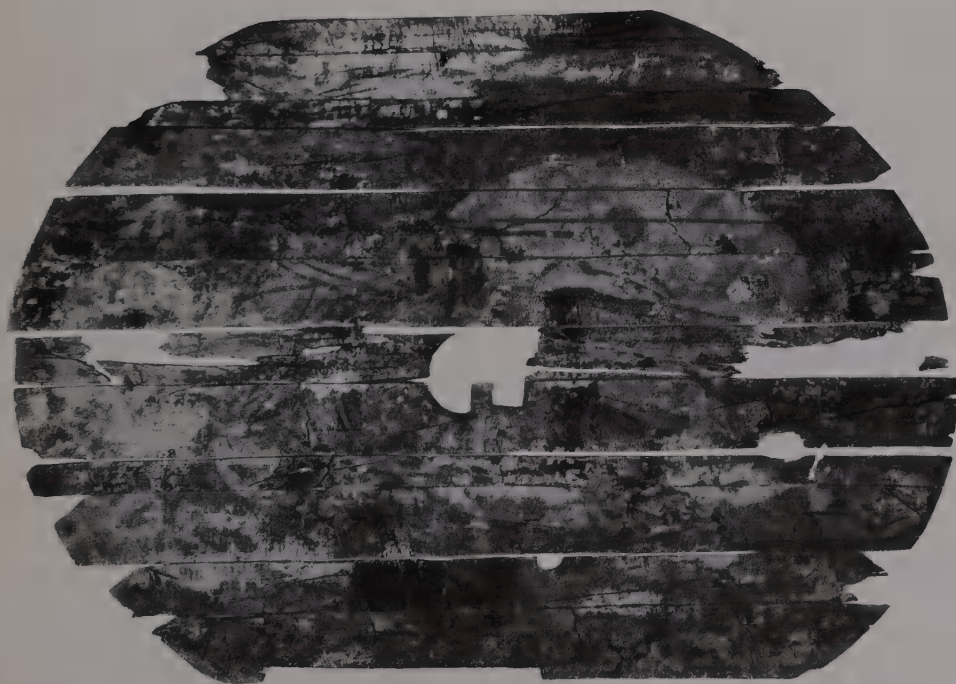
SHIELD II (pp. 349—363). (PAINTED BY HERBERT J. GUTE)







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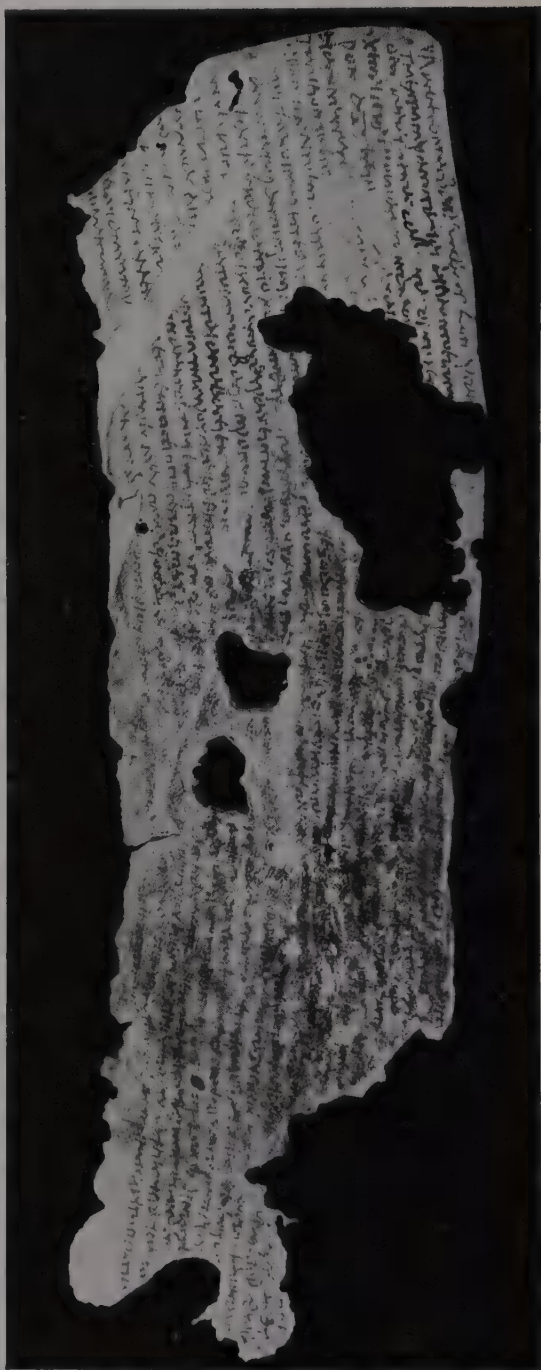
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SHIELD III. 1. PHOTOGRAPH. 2. COPY (pp. 363—367)

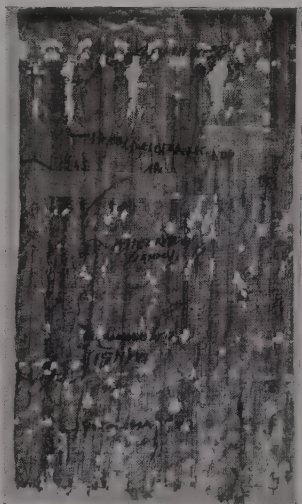






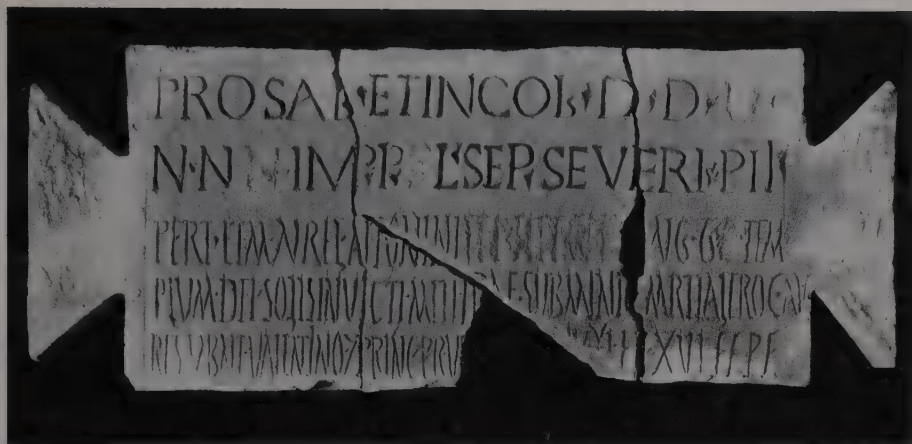


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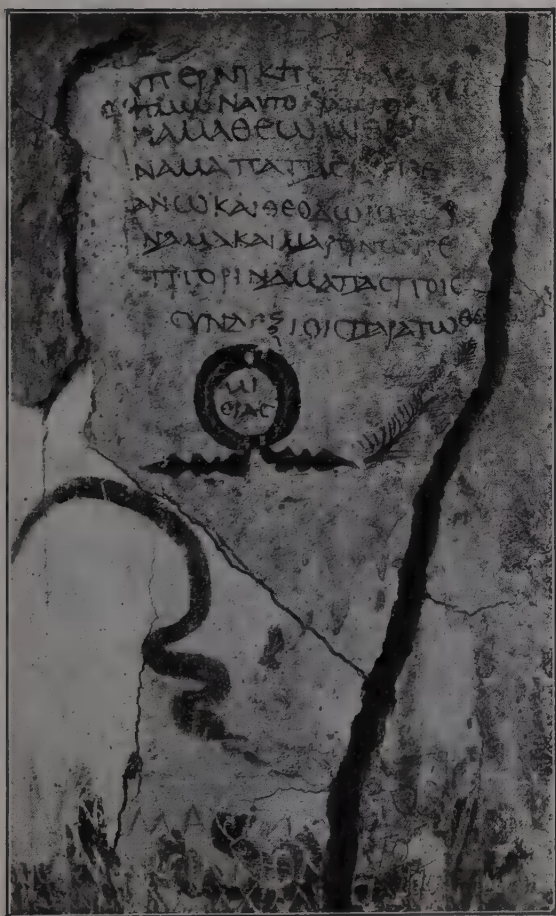


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1. PAPHYRUS 101, VERSO (pp. 433–438). 2. PARCHMENT 40 (pp. 427–432)



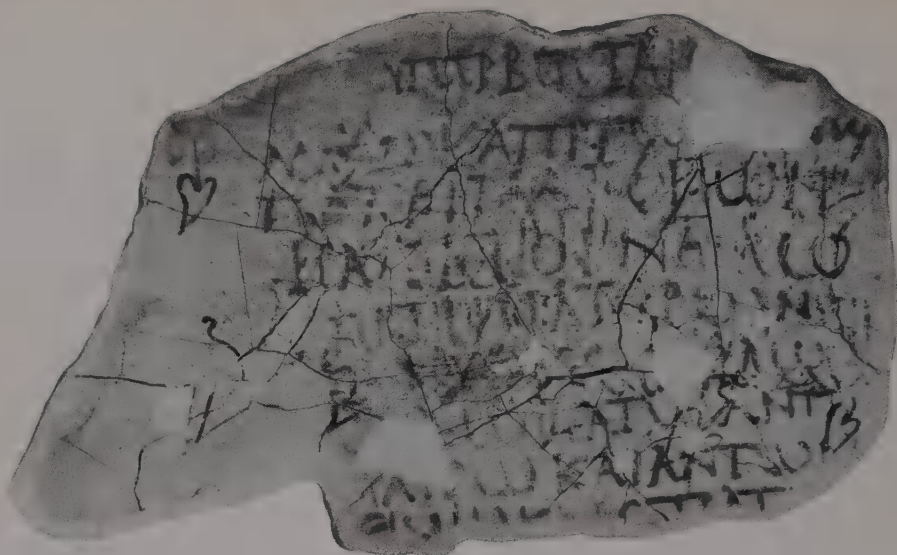
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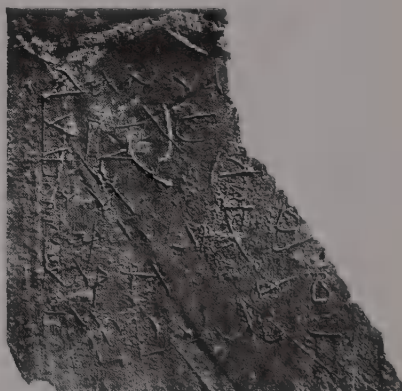
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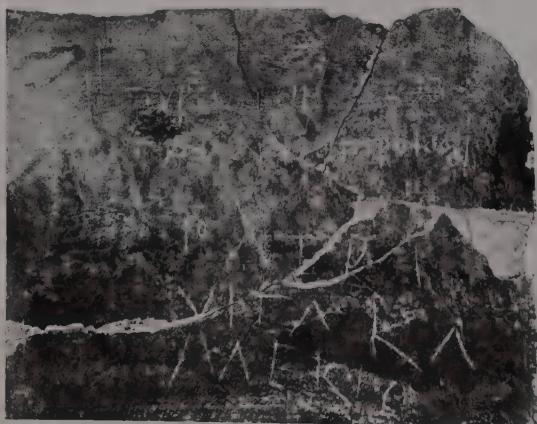
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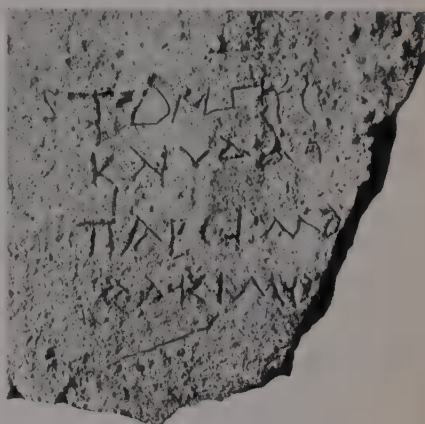
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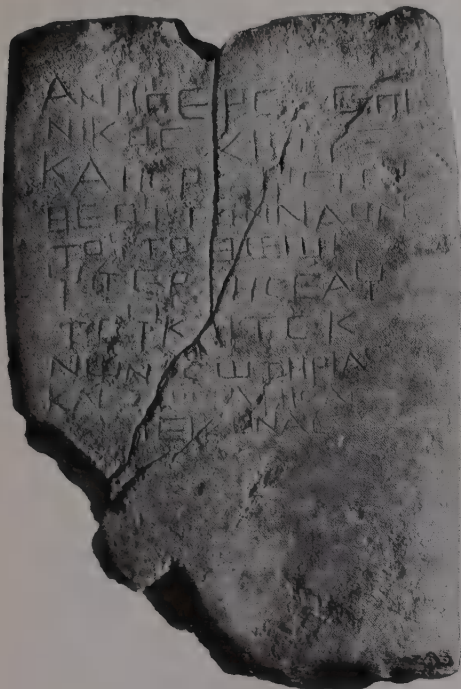


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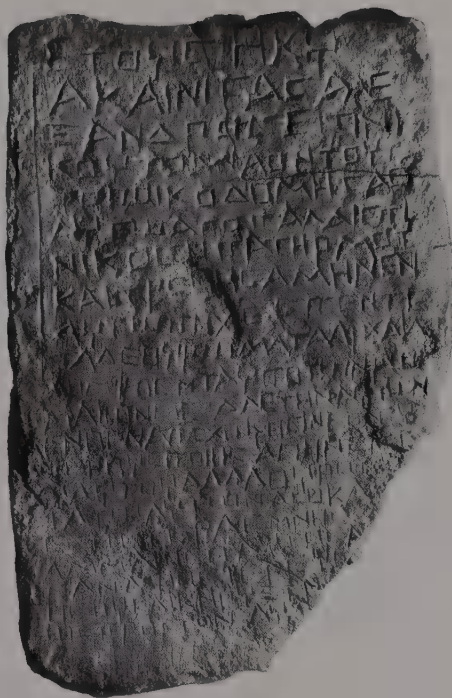


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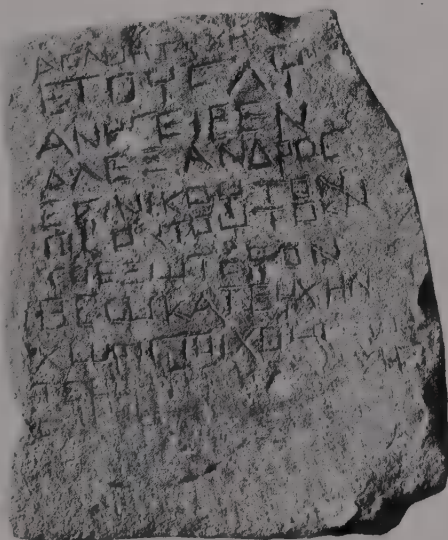




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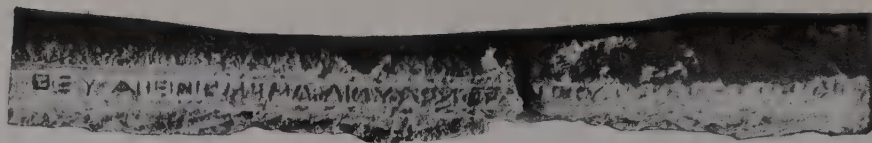


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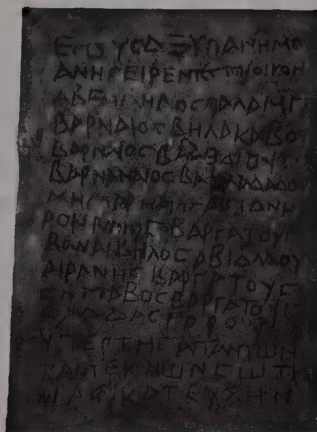


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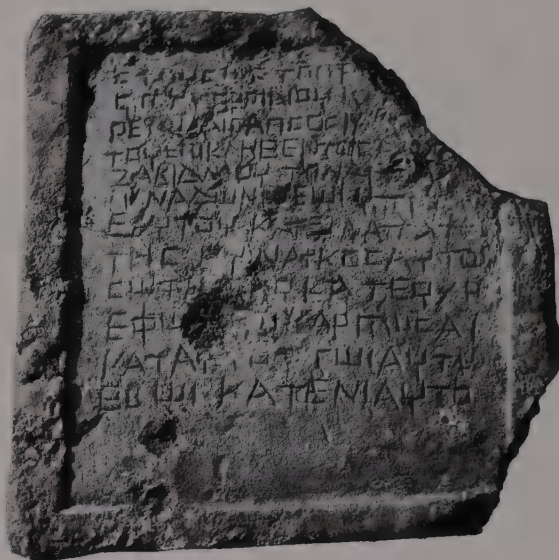




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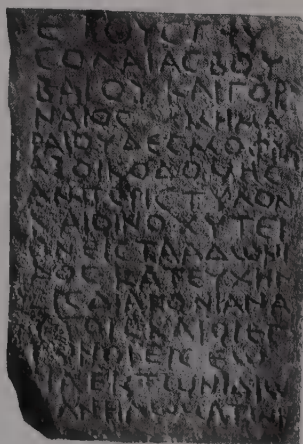
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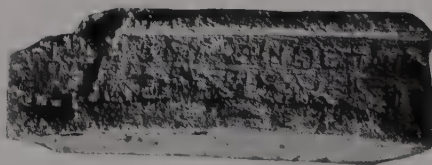
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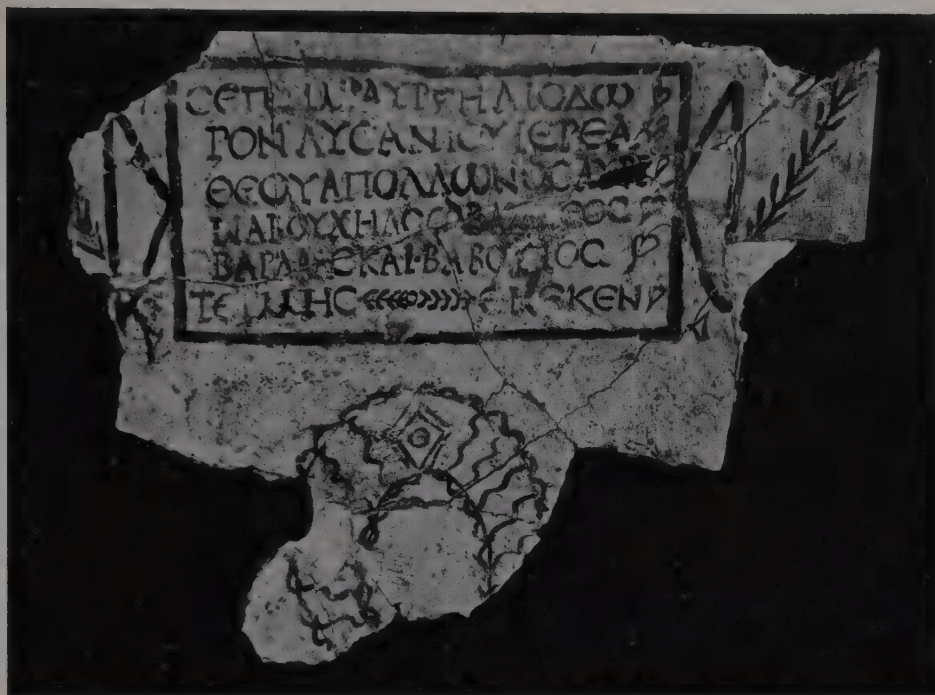
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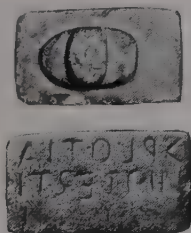
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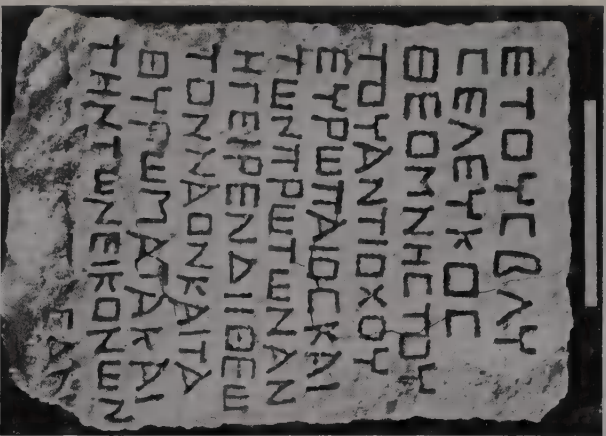
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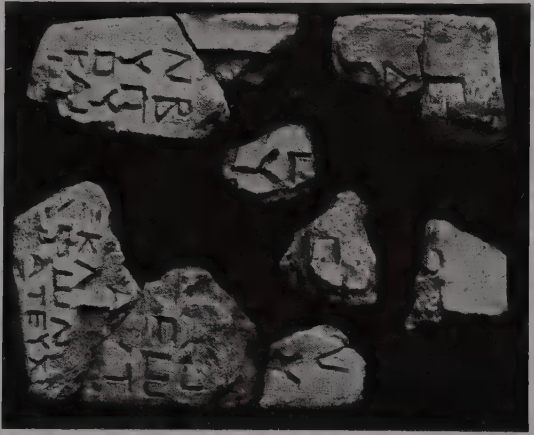
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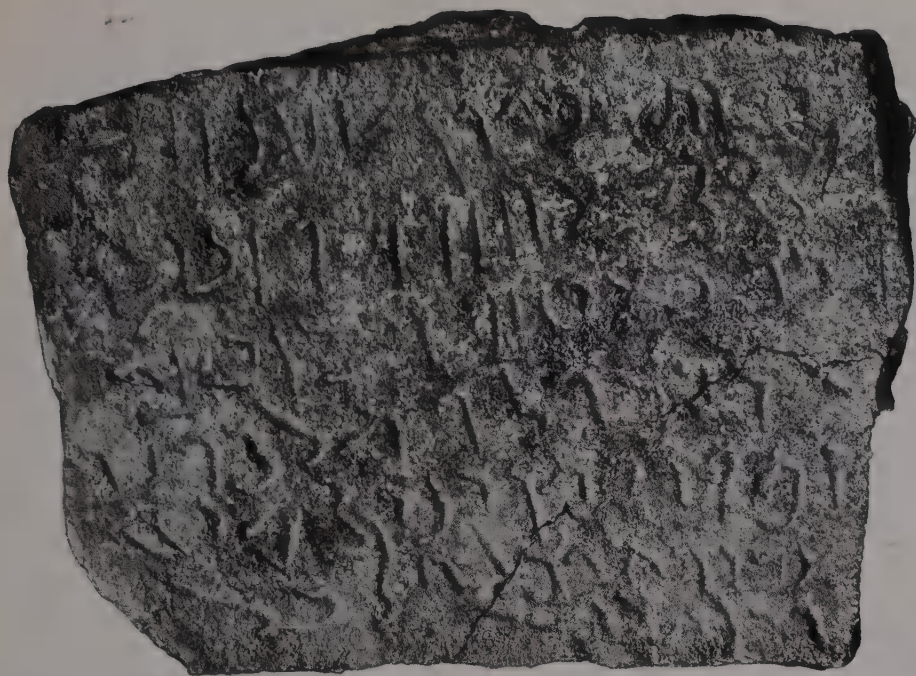


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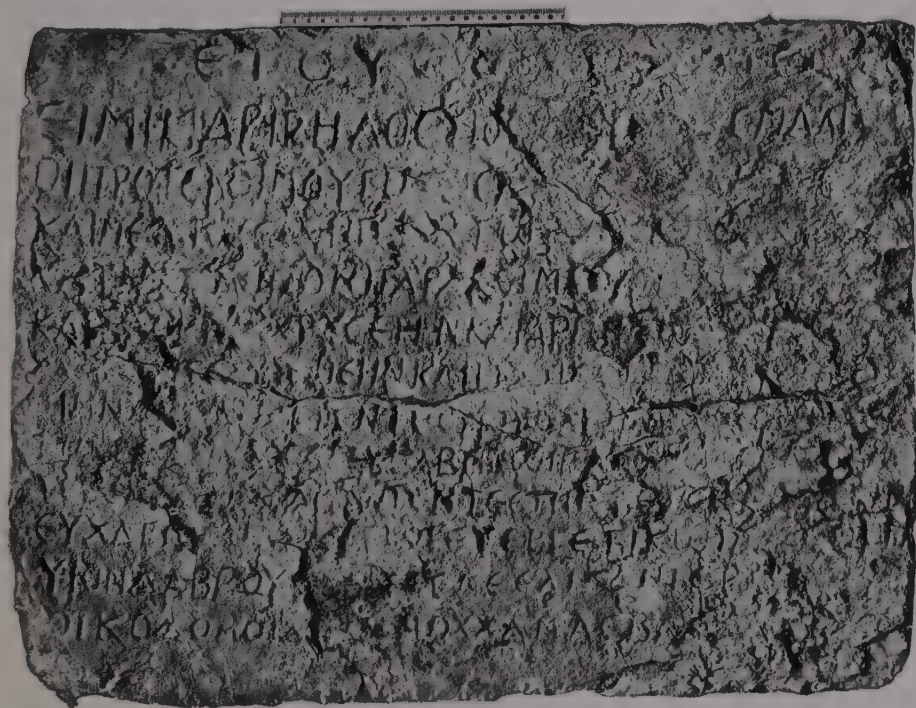


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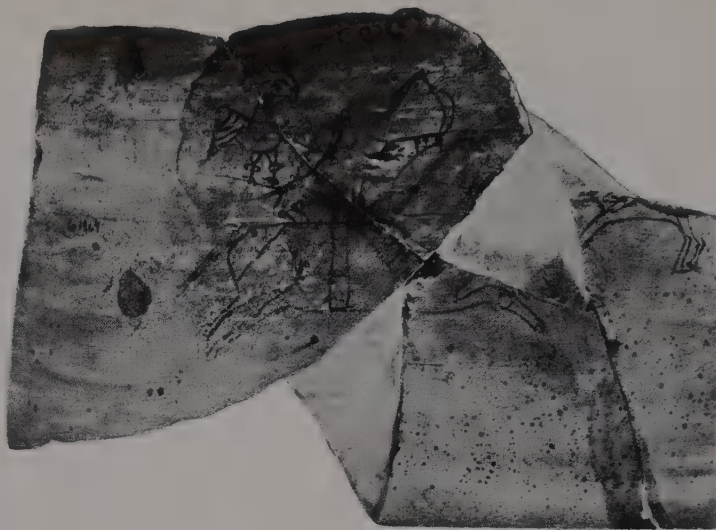


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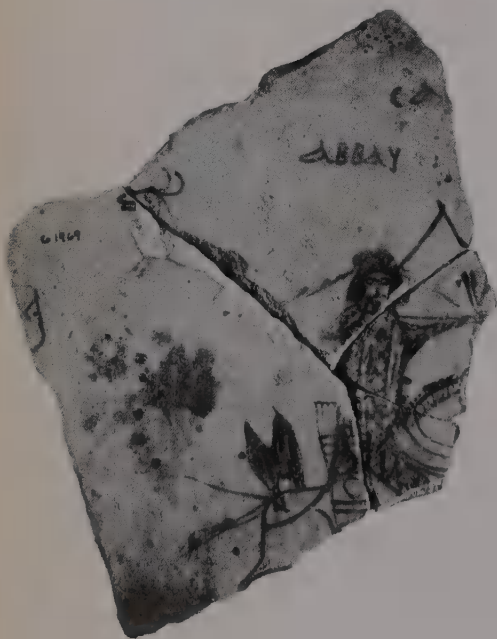


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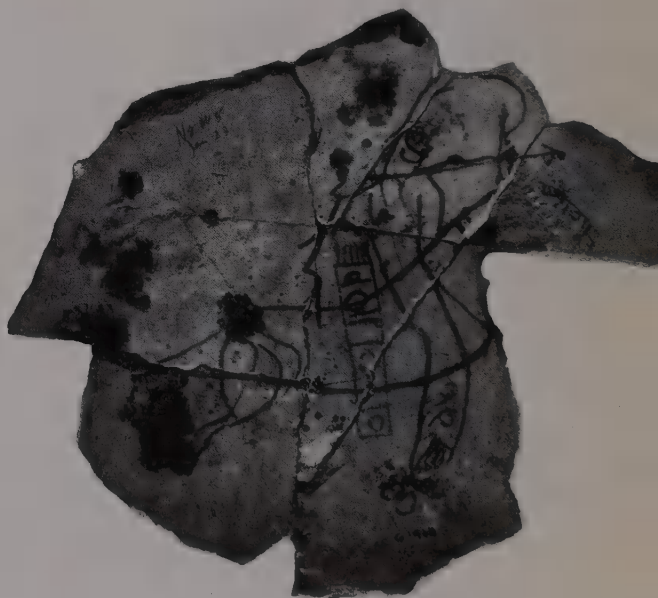




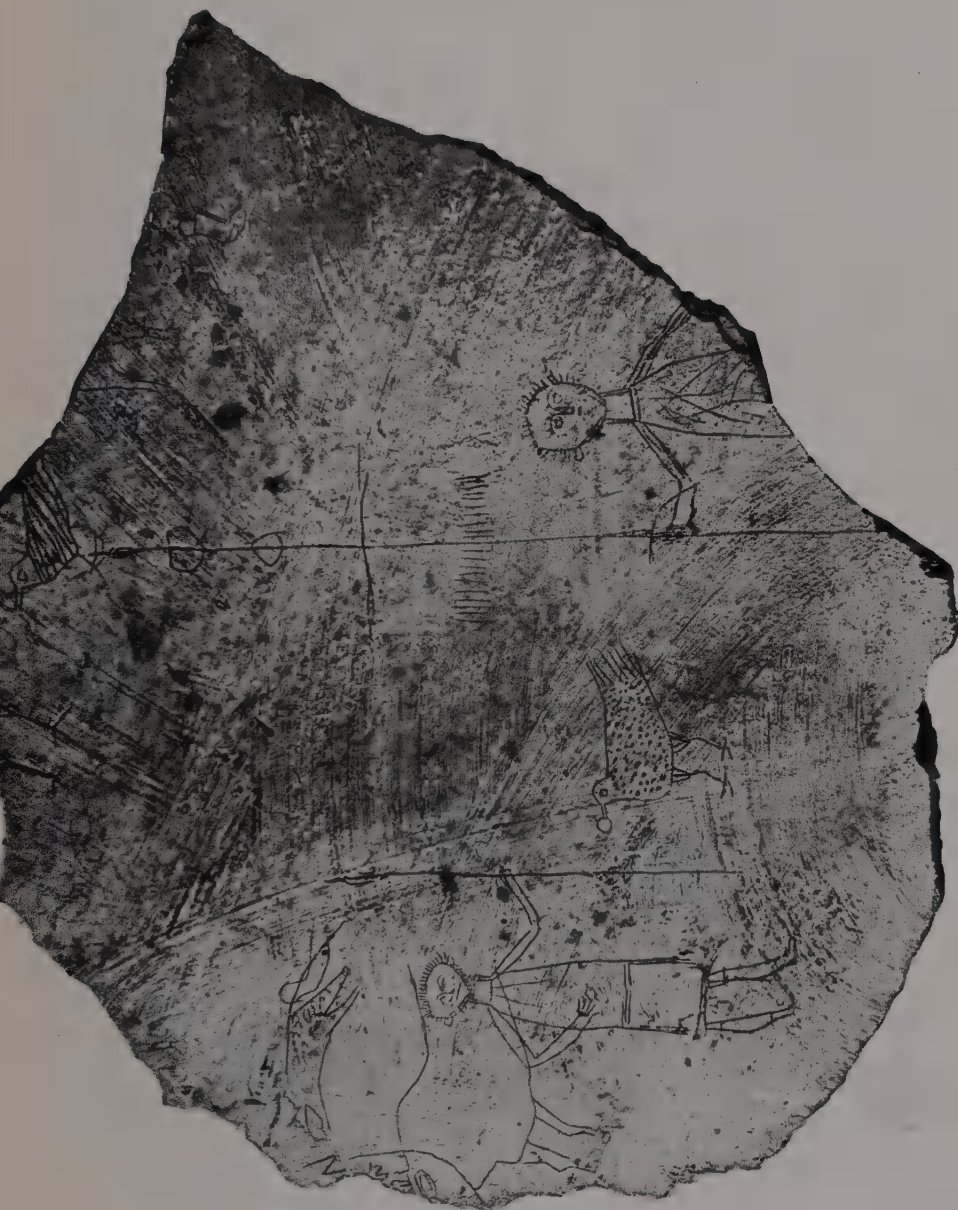
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L 5 D 32, SCRATCHED DRAWINGS (pp. 177-179)

# DURA-EUROPOS

- A1 — Military Temple
- B2 — Private Houses
- B3 — Temple of Zeus Theos
- B8 — Private Houses
- C3 — Private Houses, Roman Bath
- C4 — Temple of Zeus Megistos
- C5 — Private Houses
- C7 — Private Houses
- C8 — Private Houses
- C9 — Redoubt Palace
- D1 — House of Lysias

- D2 — Private Houses
- D5 — Private Houses
- D7 — Private Houses
- E3 — Roman Bath
- E4 — Private Houses (Barracks)
- E7 — Temple of Azzanathkona Praetorium
- E8 — Private Houses (Barracks)
- F3 — Parthian Bath Amphitheatre
- G1 — Private Houses, shops
- G2 — Private Houses, shops
- G3 — Private Houses, shops
- G4 — Private Houses, shops
- G5 — Private Houses, shops
- G6 — Private Houses, shops
- G8 — Private Houses, shops
- H1 — Temple of the Gadde
- H2 — Temple of Atargatis
- H4 — Temple of Artemis



- I3 — Private Houses
- I4 — Private Houses
- J1 — House of Tribune
- J5 — Temple of the Palmyrene Gods
- J7 — Mithraeum, Barracks
- K8 — Private Houses
- L4 — Caravanserai
- L5 — Temple of Adonis
- L7 — Synagogue
- L8 — Private Houses
- L9 — Tychaeum
- L10 — Private Houses
- M7 — Roman Bath
- M8 — Christian Building
- M8/N7 — Temple of Zeus Kyrios
- N8 — Temple of Aphlad
- N9 — Private Houses
- N9/5 — Headquarters of Dux
- X7 — Dolicheum

R.G.







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